BYZANTIUM

Faith and Power (1261–1557)

EDITED BY HELEN C. EVANS

The fall of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople to the Latin West in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade abruptly interrupted nearly nine hundred years of artistic and cultural traditions. In 1261, however, the Byzantine general Michael VIII Palaiologos triumphantly reentered Constantinople and reclaimed the seat of the empire, initiating a resurgence of art and culture that would continue for nearly three hundred years, not only in the waning empire itself but also among rival Eastern Christian nations eager to assume its legacy. *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, and the groundbreaking exhibition that it accompanies, explores the artistic and cultural flowering of the last centuries of the "Empire of the Romans" and its enduring heritage.

Conceived as the third of a trio of exhibitions dedicated to a fuller understanding of the art of the Byzantine Empire, whose influence spanned more than a millennium, "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)" follows the 1997 landmark presentation of "The Glory of Byzantium," which focused on the art and culture of the Middle Byzantine era—the Second Golden Age of the Byzantine Empire (843–1261). In the late 1970s, "The Age of Spirituality" explored the early centuries of Byzantium's history. The present concluding segment explores the exceptional artistic accomplishments of an era too often considered in terms of political decline. Magnificent works—from splendid frescoes, textiles, gilded metalwork, and mosaics to elaborately decorated manuscripts and liturgical objects—testify to the artistic and intellectual vigor of the Late and Post-Byzantine era. In addition, forty magnificent icons from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, join others from leading international institutions in a splendid gathering of these powerful religious images.

While the political strength of the empire weakened, the creativity and learning of Byzantium

(continued on back flap)

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MARYGROVE COLLEGE
LIBRARY
DETROIT, MICH.

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Edited by Helen C. Evans

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Yale University Press, New Haven and London

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This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from March 23 through July 4, 2004.

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Patriarch's Statement

Τῷ Ἐντιμοτάτῳ κυρίῳ Philippe de Montebello, τέκνῳ τῆς ἡμῶν Μετριότητος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητῷ, χάριν καί εἰρήνην παρά Θεοῦ

Ἡ ἑτοιμαζομένη ἔκθεσις "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)" τοῦ Μητροπολιτικοῦ Μουσείου Τέχνης τῆς Νέας Υόρκης ὁπωσδήποτε θά ἀποτελέσῃ σταθμόν εἰς τήν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Μουσείου καί γενναίαν συμβολήν εἰς τά πολιτιστικά πράγματα τοῦ Νέου Κόσμου.

Ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Μητροπολιτικοῦ Μουσείου διά τόν Βυζαντινόν κόσμον καί τήν τέχνην αὐτοῦ ἔχει βεβαίως καί κατά τό παρελθόν ἐπιδειχθῆ καί μάλιστα διά τῆς παλαιοτέρας ἐκθέσεως "Ἡ Δόξα τοῦ Βυζαντίου." Ἡ νέα, ὑπό διοργάνωσιν, ἔκθεσις ἔρχεται νά συμπληρώσῃ καί ὁλοκληρώσῃ ἐκείνην, διά τῆς ἐστιάσεως τοῦ ἐνδιαφέροντος εἰς τήν Παλαιολόγειον ἐποχήν καί τόν πρῶτον αἰῶνα τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς κυριαρχίας.

Ἡ περίοδος 1261–1557 χαρακτηρίζεται ἀπό τήν ἐδαφικήν συρρίκνωσιν τῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας καί τήν πτῶσιν τῆς Βασιλευούσης, ὡς καί τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Εἰς τάς σκληράς ἐκείνας ὥρας τό θερμόμετρον τῆς πίστεως εἰς Χριστόν ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τά ὕψη καί ὁ εὐσεβής λαός τῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας ἐστήριξεν, εἴπερ ποτέ καί ἄλλοτε, τάς ἐλπίδας του εἰς τήν βοήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καί τήν προστασίαν τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας, καί Παμμακαρίστου καί Ὑπερμάχου Στρατηγοῦ του. Πρός ἀναζήτησιν παραμυθίας, εἰς τάς στιγμάς τῆς ὀξυτέρας θλίψεώς του, κατέφευγεν εἰς τήν Παναγίαν τήν Παυσολύπην. Διά νά ἀντλήσῃ δύναμιν, ἔστρεφε τό βλέμμα εἰς τόν Ἐσταυρωμένον Κύριόν του καί ἀνελογίζετο τήν μετά τόν Σταυρόν προσδοκωμένην Ἀνάστασιν. Ἀφεύκτως, λοιπόν, ἡ τέχνη τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων εἶχε χαρακτῆρα πενθηρόν, ἀλλά καί ἐλπιδοφόρον.

Εἰς τήν ἐκκλησιαστικήν γλῶσσαν χρησιμοποιεῖται ὁ ὅρος "χαρμολύπη". Πρόκειται δι' ἕν σύμμεικτον αἴσθημα χαρᾶς, διά τήν προσδοκωμένην βοήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καί σωτηρίαν, καί λύπης, διά τά δεινά τοῦ βίου καί τήν ἁμαρτίαν. Αὐτή ἀκριβῶς ἡ χαρμολύπη ἐχαρακτήρισε τήν ὄψιμον Βυζαντινήν ἐκκλησιαστικήν τέχνην, ἁγιογραφίαν, μουσικήν, ἀρχιτεκτονικήν. Ὁμοίως καί τήν τέχνην τῆς ἐποχῆς τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας καί, βεβαίως, τοῦ πρώτου αἰῶνος αὐτῆς. Ὅλα τά ἔργα τέχνης τῆς περί ἧς ὁ λόγος περιόδου φέρουν ἀνάγλυφον τόν χαρακτῆρα τῆς στερρᾶς εἰς Χριστόν Πίστεως, τῆς ἀγκυροβολίας, κατά κυριολεξίαν, εἰς τό ἔλεος καί τήν ἀγάπην Του, καί τήν δύναμίν Του νά καταβάλῃ τούς πολεμίους. Οἱ στρατιωτικοί Ἅγιοι, Γεώργιος, Δημήτριος, Θεόδωροι καί οἱ λοιποί, εἶναι πλέον οἱ προσφιλέστεροι Ἅγιοι τῶν Ρωμηῶν τῶν δυσκόλων ἐκείνων καιρῶν. Ἐμπνέουν αἰσιοδοξίαν καί παρηγοροῦν καί μόνον μέ τήν σκέψιν ὅτι εὑρίσκονται παρόντες, συμπαράστατα τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος καί δοκιμαζομένου πιστοῦ λαοῦ. Πᾶσα σχεδόν πόλις καί χωρίον ἔχει πλέον Ναόν ἀφιερωμένον εἰς αὐτούς, καί κυρίως εἰς τόν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον, καθώς ἐπίσης καί εἰς τήν Θεοτόκον, τήν Ὑπέρμαχον Στρατηγόν τῶν πιστῶν. Ἡ πίστις εἰς τό πρόσωπον τῆς Θεοτόκου, οἱ Ἅγιοι, τά ἱερά εἰκονίσματα, οἱ ναοί, τό ἐκκλησιαστικόν μέλος, τά θρηνώδη Ἐγκώμια τοῦ Ἐπιταφίου, τά ὁποῖα κυρίως τότε ἐδημιουργήθησαν καί ἐκαλλιεργήθησαν, ἦσαν ἡ δύναμις, τό καταφύγιον, ἡ παραμυθία καί ἡ ψυχική ἐνίσχυσις τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος πρῶτον καί δουλεύοντος μετά ταῦτα Γένους.

Συγχαίρομεν, ὅθεν, ὁλοθύμως τήν διοίκησιν τοῦ Μητροπολιτικοῦ Μουσείου Τέχνης διά τήν ὡραίαν πρωτοβουλίαν, ἡ ὁποία καί εὐχόμεθα νά στεφθῇ ὑπό πλήρους ἐπιτυχίας, εἰς ἡμέρας, κατά τάς ὁποίας πλεῖστοι ἄνθρωποι ἀναζητοῦν δύναμιν διά να ἀντιμετωπίσουν τά ὑπαρξιακά προβλήματα καί τήν ἀγωνίαν ἐνώπιον πλείστων ἀδιεξόδων προσωπικῶν, κοινωνικῶν, ἐθνικῶν, πολιτιστικῶν καί παγκοσμίων, καί πίστιν εἰς ἀξίας καί ἰδεώδη ὑψηλότερα τῶν προσφερομένων ὑπό τῆς παγκοσμίου "ἀγορᾶς." Τό Μητροπολιτικόν Μουσεῖον διά τῆς ἐκθέσεως "Βυζάντιον: Πίστις καί Δύναμις (1261–1557)" προσφέρει τό "οὗ ἐστι χρεία."

Ⱑβγ΄ Ἰανουαρίου ι΄

BARTHOLOMEW BY THE MERCY OF GOD
ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, NEW ROME,
AND ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH

The Esteemed Mr. Philippe de Montebello, our Modesty's beloved son in the Lord: Grace and peace from God.

The exhibition "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," in progress at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, undoubtedly will constitute a historical landmark for the Museum and will contribute greatly to enhance the culture of the New World.

The love shown for the Byzantine world and its art by the Metropolitan Museum has been previously manifested particularly by the exhibition "Glory of Byzantium." This new exhibition in progress will augment the previous one, focusing interest in the Palaiologan period and the first century of Ottoman rule.

The period from 1261 to 1557 is characterized by the territorial shrinkage of the Byzantine Empire and the fall of the Queen of Cities, Constantinople, as well as Thessalonike. During those difficult and trying hours, the fervor of faith in Christ escalated to new heights, and the pious people of the Empire, more than ever before, placed their hope in God's assistance and in the protection of the Most-Holy Theotokos, the Mother of God, the Directress and their All-Blessed Champion General. For consolation during these times of great affliction, they took refuge in the Most-Holy and Comforting Mother of our Lord. In order to draw strength they looked upon their Crucified Lord and reflected upon the anticipated Resurrection that follows the Cross. Inevitably, therefore, the art of those days was characterized by sorrow and yet by hope.

In ecclesiastical terminology we use the term "bright-sadness." This refers to a mixed emotion of joy, over the anticipated help from God and salvation, and sorrow, for the suffering of life and sin. This bright-sadness accurately characterizes the later period of Byzantine ecclesiastical art, iconography, music, and architecture. Likewise, it influenced the art during the Ottoman Empire and especially during its first century. All the works of art during this period reflect the character of steadfast faith in Christ, which was literally anchored in His mercy, love, and power to subdue the hostile enemies. The Soldier Saints—George, Demetrios, the Theodores, and others— were the most beloved Saints of the Byzantines during those difficult years. They inspired optimism and comfort by the mere thought that they were present, supporters of the faithful who were undergoing danger and tribulation. Almost every city and town has a church dedicated to a Soldier Saint, and especially to Saint George, as well as to the Theotokos, for she was the Champion General of the faithful. Faith in the person of the Theotokos, the Saints, the holy icons, the churches, the ecclesiastical melodies, and the Lamentations before the Lord's Epitaphios were principally created and cultivated at that time. They were the strength, shelter, consolation, and spiritual reinforcement of a nation, which was in danger and later in bondage.

We, therefore, wholeheartedly congratulate the administration of The Metropolitan Museum of Art for its wonderful initiative. We pray that the exhibition will be crowned with utmost success during these times when most people seek strength to encounter and overcome the existential problems and the agony in the face of many personal, social, ethnic, cultural, and worldwide difficulties. Our prayer is that they may find faith in higher values and ideals than those that are being offered by the world marketplace. Indeed, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, through its exhibition "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," offers that "which is needful."

January 10, 2004
Your fervent supplicant before God, **B**(artholomew)

Sponsors' Statements

Alpha Bank is proud to have been associated with the exhibition "The Glory of Byzantium," held in 1997, and is delighted with the opportunity to contribute toward the realization of the present exhibition, "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," which presents Byzantium, its art and culture, at the dawn of Humanism.

This exhibition expresses the spirit of rebirth, which flourished in the arts and letters in the period after the restoration of Constantinople as the capital of the Byzantine Empire in 1261. This revival emerged almost as a response to the crisis that affected the empire. What was born is a forceful art, imbued with the spirit of renewal. It is characterized by a realistic portrayal of figures that at the same time display their inner religious sensibilities. The exhibition reflects the spread of the influence of this artistic and intellectual trend throughout the Byzantine sphere and beyond.

As Byzantine concepts of painting, iconography, and scholarship were fundamental to the cultural development of the whole of Europe during these centuries, the exhibition presents the impact of Byzantine art on the developing Italian Renaissance and on other centers of European artistic and intellectual activity.

The works assembled on this occasion represent a period of significant artistic expression within the empire and establish Byzantium as a driving force in the artistic exchange with the West.

The exhibition is organized during a significant year for Greece, the host country of the Olympic Games. Alpha Bank, as Sponsor of the Games, is honored to participate in a venture which promotes one of the singular constituents of our national heritage.

Yannis S. Costopoulos
Chairman and Managing Director
Alpha Bank

It is a great pleasure for the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation to contribute—together with other important Greek foundations and Alpha Bank—to this most significant exhibition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)" begins with the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in 1261 by Michael VIII Palaiologos and ends in 1557, more than a century after its final fall to the Ottoman Turks. The re-establishment of a weakened empire under the Palaiologan dynasty produced vibrant new developments in the arts, literature, and philosophy that reflected the currents of the times. Byzantine culture of that period greatly influenced its Christian neighbors, as well as provided a major link between the concepts of Greek antiquity and the Renaissance.

Anastasia S. Costopoulos
Vice-President
The J. F. Costopoulos Foundation

The A. G. Leventis Foundation is honored to participate in the exhibition "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)"—a celebration of the great artistic achievements that marked the last centuries of the Byzantine world.

Our foundation's special ties with Cyprus serve to increase our interest in this groundbreaking exhibition. During this period, Cyprus was under Frankish and later Venetian rule, and the Orthodox Church of Cyprus was subjected to the Latin Hierarchy. Orthodox art nevertheless flourished on the island, and Cyprus therefore presents an ideal field for study of the interaction of Byzantine culture with its powerful Christian neighbors.

For twenty-five years the A. G. Leventis Foundation has worked to preserve the cultural heritage of the Hellenic world and to stimulate and broaden international awareness of its importance. Thus, the Metropolitan Museum's continuing effort to make Byzantine art available and accessible to the widest possible audience falls well within our objectives. We believe that the series of three exhibitions mounted at the Metropolitan Museum over the last twenty-seven years has played an integral part in encouraging greater understanding of the Byzantine world.

Anastasios P. Leventis
Chairman
A. G. Leventis Foundation

The Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation supports charitable activities in four primary program areas: social welfare, education, health and medicine, and arts and culture. We are particularly proud to sponsor "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)." This masterful exhibition is fully representative of our interest in supporting projects that promote, maintain, and preserve Hellenic heritage and that offer opportunities for those inside and outside of Greece to benefit from such efforts. As an international foundation we take note that the more than 350 works of art in the exhibition come from some thirty countries. We commend the resulting global collaboration fostered by The Metropolitan Museum of Art and are confident that it will inspire all who view it.

Dennis Weatherstone
Chairman
The Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation

Director's Foreword

When the city of Constantinople fell in 1204 to the Fourth Crusade, nearly nine hundred years of Byzantium's artistic and cultural traditions were abruptly terminated. The long-established power and patronage of the imperial center were dispersed to regional outposts, including Nicaea (Iznik), Trebizond (Trabzon), Thessalonike, Epiros, and Mistra. As the triumphant Byzantine general Michael VIII Palaiologos entered a re-claimed Constantinople on August 15, 1261, carrying aloft the famed icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, the city's eternal protector, he initiated an artistic and intellectual flowering in the "Empire of the Romans"—the *basileia ton Rhomaion*—and among its East Christian rivals that would endure for nearly 300 years.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art proudly presents "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," the first major museum exhibition to concentrate solely on the great resurgence of the Palaiologan period and the subsequent appropriation of this culture by rival claimants to power. More than 350 masterpieces of Byzantine art from some thirty nations are brought together for this exhibition. These extraordinary works, some seen only rarely and others never shown outside the churches and monasteries that have preserved them through succeeding centuries, are among these nations' most cherished artistic treasures. Splendid frescoes, textiles, gilded metalwork, mosaics, elaborately decorated manuscripts, and rich liturgical objects from throughout the world of Byzantium, as well as major works from European and Islamic traditions that reflect their influence, demonstrate the unique cross-cultural fertilization that occurred during the Late Byzantine era. In addition, forty magnificent icons from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai join others from leading institutions across the world in a remarkable display of these compelling religious images.

"Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)" unfolds at the Metropolitan as the third wing of a "triptych" of exhibitions dedicated to a fuller understanding of the art of the Byzantine Empire, whose cultural and political influence spanned more than a millennium. In the late 1970s the Museum explored the early centuries of Byzantium's history in "Age of Spirituality." In 1997 the landmark presentation "The Glory of Byzantium" focused on the art and culture of the Middle Byzantine era (843–1261) through a notable array of works lent from major cultural and religious institutions around the world and from the extensive collections of the Metropolitan Museum itself. "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)" now seeks to enhance public appreciation of the exceptional artistic accomplishments of an era too often considered primarily in terms of political decline.

A truly extraordinary collaboration among institutions and private lenders from an unprecedented number of countries, some of which have never before lent works of art to museums in the United States, has made this exhibition possible. We are extremely grateful for this remarkable level of international cooperation, extending over a wide geographical nexus that reaches through Greece, the Balkans, and Asia Minor to Russia in the north and Egypt in the south. This generous response flows from important relationships forged during the Metropolitan's two previous Byzantine art exhibitions, as well as from new associations. We are particularly honored by the exceptional support offered by Greece. Mistra, in the Peloponnese, was the last outpost of the *basileia ton Rhomaion* to fall to the Ottomans. Like many other Greek monasteries and cultural centers, such as Thessalonike, it produced profoundly moving religious art and at the same time encouraged a revival of classical learning that inspired the Renaissance in Italy. We are also fortunate once again to have the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, as an invaluable partner in this notable endeavor.

As always for an exhibition of this scope, the number of people to whom we wish to extend our appreciation and gratitude is so great that a more comprehensive list of acknowledgments follows. In brief, however, I would like to thank Mahrukh Tarapor, Associate Director for Exhibitions, for her exceptional diplomacy and perseverance in securing critical loans and for opening new areas of cooperation among international partners. I would also like to applaud Helen C. Evans, Curator of Early Christian and Byzantine Art, for establishing the intellectual and scholarly foundation of the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue. She assembled an outstanding curatorial team, headed by her Research Associate Sarah Brooks, which has worked tirelessly to make the exhibition a success. John O'Neill, Editor in Chief and General Manager of Publications, and his staff have produced a handsome catalogue that constitutes a noteworthy contribution to the field of Byzantine studies. It will enhance the viewing experience and extend the impact of the exhibition beyond its bounds of time and place. For the many national and international visitors expected to see the exhibition in person, Michael Batista and Sophia Geronimus of the Museum's Design Department have created a stunning display.

Finally, I must note that it would be impossible to realize an exhibition of this scale and complexity without generous financial backing. The Museum is most grateful to Alpha Bank and its chairman, Yannis S. Costopoulos, for their outstanding support of the exhibition. We are also indebted to the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation, the A. G. Leventis Foundation, and the Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation for their important contributions to the project. In addition, we would like to acknowledge the kind assistance provided by the National Endowment for the Arts and The Prospect Hill Foundation. We would also like to recognize the Federal Council of the Arts and the Humanities for granting an indemnity for this project.

Philippe de Montebello
Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

The vast geographical scope of "Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)" has resulted in a correspondingly large network of extraordinary people who have helped in both their public and private capacities to make this exhibition possible. One hundred and twenty-nine collectors and institutions in some thirty countries have lent their finest works to recreate the greatness of the last centuries of the "Empire of the Romans," now called Byzantium. In the following listings we wish to express our gratitude to all the lenders and their staffs, to our colleagues here and abroad, and to the many friends of the exhibition who have enabled us to display the artistic and intellectual vibrancy of the Byzantine sphere.

In Austria, in Vienna: at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, our thanks go to Wilfried Seipel, Director; Karl Schütz, Director Gemäldegalerie; Wolfgang Prohaska, Curator; Elke Obethaller, Paintings Conservator; and Ingrid Schaffer, Paintings Conservator.

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"Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)," bringing together works of art from multiple sources, could not have succeeded without the efforts of all the people mentioned here by name, as well as many others.

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Rhine
Seine
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Prilep
Ohrid
Serres
Prespa Lake
Thessaloniki
Avlona
Kastoria
Veroia
Athos
Gall
Ioannina
Meteora
Aegean Sea
Corfu
Arta
Trikala
Neopatras
Euboea
Cephallonia
Patras
Thebes
Athens
Zakynthos
Corinth
Nauplia
Mistra
Geraki
Methone
Monemvasia
Kythera
Crete
Mediterranean
Palermo
Messina
Sicily
Algiers
Tunis
Tlemcen
Kairouan
Tripoli

Byzantium and its Neighbors, 1261–1557

0
1000 km

Lambert Azimuthal Equal-Area Projection

ovgorod

Moscow

Volga

Dnieper

Aral Sea

Caspian Sea

Black Sea

Mtskheta

Tblisi

Sinope

Trebizond

Ani

Erevan

Glajor

Constantinople

Herakleia

Amaseia

Erzurum

Ardabil

Chrysopolis

Manzikert

Tabriz

Sultaniyah

Nikomedia

Sebasteia

Lake Van

Nicaea

Ankyra

Brusa

Caesarea

Philadelphia

Iconium

Hromklay

Edessa

Mosul

Kashan

Cilician Gates

Sis

Attaleia

Aleppo

Port Saint Symeon

Antioch

Tigris

Euphrates

Nicosia

Famagusta

Cyprus

Baghdad

Karbala

Beirut

Sidon

Tyre

Damascus

Najaf

Acre

Nazareth

Jaffa

Jerusalem

Bethlehem

Damietta

Alexandria

Mahalla

Persian Gulf

Sinai

Cairo

Fustat (Old Cairo)

Fayyum

Nile

St. Paul's Monastery

St. Anthony's Monastery

St. Catherine's Monastery

ΜΗΝΟ
ΗΛΕΝ
ΧΩΣΤΟΥ
ΠΙΣΤΟΣΒΑ
ΣΙΛΕΥ
ΚΩΝΣΤΟ
ΚΡΑΤΩΡ
ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΟΠΑΛΜΑ
ΟΤΟΥ

Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)

HELEN C. EVANS

The emperor entered the holy building, the temple of Divine Wisdom, in order that he might hand over the cathedra to the prelate. And finally there assembled with the emperor all the notables of the archons and the entire multitude. Then the emperor, taking the arm of the patriarch, said, "Take your throne now, O lord, and enjoy it, that of which you were so long deprived."[1]

—GEORGE AKROPOLITES
(1217–1282), *Historia*

In 1261 the citizens of Constantinople, New Rome, welcomed the restoration of political and religious power to those who were of their own culture (cat. 6). From its founding in A.D. 330, the great city, located at the Bosporos where Europe and Asia meet, had been the capital of the *basileia ton Rhomaion*, the empire of the Romans. When the city fell in 1204 to the Fourth Crusade, nearly nine hundred years of artistic and cultural traditions were abruptly terminated. Baldwin I of Flanders (1172–1205/6) became the first ruler of the Latin Empire, and Thomas Morosini (1170/75–1211), supported by the Venetians, was installed as the first Latin patriarch in the sixth-century Church of Hagia Sophia (fig. 1.2; cat. 298). The long-established power and patronage of the imperial center were dispersed to regional outposts, including Nicaea (Iznik), Trebizond (Trabzon), Thessalonike, Epiros, and Mistra.[2] When the empire's traditional authority and its church were restored to power in 1261, there occurred an artistic and cultural flowering that would endure for more than a century after the final fall of the empire, in 1453, to the Ottoman Turks.

In 1557 the name of the empire, *basileia ton Rhomaion*, was replaced with the term Byzantium, by which the state is still known today. The German scholar Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), librarian and secretary for the Fugger family in Augsburg, created the Latin neuter word Byzantium from Byzantion, the name of the ancient Greek town near whose site Constantinople was founded.[3] In doing so, he recognized the many centuries that the culture of Constantinople had been closely allied with its Hellenistic, or Greek, origins.[4] The new name also reflected the fact that Wolf's generation understood "Rome" to be the first capital of the Roman Empire, the Rome of Italy, which by the sixteenth century not only had religious power as the See of Saint Peter, the head of the Catholic Church, but also had newly regained political power. While use of the appellation Byzantium acknowledged that the memory of the *basileia ton Rhomaion* as a political power ruled from Constantinople was largely lost, the state's original name survives today through its faith—in the title of the ecumenical patriarch, "Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome."[5]

This exhibition explores the artistic and intellectual flourishing that occurred between 1261 and 1557 both within the empire and among its Eastern Christian rivals, who sought

Fig. 1.2. Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 532–37. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

Fig. 1.1. Manuel II Palaiologos (cat. 1, detail). Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment, Constantinople, 1309–11. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris

Fig. 1.3. Deesis in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia. Mosaic, Constantinople, late 13th century. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

through their adoption of the faith, art, and culture of the empire to prove that they were heirs to its power. The faith of Byzantium's church connected the empire and its rivals during its last centuries, maintaining a position of authority for Constantinople even after the state's political fortunes diminished and were destroyed. In the early sixteenth century, that authority was vividly evoked by Filofei, abbot of the Eleazer Monastery in Pskov, when he wrote to the Russian czar Vasily III (r. 1505–33) that with the fall of Constantinople, Moscow was the new, and final, Rome.[6] Far beyond the borders of the Orthodox world, other political entities also sought to be the New Rome. The Ottomans identified themselves as its heir by virtue of their conquest of Constantinople and wished to reunite the imperium by capturing the Old Rome in Italy. Western rulers, by embracing the learning of the scholars of the Byzantine Empire, their texts, and the images of its church, facilitated the development of the Renaissance while ensuring that they too could claim to be the inheritors of the greatness of the empire's past.

In 1261 Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82) announced his reconquest of Constantinople by entering the city carrying the icon known as the Virgin Hodegetria, which had long been considered the protector of the city (see the essay by Alice-Mary Talbot in this publication). Michael had come to power in Nicaea, the capital of the empire-in-exile during the Latin interregnum. His new dynasty, the Palaiologoi, would rule Constantinople until its fall to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 (cat. 12).[7] The icon of the Virgin would remain the defender of the city throughout that time. Many other cities of the Orthodox world would consider copies or variants of the image to be their protectors, and icons representing the Triumph of Orthodoxy would often display the Hodegetria image (cats. 78, 79, 195). The power attributed to the icon would also be seen in the many copies of it found, and painted, far beyond the borders of the empire in the Latin-speaking West (see the essays by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff and by Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication and cats. 77, 86, 287, 303, and 342).[8] When the last of the Palaiologoi fell with the city in 1453, the Virgin Hodegetria was among the first works to be destroyed by the Ottomans.[9]

From 1261 the Palaiologoi sought to reestablish Constantinople's role as the preeminent capital of the Christian East. Churches that had been taken over for the Latin rite were returned to Orthodox use and decorated for liturgical use and burials (see the essays by Slobodan Ćurčić and Sarah Brooks in this publication and cats. 49, 50, 53–57). At Hagia Sophia, with the Latin patriarch departed, a magnificent mosaic of the Deesis was installed in the south aisle of the church's gallery (fig. 1.3), possibly for the coronation of Michael VIII.[10] This monumental image movingly displays the standard Byzantine theme of Christ between the Virgin and John the Forerunner (the Baptist), who raise their hands toward him in the Byzantine prayer gesture on behalf of mankind. The gracefully modeled figures recall the classical images of earlier eras of Byzantine greatness. Manuscripts produced throughout the Byzantine sphere during the empire's last centuries also often contain images that evoke past glory (see the essay by John Lowden in this publication and cats. 159–161, 165). The revived patronage of the arts under the Palaiologoi led to the increasing popularity of relatively new media, such as miniature mosaic and large steatite icons (see the essay by Arne Effenberger in this publication and the catalogue entries that accompany it, including cats. 129, 130, 133, 136, 137, 140, 143), and to the development of new styles. Most exceptional among these styles is a figure type in which voluminous folds of fabric envelop often apparently weightless bodies (for examples, see cats. 103, 109, 163, 164, 166–170, 204).

As the new dynasty sought to regain control of imperial lands, the empire's weakened condition encouraged rivals for power. The complex interweaving of political currents between 1261 and 1557 cannot be fully addressed in this brief essay, as Greeks, Cypriots, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Russians, Wallachians, Moravians, Armenians, Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Franks, Germans, Seljuks, Mongols, Mamlūks, Ottomans, and others jostled for power in ever-changing military, trade, and marital alliances within the borders of the earlier, more extensive Byzantine world.[11] Through these rivalries every region of the imperial sphere was constantly receiving, and dispersing, new and often varied artistic and intellectual stimuli. In the thirteenth century, several Orthodox centers sought to achieve for themselves the imperial and ecclesiastical authority of Constantinople, as did a number of small Latin-ruled states. Each encouraged the arts, to ensure that its capital appropriately reflected its ruler's ambitions. Nicaea, in Asia Minor, where the first Ecumenical Council of the Christian Church was called by the emperor Constantine the Great in 325, succeeded in becoming the capital in exile after 1204. Nicaea fell to Osman, the founder of the Ottoman Turkish state, in 1331, but Trebizond, an important port on the Black Sea, remained under

Fig. 1.4. View of the Late Byzantine settlement of Mistra, Greece, 13th to 15th century.
Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

the rule of a branch of an earlier imperial dynasty, the Komnenoi, until 1461 (cats. 12, 32, 74, 256).[12]

After Constantinople, the second city of the empire was Thessalonike, in Greece, a major trading center critical to the ambitions of all who wished to control the Balkans. Thessalonike was protected by the late-third-century martyr Saint Demetrios, who was widely venerated in the Byzantine world (cats. 21, 121, 125, 139, 141, 142). The city's wealth and ambition are reflected in the numerous churches built there during the empire's last centuries and in its extensive patronage of the arts (see the essay by Slobodan Ćurčić in this publication and, among others, cats. 12E, 12I, 12J, 36, 45, 47, 82, 84, 85, 102, 115, 120, 187). Thessalonike sought to remain loyal to Constantinople and to the great Orthodox monastic center of Mount Athos but was dominated at various times both directly and indirectly by the Serbian state, the Venetians, and the Catalans; yet it would be 1430 before it was overtaken by the emerging Ottoman Empire. The despotate of Epiros in central Greece flourished briefly as an independent Orthodox rival to Constantinople before falling to a succession of conquerors, including Serbs, Italians, and ultimately the Ottoman Turks in the mid-fifteenth century (cats. 9, 16, 34, 35, 42).[13] On the western shore of the Peloponnesos in the south of Greece, the Frankish Crusader principality of Achaia would rival its Greek neighbors into the late fourteenth century. To its east, the Frankish Crusader state established in the Morea fell to forces loyal to Constantinople in 1262. From Mistra, the capital, the Byzantines ruled the region until 1460. After 1383 Mistra was ruled by a member of the Palaiologos family in Constantinople, and it was thus the last vestige of the *basileia ton Rhomaion* to fall to the Ottomans (fig. 1.4; cats. 18, 19, 33, 37–39, 48).[14]

Fig. 1.5. John VI Kantakouzenos as emperor and monk, from the *Theological Works of John VI Kantakouzenos* (cat. 171, fol. 123v). Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment, Constantinople, 1370–75. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris

Fig. 1.6. Katholikon of the Holy Monastery of Rousanou, Meteora, Greece, 1545. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Peoples of the Byzantine sphere, who had been under the authority of Constantinople or its church, increasingly sought to supplant the power and prestige of Byzantium during the empire's last centuries. Rulers of Georgia, Armenian Cilicia, Bulgaria, and Serbia began to be portrayed wearing the loros, the long cloth draped around the body, once the exclusive prerogative of the emperor in Constantinople and of the archangels of heaven when depicted in imperial dress (figs. 1.1, 1.5; cats. 1, 5, 13, 27, 83).[15] By 1200 the ruler of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia had received a king's crown from the West.[16] Stefan Nemanja the First-Crowned (r. 1217–27) received a crown for Serbia in 1217 through Pope Honorius III (r. 1216–27).[17] The authority of these royal titles forced the Byzantine court to be aware of the new rank of these states, thus ensuring recognition of their greater independence. Cults that developed around local saints, including Saint John of Rila (cat. 114) in Bulgaria, Saint Nino in Georgia, and Saint Sava (cat. 119) in Serbia, were often encouraged, to further the autonomy of these new states. Saint Sava (1175–1235), brother of the Serbian king Stefan Nemanja the First-Crowned and the first autocephalous archbishop of Serbia, was thus promoted as the protector of his family's dynasty, the Nemanjids, and of the state it controlled.[18]

The Second Bulgarian Empire, which began in 1188 when the state regained its independence from Byzantium, would be most powerful when allied with Nicaea before the restoration of Byzantine rule to Constantinople. The continuing ambitions of the state are clearly evident in the donor portrait of Czar Ivan Alexander (r. 1331–71), a great patron of the arts, and his family, in his Gospels of 1356 (cat. 27); they are depicted standing proudly in Byzantine imperial dress. While the Bulgarian state

was threatened to its northwest by the ambitions of Hungary and to its west by Serbia, it would last until 1393, when it was overwhelmed by the tide of Turkish forces flowing from the east (cats. 10, 11, 117, 120, 126, 188).[19]

A civil war in Byzantium between 1341 and 1347 elevated the able leader John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54) to the imperial throne (figs. 1.5, 1.11). At the same time, the chaos of the conflicting alliances of the period encouraged Serbian expansion (cat. 13, 17, 20, 23, 40, 41, 43, 59, 61, 76, 122, 158, 179, 182, 185, 189). King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321) extended his rule to the south, conquering much of Macedonia. Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–55) subsequently consolidated Serbian power so successfully that he was crowned at Skopje in 1346 as "basileus and autokrator of Serbia and Romania" in Greek, and in Slavic "czar of the Serbs and Greeks" (cat. 92). In 1334 he had acquired Ohrid, which had previously been fought over by Byzantium, the Bulgarian state, and the despotate of Epiros (cats. 99, 111, 153, 154).[20]

In 1348 Ioannina in Epiros came under the unpopular Serbian rule of Thomas Preljubović (r. 1366/67–84), extending Serbian influence to the monasteries at Meteora in Greece (fig. 1.6; cats. 24, 110).[21] Most Serbian-dominated territory, after putting up strong resistance, succumbed to the Ottoman Turks in the 1390s. The Battle of Kosovo (at Kosovo Polje, the Field of Blackbirds) in 1389, during which Prince Lazar fell (cat. 193), sealed Serbia's fate as a vassal state of the Ottomans. Yet even under the Ottomans, Serbia remained for a time a powerful minor state, for its silver mines made it wealthy (cat. 26). In 1557 one of the greatest of the grand viziers of the Ottoman court, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, of Serbian origin, assisted in the revival of the Serbian patriarchate (cats. 65, 254).[22] Christians in other parts of regions once under Serbian control would not lose all their wealth either, as indicated by the elegant sixteenth-century enkolpion of Arsenios, metropolitan of Serres, a town that was taken by the Ottomans in 1383 (cats. 22, 25, 149).[23]

Northeast of Byzantium, Georgia developed increasingly close ties to the Komnenian dynasty that ruled Trebizond to the west (fig. 1.7), while falling under Islamic influence from its east. Through its church, Georgia maintained contacts with the Orthodox world (cats. 75, 175, 228, 256).[24] South of Byzantium, the rulers of the kingdom of Armenian Cilicia on the border with Syria became more and more influential in the thirteenth century, as they controlled major trade routes to China through their alliance with the Mongols (cats. 30, 71, 72, 156, 173, 174). Even as Armenia's power declined in the fourteenth century, its port city of Ayas (present-day Yumurtalik) continued to be one of the important routes to the East.[25] From there, Marco Polo set forth in about 1270 on his voyage to China, following a path already established by the mendicant order of Franciscans.[26]

In this era of intense competition for power, the Church increasingly became the force that united the disparate peoples of the Byzantine sphere. In the East the Church had always encouraged the use of native languages for the liturgy. As early as the fifth century, the Armenians and Georgians had developed their own alphabets for the translation of religious texts.[27] In the mid-ninth century, Saint Constantine (Cyril) the Philosopher (826/7–869) developed the Glagolitic alphabet and the literary language Church Slavonic to assist in the conversion of the Slavs.[28] Even as Orthodox states that rivaled Byzantium for power established their own church hierarchies, they remained under the authority of the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople.[29] All the Orthodox churches were included in the prayers offered by the ecumenical patriarch in Hagia Sophia. In turn the leaders of these churches included the patriarch in their prayers and displayed their connection to the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople through their patronage of the arts.

Thus it is not surprising that there are stylistic and iconographic similarities among the church buildings, icons, manuscripts, vestments, and other works of art produced by the rivals for power within the Byzantine sphere. The exaggeratedly volumetric figures typical of Palaiologan paintings are found not only in works produced in Constantinople (cats. 73,

Fig. 1.7. Two-sided icon with the Trapezuntine emperor Alexios III Komnenos and Saint John the Forerunner (front). Tempera on wood, 1349–90. The Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 1.8. View of the merchants' city, medieval Novgorod, Russia. Photo: Bruce White

103, 109, 112, 171) but also in images from throughout the Orthodox world (cats. 99, 111, 117, 124, 164, 166–168, 237, 317). Even in Armenian Cilicia, where the Armenian church had long been independent of Constantinople, the new Palaiologan style of painting can be found, especially in works for the royal court.[30] Icons and their elaborate metal revetments or covers, liturgical objects, and ecclesiastical textiles would often be related stylistically and theologically across the Byzantine sphere, from Cyprus and Crete to Russia, the emerging Orthodox power in the north (see the essays by Anna Ballian, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Jannic Durand, and Warren Woodfin in this publication and accompanying catalogue entries, including cats. 4, 60, 62–67, 70, 125, 150–155, 157, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183–186, 190, 191, 199).

The Rus' had been converted to Orthodox Christianity in their capital at Kiev, now in Ukraine, in 988. When that city fell to the Mongols in 1240, political and religious power moved north, where a number of important small political powers developed. Russia's first native-born saints, Boris and Gleb, princes of Kievan Rus', would be among the saints seen as protectors of these states and their rulers (cats. 28, 155). Among the new centers of power were Novgorod (fig. 1.8), with ties to the West through its Baltic trade routes (cats. 66, 67, 79, 191), and Pskov (cat. 46). The transfer of the metropolitan Peter, the ranking prelate of the Russian church, from Vladimir to Moscow in 1326 and the victory of Prince Dmitri Donskoy (r. 1359–89) over the Tatars (Mongols from the East) at the Battle of Kulikovo in 1380 made Moscow increasingly the dominant state in the north (cats. 87, 88, 192). In the mid-fourteenth century, Moscow sent money to aid in the restoration of the great Church of Hagia Sophia after a devastating earthquake; with awe Russian pilgrims to Constantinople described its grandeur. By the end of the century, however, Czar Vasily I (r. 1389–1425) considered the Byzantine emperor a man without a state and

Fig. 1.9. *The Virgin of Vladimir*. Tempera on panel, Kievan Rus', 11th to 12th century. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 1.10. View of the Docheiariou Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece, 1083–1108

sought to remove him from the prayers of the Russian Church. With reluctance Vasily yielded to the urgings of the ecumenical patriarch Antonios IV (r. 1389–90, 1391–97) and allowed the emperor's name to remain. A continuing desire to possess the authority of Constantinople would result in the marriage of Czar Ivan III (r. 1462–1505) to Sophia Palaiologina, niece of the last Byzantine emperor, in 1472, thus providing Moscow with a legal claim by marriage to rule the New Rome.[31]

With the conversion of Rus', Byzantine icons were transported north. Among the most famous of these is the Virgin of Vladimir (fig. 1.9), which, having been taken from Kiev to Suzdal' and Vladimir, was moved to Moscow in 1395 to successfully protect it from the ravages of the Turko-Mongol ruler Timur (Tamerlane; 1336–1405). The miracle-working powers of this and other icons would inspire many copies, as well as uniquely Russian variants on their themes (cats. 86, 88, 89, 101, 104, 106, 123). In addition, Byzantine artists, such as Theophanes (Feofan) the Greek, went north to work; their images influenced later generations of Russian artists, among them Andrei Rublev (cat. 113). He in turn inspired other artists, like Dionysius, who worked at many sites including the important late-fourteenth-century monastery of Saint Cyril of Belozersk (see the discussion preceding cat. 196 as well as cats. 105, 108, 144, 167, 196–200). However, even as Russia was developing its own traditions, its church remained strongly influenced by movements within the Orthodox Church, especially hesychasm ("quietude"; a movement whose followers sought communion with God through contemplation), which reached the land through Mount Athos and via refugees from the Balkans.

As Byzantine rule from Constantinople increasingly disintegrated into intense competition for the mantle of its power among its various constituencies, one of the most important unifying factors for the Orthodox world was Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain, west of Constantinople in the north of Greece (figs. 1.7, 1.10, 3.6; cats. 81, 109, 118, 168, 170). Anchorite monks, who pursued lives of individual asceticism, began assembling there about 800. Cenobitic monasticism (a type of communal monastic life followed by Orthodox monks) arrived there by the mid-tenth century (cats. 31, 80). Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–69) established the Great Lavra, the peninsula's preeminent monastery, in 963. The Holy Mountain remained under imperial control until 1312, when it was made subordinate to the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople, the most stable element in the empire.[32]

By the end of the fourteenth century, many of the peninsula's other most important monasteries were in existence. Iveron, a Georgian monastery that came to be shared with the Greeks, was a significant center of cultural interchange between the two peoples (cat. 175).[33] Zographou, dedicated to Saint George, was under the control of Bulgarian monks from the thirteenth century; it would be patronized extensively by Czar Ivan Alexander (cat. 1).[34] Later, Stephan the Great of Moldavia (r. 1457–1504), whose Orthodox state had achieved independence from Hungary about 1360, would be a major patron of Zographou during his country's era of greatest artistic achievement (for two of his gifts, see cats. 69, 194).[35] Vatopedi, with Iveron the second most important of the peninsula's monasteries, would briefly house Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), who would become a fervent defender of hesychasm (cat. 135).[36]

Stefan I Nemanja, founder of the Nemanjid dynasty of Serbia, revived the Hilandar Monastery at Mount Athos in 1198–99, and he retired there as the monk Symeon (d. 1199). His son Sava, who was to become the patron saint of the Serbs, also lived there. Under the generous patronage of the Nemanjid dynasty, the monastery would become a notable center of religious art and architecture (see the essay by Slobodan Ćurčić in this publication).[37] Monks from Rus' revived Panteleemon in the twelfth century. It would be one of the important links in

Russia's intellectual and artistic exchange with Byzantium (cats. 81, 118).[38] The joint rule of the peninsula by the monasteries ensured that these communities were aware of each other's theological positions and artistic patronage. Their many properties off the peninsula also ensured the transfer of these ideas and images far beyond the Holy Mountain. As the region increasingly fell under the domination of the Ottomans, the monasteries of Mount Athos continued to be vital centers of religious life, with many monasteries established in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, including the Pantokrator, Dionysiou, and Gregoriou monasteries.[39]

The role of Mount Athos as a center of the Orthodox world was enhanced when the Holy Mountain became the defender of hesychasm. The monk Gregory (1255–1337), originally of the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, Egypt, is among those said to have brought the Jesus prayer ("Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me") to Mount Athos, where it became widely popular. The writings of Gregory Palamas a generation later were the major defense of hesychasm against Barlaam of Calabria (1290–1348), a southern Italian, Greek-speaking monk strongly opposed to the contemplative movement. Palamas, as archbishop of Thessalonike (1347–59), participated in the synod of 1351 called by Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, which endorsed hesychasm (fig. 1.11). Hesychasts believed that ceaseless repetition of the Jesus prayer while using special breathing techniques enabled one to have a vision of the light that surrounded Christ on Mount Tabor at the Transfiguration (Matthew 17:1–8, Mark 9:2–8, Luke 9:28–36). This vision is perhaps best reproduced in the Transfiguration image in Kantakouzenos's theological works (cat. 171).[40]

During the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire, the Monastery of Saint Catherine at the foot of Mount Sinai was also a major intellectual and artistic center housing outstanding works by Orthodox artists (see the essay by Archbishop Damianos in this publication and cats. 201–242). Pilgrims are recorded coming to the site—where Moses is thought to have seen God in the Burning Bush and to have received the tablets of the Law, the Ten Commandments—as early as the fourth century. With the rise of Islam in the mid-seventh century, the monastery was no longer under imperial control, but it remained a major force in the Byzantine sphere, producing important Orthodox theologians like Saint John Klimax (cat. 239). The monastery at Sinai was also famous as the site where the remains of Saint Catherine of Alexandria were carried by angels (cat. 201).[41] Depictions of her arrival at Sinai are found in Western art (cats. 296, 297) and on tombstones as far east as China during the era covered by our exhibition (fig. 1.12).[42]

Throughout the Crusader period and beyond, Western pilgrims joined the Orthodox faithful at the Monastery of Saint Catherine. The change of the monastery's previous name to honor Saint Catherine may be related to the popularity of the saint among Western pilgrims (see cat. 296). Among the icons at Sinai are ones datable to the late thirteenth century that

Fig. 1.11. John VI Kantakouzenos presiding over the Council of Constantinople in 1351, from the *Theological Works of John VI Kantakouzenos* (cat. 171, fol. 5v). Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment, Constantinople, ca. 1370–75. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris

closely resemble contemporary Crusader and Italian images (including cats. 216, 223, 224, 229, 233, 288). These Crusader icons, as they are called, certainly exemplify one of the means by which images moved back and forth between the Orthodox and the Catholic worlds; specific works taken from Sinai are also known to have influenced the Church in the West. Most important is the mosaic icon of Christ as the Man of Sorrows that was transported to Rome in the late fourteenth century, where it became a highly venerated image (cat. 131). Variations on the Byzantine-inspired depiction of the dead Christ as the Man of Sorrows ultimately were widely produced not only in the West but also in Russia (cats. 97, 98, 329–332).

Other works attributed to Sinai demonstrate Byzantine connections to the Islamic world. One, an amulet roll displaying the story of Abgar, king of Edessa, receiving a towel displaying the face of Christ (cats. 218, 265), is written in Greek and Arabic. The towel, one of the important relics of Constantinople, was also a significant image in Russian and Western art (see the essay by Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication and cats. 95, 333, 335). Christian communities long within the Islamic sphere, such as the Copts, the Syrians, the Ethiopians, and the Armenians in Greater Armenia, perpetuated traditional Christian iconog-

raphy in their art, while adding motifs, and at times formats, that reflected the Islamic styles around them (see the essay by Thelma K. Thomas in this publication and cats. 68, 116, 259–264, 266, 267, 269–271, 278). By the late fifteenth century, the combination of Byzantine and Islamic forms extended even into royal dress, as seen on the epitaphios of the wife of the Moldavian ruler Stephan the Great, where she is shown in a Byzantine-inspired crown and an Ottoman-patterned garment (cat. 29). Islamic states in turn adapted motifs and images from the Christian minorities within their borders for use in Islamic contexts, including scenes from the life of Christ as models for representations of the life of the Prophet (cats. 244, 245, 257, 258).[43]

The concluding centuries of Orthodox rule in Constantinople were marked by the loss of more and more Christian territory to the Islamic rule of the Seljuks, Mongols, and Turks of the East. When Constantinople ultimately fell on May 29, 1453, to the Ottoman ruler Mehmed II (r. 1451–81) (cat. 247), it was said that the skies wept.[44] With the defeat, the *basileia ton Rhomaion* as a Christian state ended. The great Church of Hagia Sophia became a mosque (cats. 246, 248, 249). Earlier, the Seljuks had recognized the importance of their conquest of territories of the *basileia ton Rhomaion* by naming their new state carved from those lands the Sultanate of Rūm (the Romans) (see the essay by Scott Redford in this publication and cat. 243).[45] Now the Ottomans too sought to recognize their state as the continuation of the *basileia ton Rhomaion*. Mehmed II maintained the official name of the city as Constantinople.[46] The son of a Christian woman, he is known to have collected icons and relics.[47] He had himself depicted in the style of a Roman emperor on medals that continued the tradition established with Pisanello's representation of John VIII Palaiologos (cats. 321, 322). Mehmed also sought out Byzantine texts and scholars, including Kritoboulos of Imbros, who wrote a *History of the Mehmed Conqueror* (cat. 251).[48] Some who served him, like the Palaiologos Chars Murad, would convert to Islam.[49] Into the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), there would still be discussion of reestablishing one rule over the Mediterranean basin by reuniting the two Romes. In 1531 Paolo Giovio wrote that Süleyman wished to be recognized as a legitimate successor of Constantine the Great, who had transferred the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople.[50] Yet Süleyman would do little to preserve the monuments of New Rome (cats. 253, 328).

Fig. 1.12. The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine, detail of a gravestone of Katerina Vilionis. Carved stone rubbing, Yangzhou, China, 1342. By permission of the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco

The new Ottoman rulers did not destroy the Orthodox Church but increasingly isolated it as they sought to pacify those they had conquered. In Thessalonike, which was taken by the Ottomans in 1430, the church dedicated to the city's martyr-saint Demetrios was not converted into a mosque until 1490.[51] The Pantokrator mosaic in the dome of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople remained on view into the seventeenth century.[52] Soon after the conquest, in 1454, Mehmed II installed as patriarch of the Orthodox Church the notable theologian Gennadios II Scholarios (1400/05–1472), who had been enslaved during the sack of Constantinople. The Church was made a department of state and also the representative of the Orthodox Christian community. Gennadios, who attended the Council of Ferrara-Florence of 1438–39, came strongly to oppose union with the Western Church. The contemporary historian Doukas (ca. 1400–ca. 1462) quoted Gennadios as allying himself with Grand Duke Loukas Notaras (r. 1449–53), who is supposed to have said, as the Turkish army massed before the walls of Constantinople prior to its fall, "It would be better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in the center of the City than the Latin mitre."[53] Despite limited official recognition, however, the Orthodox Church became more and more impoverished, as state taxes now supported the building of mosques. Further, Christians within the Ottoman Empire could be executed for not behaving properly to their conquerors, as recorded in a colophon in a Byzantine psalter (cat. 255).[54]

The Byzantine objection to the Latin tiara had its source in the centuries of tension between the Church of Rome and that of Constantinople.[55] As a result of the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade and the rule of the city by the Latin Kingdom until 1261, many of the city's greatest relics were taken to the West. The relic of the Holy Blood treasured in Bruges, in Flanders, is thought to have been sent by the first Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, to his daughter Jeanne, countess of Flanders.[56] The most precious Byzantine relics, kept in the Holy Chapel of the imperial palace, were acquired by King Louis IX of France (r. 1226–70; canonized 1297) from his cousin Baldwin II of Courtenay (r. 1228–61), the last of the Latin rulers (cat. 272). When the relics of Christ's Passion—the Crown of Thorns, the holy sponge and the lance, and portions of the True Cross—arrived in Paris in 1241, Louis built the luminous Sainte-Chapelle (Holy Chapel) to provide them with a setting surpassing that in which they had been housed in Constantinople.[57] Other relics and icons taken to the West were also given special honor, and in some cases they inspired copies by Western artists (see the essays by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff and by Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication and cats. 95, 127, 131, 132, 138, 282, 289, 302, 312, 329–341, 343, 345, 346, 350–355).

Fig. 1.13. Altar cloth with scenes from the Life and Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence. Silk embroidered with polychrome silk threads, ca. 1261. Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa

The fall of the Latin Kingdom did not mean the end of Byzantine contacts with the Church of Rome. Some of the Crusader states or their Latin churches remained active in the East (cats. 273, 300). The Lusignan dynasty successfully ruled Cyprus into the fifteenth century (cat. 91).[58] Long after Constantinople was restored to Orthodox rule, there would be claimants to the Latin emperor's rights and to the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople (cat. 298).[59] The mendicant orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans came to the East in the early thirteenth century. Ordered by Pope Innocent IV to seek to convert the Mongols, they remained a significant force in the region for centuries, taking Byzantine images back to the West and introducing Western images in the East (see the essay by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff in this publication and cats. 275, 276, 278–281, 283, 290–295, 311, 344.2).[60]

Councils of Union were sought between various of the Eastern Christian churches and Rome during these centuries, usually in an attempt in the East to obtain military support from the West against the increasing threat of various Islamic states. In 1254, through the efforts of the Franciscans, the Armenians of Cilicia agreed to union with Rome. Images related to Franciscan texts soon appeared in Cilician manuscripts produced at the Armenian patriarchate at Hṙomkla on the Euphrates River (cat. 173).[61] In 1274 Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos consented to union with Rome at the Second Council of Lyons. While the union was not a success, it is said to have enabled Michael VIII to thwart the king of Sicily's ambition to take Constantinople (cats. 282, 284, 285).[62]

Emperor John VIII Palaiologos journeyed to Ferrara and Florence with an immense retinue in 1438–39 to sign papers of union in the hope of military aid against the Ottomans. His impressive figure and the accomplishments of those who accompanied him inspired Renaissance artists and scholars in the West (cats. 318–321, 323). The Islamic motifs embellishing the Byzantine emperor's wardrobe, noted in drawings by Pisanello, may reflect the fact that by that date he had been forced to become a vassal of the Ottomans (cat. 318).[63] In the end, this union, too, was a failure. John's citizens and other Orthodox peoples, including the Russians, intensely rejected it, and the desired military support from the West was not forthcoming.[64] Yet even with the failure of efforts for union of the two churches and with the fall of the empire, the Orthodox Church continued to be aware of religious debates in the West. As the issue of the legitimacy of images raged in Europe during the Reformation (see cat. 348), the monks of Mount Athos made their own statement in support of icons. For the first time, images of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, the church feast celebrating restoration of the veneration of icons, appeared as part of the decoration of various sites on the Holy Mountain.[65]

In the same period, Italian mercantile city-states, including Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, came to dominate the commercial life of the eastern Mediterranean (cats. 299, 304–306). Among the first acts of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in the 1260s was renewal of a trade agreement with Genoa, and one of his gifts to the Genoese was a handsome altar cloth depicting the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence (fig. 1.13).[66] After centuries in which the empire's coinage had set the standard for Mediterranean commerce, Venice's coinage was now the most valued (cat. 313). In 1204 Venice acquired Crete, where a cosmopolitan Byzantine-Italian culture developed. Icon painters worked in both the Byzantine and Western iconographic traditions and styles, according to the specific commission (see the essays by Maria Georgopoulou and Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication and cats. 94, 121, 125, 247, 250, 308).[67] After the fall of Constantinople, Crete continued to be an important artistic and intellectual center, producing such painters as Michael Damaskenos and Domenikos Theotokopoulos, who as El Greco (the Greek) would achieve fame in Italy and Spain (cats. 241, 242, 309, 310). Venice housed refugees from the Byzantine Empire, who found a protector there in Anna Palaiologina Notaras, daughter of Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, who was executed by the Turks after the fall of Constantinople (cat. 307).[68]

During the final centuries of the empire and beyond its fall, learned figures, rulers, priests, merchants—both Christian and Muslim—recognized the importance of the manuscripts housed in Byzantine collections and sought to preserve them (see the essay by Robert S. Nelson in this publication and

cats. 176, 326, 327).[69] In the fourteenth century, major libraries of texts were known at many sites within the empire, among them the Chora Monastery in Constantinople, supported by the scholar and statesman Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), who spent time there.[70] Demetrios Kydones (ca. 1324–1398) translated into Greek the writings of Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas, making these great authors of the Latin Church widely available in the East.[71] In the late fourteenth century, there was a revival of classical learning in Mistra. One of its leading figures, George Gemistos Plethon (1360–1452), encouraged a new interest in the classical philosophers, especially Plato, and formulated a revival of worship of ancient Hellenistic gods. Plethon accompanied Emperor John VIII Palaiologos to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, where his lectures on Plato are thought to have inspired Cosimo de' Medici's founding of the Platonic Academy. Plethon's interest in classical learning had its greatest impact on the West through his students, especially Bessarion (ca. 1403–1472), a native of Trebizond, who would leave the Orthodox Church to become a cardinal of the Church of Rome, twice a candidate for pope, and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople from 1463 (cats. 324, 325).[72] These men increasingly came to describe themselves and their world using not only the traditional term "Roman" but also "Hellene," which had long been considered a pejorative characterization of an unsophisticated, often pagan, person. In the fourteenth century Theodore Metochites wrote of citizens of Byzantium as being "participants in, and the successor to, the race and language [of the ancient] Greeks." Plethon, at the end of imperial rule, addressed the emperor, saying, "We, whom you lead and rule, are Hellenes in race, as our language and traditional education testify."[73]

As the empire had, from its founding, an unbroken tradition of learning through the study of the classics, its last centuries did not represent a renaissance (rebirth) of classical knowledge. Rather, the era is characterized by exportation to the West of this knowledge and of the Greek language and texts in which it was contained. Men like Manuel Chrysoloras were both teachers of Greek and ambassadors of the empire to European courts (cat. 314). The manuscripts that reached the West were not limited to classical writings from the ancient past but also included scientific works long studied in Byzantium that would be important for the development of medicine in Italy and France (cats. 2, 315, 316).[74]

In the arts, Italian and other European sources were most interested in Byzantine works that could be considered connected to the earliest history of the Church. Depictions of the Virgin and Child were especially prized for their presumed association with the images of the Holy Family believed to have been painted from life by Saint Luke. One image associated with the legend was Constantinople's icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, which represents an early iconographic tradition (see the essay by Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication).[75] Those who acquired these images were rarely aware of, or interested in, their more recent history within the traditions of Orthodox iconography as it is understood by the modern art historian. Thus a fourteenth-century miniature mosaic with an intimate portrait of the Virgin and Child of an iconographic type dating back to no earlier than the Middle Byzantine period is carefully identified by a Latin inscription in a fifteenth-century hand as the image painted by Saint Luke that led to the conversion of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (cat. 128).[76]

Three dates define the centuries covered in this exhibition: 1261, 1453, and 1557. In 1261 the capital of the empire of the Romans, Constantinople, was returned to Orthodox hands. In 1453 the great city and thus its state fell to the Ottoman Turks, who made Constantinople the capital of their own new empire. Under Ottoman rule, the city also came to be called Istanbul (a corruption of the Greek phrase "to the city"). In 1557 memory of the power of the *basileia ton Rhomaion* was transformed, as a new name—Byzantium—was given to the state. While its citizens did not know the state by this name during the era represented by the exhibition, the name effectively evokes a key characteristic of the empire's closing centuries, its return to the Greek roots of the city where its capital had been established. This new name acknowledged the classical heritage upon which the state had been built, although it did not recognize the empire's political power as claimant to the authority of the Roman Empire. As the Byzantine Empire lost its power, its art and faith flourished—a lasting monument to its citizens, whether "Romans" or "Hellenes."

PERA

S. Dnicus

S. Franciscus

Sauros

ursus

Vlacher ma.

Apostoli

S. Sophia

S. Andreas

S. Demetrius

ursus ut Continuly

Revival and Decline: Voices from the Byzantine Capital

ALICE-MARY TALBOT

Revival of Power: The Restoration of Constantinople

> *The emperor [Michael VIII] entered the Golden Gate [of Constantinople] in a godly rather than an imperial manner. For he walked on foot, with the icon of the Mother of God preceding him . . . and the throng of Romans was filled with good cheer and gladness and boundless joy; and everyone was leaping about and rejoicing and scarcely believing in the outcome on account of the unexpected nature of the event.*[1]
>
> —GEORGE AKROPOLITES
> thirteenth-century statesman and historian

Thus was witnessed the ineffable joy of the Byzantines upon the ceremonial entry of the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82) into Constantinople (fig. 2.2; cat. 6). The date was August 15, 1261, the feast day of the Dormition of the Virgin, which followed by a few weeks the unanticipated recovery of the imperial capital from the Latins. An oppressive heat wave did little to dampen the spirits of the populace as they welcomed Michael after fifty-seven years of foreign occupation, initiated by the conquest and devastation of the Fourth Crusade (1204).

Without delay Michael set about the restoration of the depopulated city, many of whose buildings had been destroyed by fire or damaged by years of neglect and deferred maintenance.[2] He repaired the fortification walls (fig. 2.1) and refurbished the imperial palaces and Cathedral of Hagia Sophia (fig. 1.2). He even sponsored the reconstruction of a mosque for the use of Muslim merchants and envoys. The Mamlūk sultan Baybars I (r. 1260–77) subsequently sent gifts to furnish and beautify the mosque, including rush mats, golden chandeliers, embroidered curtains, censers, carpets, aloes wood, amber, and rose water.[3]

Private patrons shared in the work of reconstruction, in an attempt to restore the capital to its magnificence of old and to ensure the salvation of their souls through sponsorship of church construction and donations of liturgical vessels, vestments, and books. These members of the imperial family and nobility, whose wealth was primarily based on rural properties and other forms of real estate, commissioned works of art and architecture of extraordinary quality, resulting in what has been termed by some scholars the "Palaiologan renaissance." Preeminent among such aristocratic patrons was Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), a statesman and scholar who paid for the renovation of the monastic Church of the Chora in Constantinople (fig. 2.3), including installation of new mosaic programs in the two narthexes and a funerary chapel covered with superb fresco painting appropriately relating to the Resurrection of Christ and the Last Judgment (see fig. 3.18). As he wrote in a letter, "This monastery [of Chora] has meant more than anything in the world to me; it is so now and will be in the time to come. It was a work of noble love for things good

Fig. 2.1. Map of Constantinople (cat. 250). Cristoforo Buondelmonti, colored ink on vellum, 1420. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice

Fig. 2.2. Seal of Michael VIII holding the Icon of the Virgin with the Christ Child medallion at her chest, obverse (cat. 6). Lead, 1261–62. Numismatic Museum, Athens

Fig. 2.3. Theodore Metochites presenting a model of the Church of the Chora to Christ, from the inner narthex, Church of the Chora. Mosaic, Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), Constantinople, 1316–21. Dumbarton Oaks Photo and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C. Photo: Carroll Wales

and beautiful, and assured a truly secure profit and wealth for the soul."[4]

Metochites also amassed luxury furnishings and adornments for his house and household that attest to his wealth; in a poem he boasted of "lovely golden-bound works of pearls and gems . . . rings and girdles . . . mantles woven with golden knots, with beauteous golden stitchwork . . . with fastening closures . . . which had pearls and gems. So much for feminine attire. In addition there were yet other uses of gold and silver as precious vessels for meat and drink, also silver hand basins and like ones for the feet."[5]

The Continuing Lure of Constantinople

The body of the church [of Hagia Sophia] is the loftiest, most rich, and most beautiful that can be seen in the whole world . . . so great is the edifice, and the wonderful works in the church are so numerous, that they take a long time to see.

[The Tree of Jesse at the Peribleptos church] was figured in mosaic; and was so wonderful, so rich, and so well drawn, that it surpassed all the other works.[6]

—RUY GONZÁLEZ DE CLAVIJO,
Castilian envoy to Constantinople in 1403

The revived capital, given a second lease on life, continued to draw visitors from all directions of the compass. Constantinople's greatest attractions were its churches and relics. Although much of the fabric of the city was in decay, many of its famous ecclesiastical buildings, some a millennium old, were still resplendent and dazzled visitors with their golden ceilings and rich decoration of marble and mosaic. The Spanish traveler Pero Tafur commented in 1437/38 that "the circuit [of Hagia Sophia, originally built in the sixth century] is for the most part badly kept, but the church itself is in such fine state that it seems to-day to have only just been finished" (see cat. 246).[7] Visitors were awed by the vast interior spaces and soaring dome of Hagia Sophia (fig. 2.4), as well as by the green and red stone columns and the meticulous workmanship of the mosaics found in other churches.

Now in the monastery at Mangana are all the Savior's Passion relics: the purple robe, the blood, the spear, the reed, the sponge, and part of [His] beard. There is a multitude of holy relics in this monastery.[8]

—ALEXANDER THE CLERK,
Russian pilgrim to Constantinople
in the late fourteenth century

For pilgrims, especially those from Rus', it was the extraordinary array of relics that warranted a journey to Byzantium. Despite the pillaging of the Fourth Crusade, many precious relics of Christ's Passion remained to be seen in Constantinople, as well as the arm bone of Saint John the Baptist, the robe and girdle of the Virgin Mary, and the relics of countless other saints, so that it took many days to visit all the shrines of the city. As Stephen of Novgorod commented in the mid-fourteenth century, "Entering Constantinople is like [entering] a great forest; it is impossible to get around without a good guide, and if you attempt to get around stingily or cheaply you will not be able to see or kiss a single saint unless it happens to be the holiday of that saint when [you can] see and kiss [the relics]."[9]

People were drawn to Constantinople for other reasons, too: for trade, diplomacy, and scholarly endeavors. Because of its

ideal geographic location at the crossroads between Europe and Asia, between the Black and the Aegean seas, Constantinople continued to play a major role in international trade, although commerce was now primarily in the hands of Italians rather than Greeks. Ambassadors still came to seek an audience with the emperor, and a few scholars made their way to the imperial city to learn Greek or in search of manuscripts.

Constantinople: Crossroad of Cultures

> *[The suburb of Pera] is reserved for the Christians of the Franks dwelling there. They are of different kinds, including Genoese, Venetians, men of Rome and people of France.*[10]
>
> —IBN BAṬṬŪṬA,
> fourteenth-century Arab traveler to
> Constantinople

> *[Pera] is a place of much traffic in goods brought from the Black Sea, as well as from the West, and from Syria and Egypt, so that everyone is wealthy.*[11]
>
> —PERO TAFUR,
> fifteenth-century Spanish traveler

It was not only visitors from abroad who gave Constantinople such a cosmopolitan flavor in the Palaiologan period; the city itself was home to a diverse ethnic population in addition to its core of Greeks. From the mid-thirteenth century, Pera (also called Galata), across the Golden Horn, was a Genoese colony inhabited primarily by merchants engaged in international trade. It was also the site of at least fifteen Latin churches and monasteries, including houses belonging to the Benedictine, Franciscan, and Dominican orders. The Venetian and Pisan quarters, similarly dominated by merchants, were located along the south shore of the Golden Horn directly opposite Galata; they had their own churches, warehouses, and quays. Smaller colonies of Provençal, Spanish, Florentine, and Ragusan merchants and businessmen are also attested in the capital.

Along with its countless Christian churches, Constantinople supported a synagogue and a mosque. Jews, who were engaged in silk production and tanning as well as commerce, worked within the city limits but were often forced to reside in the suburbs or in the Latin quarters. At the time of the Fourth Crusade the two existing mosques in the city had been burned; one of these, as noted above, was rebuilt by Michael VIII for the use of the Muslim population. The Byzantine patriarch, however, became aggrieved by the presence of a Muslim house of worship in the capital: early in the fourteenth century he complained that although the Turks would not even allow the striking of a wooden sounding board as a call to prayer in the cities that they had conquered, in Constantinople Muslims "openly climb up on high [to the top of the minaret], as is the custom in their land, and shout forth their abominable mysteries."[12]

Fig. 2.4. Interior of Hagia Sophia (view to the east). Constantinople, 532–37. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

The Imperial Court: Intermarriage and Travel

The city's cosmopolitan nature was further reflected at the Byzantine court, especially in the costume of its officials, as can be seen in the portrait of Metochites from the narthex of the Chora Monastery church, in which he is resplendent in a caftan woven with a foliate pattern and oriental-style headdress (see fig. 2.3). The historian Nikephoros Gregoras records the varied origins of the garments of courtiers under Andronikos III (r. 1328–41): "Thus these [head coverings of the courtiers] were varied in form and strange and according to the whim of each. For some wore Latin [headgear], some [wore head coverings] similar to those of the Bulgarians and Serbs, others [wore head coverings] coming from Syria and Phoenicia, and others yet other [types], as each person saw fit. They had the same habit with regard to their garments" (cat. 2).[13]

A prime reason for the international character of the imperial court was intermarriage between the ruling families of

Fig. 2.5. Manuel II Palaiologos with his wife and children. Tempera on vellum, 1403–5. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ms. Ivories A53, frontispiece)

Fig. 2.6. Stefan Uroš II Milutin. Fresco, Gračanica Monastery, Kosovo (Serbia), ca. 1322. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Byzantium and its neighbors, a common phenomenon in the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. It was in fact the norm: of the eleven last rulers of Byzantium, eight wed foreign women.[14] The result was a strong dilution of "Greek blood" in the imperial family, so that the two final Byzantine emperors, John VIII (r. 1425–48) and Constantine XI (r. 1449–53) Palaiologos, can be considered only one-sixteenth Greek. This pattern was indicative of Byzantium's diminished position in the medieval world; the emperors of the Palaiologan dynasty (fig. 2.5), impoverished, politically weakened, and desperately seeking to stave off the threat of the Serbs and the Turks, among others, were forced to make diplomatic unions to strengthen treaties with potential allies or to avert attacks by enemies. Perusal of the genealogical table of the Palaiologos family reveals betrothals of crown princes and emperors to women from Italy, Armenia, Germany, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Russia. Their brothers and younger sons occasionally married women from the Italian nobility, but more often it was their sisters and daughters who were "sacrificed" for the good of the state, sent far away to what must often have been unsuitable and loveless matches.

One of the most egregious of such cases was the marriage of Simonis, the five-year-old daughter of Andronikos II, to the forty-year-old Stefan Uroš II Milutin, kral of Serbia, in 1299 (fig. 2.6). The historian George Pachymeres tells us that Andronikos justified this arrangement as necessary to achieve peace with the Serbs: "He did not attribute it to a personal desire nor to the benefit which would result therefrom for him; this was by no means the case, especially since he himself was seriously aggrieved by abandoning a little girl whom he loved from the bottom of his heart, to whom he and her mother were attached, . . . abandoning her, once snatched from his arms, to a barbarian who had no attractive feature and did not even have significant power . . . indeed peace obtains many results that the sword does not achieve, and the treaties which follow upon marriages, because they are very solid and firm, end up accomplishing that which battles and war have never achieved."[15]

The Mongol khans of the Golden Horde in southern Russia and the Īlkhānids of Persia (usually heathen and polygamous) had lower status than the Christian rulers of the West and the Balkans and hence had to settle for marital alliances with the illegitimate daughters of Byzantine emperors.[16] Maria, daughter of Michael VIII by an unknown mistress, was sent off to Persia in 1265, for example, to marry the Īlkhānid khan Hūlāgu.[17] As Pachymeres reports, "Embassies were sent as well

to distant rulers, [including] one to the chief of the Tatars, Hūlāgu. . . . To Hūlāgu [Michael VIII] gave in marriage . . . his illegitimate daughter Maria. . . . And . . . [the] archimandrite of the Pantokrator monastery escorted the young girl together with a great and splendid display and all sorts of riches. He brought along a tent chapel of sturdy silken cloth, embroidered in gold with the figures of saints . . . as well as precious holy vessels for the celebration of the holy eucharist. Thus the [marital] alliance was prepared in magnificent fashion, although Hūlāgu died before they arrived, and after her arrival the girl was later married to his son Abaga, his successor to the rule."[18] In this way the Īlkhānid court, which tended to be pro-Christian, became familiar with Byzantine eucharistic vessels and textiles; certainly Maria must have brought with her a few sacred books, such as the four Gospels and a psalter. Just as Simonis came back to the Byzantine capital after she was widowed, so too Maria returned to Constantinople upon her husband's death in 1282 and founded a nunnery, which took the name Panagiotissa, or "of the Mongols." It is usually assumed that the nun Melane depicted in the Deesis mosaic in the esonarthex of the Chora church, described in the inscription as "lady of the Mongols," is to be identified with this Maria (fig. 2.7).[19]

These matrimonial arrangements involved considerable gift exchange, initially on the part of the imperial ambassadors who negotiated the marriage and later at the time of the wedding ceremony. The Arab traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Constantinople in 1332, was a beneficiary of such presents, receiving Byzantine coins and garments. He came to the imperial city with the retinue of a Byzantine princess married to a khan of the Golden Horde who was returning home in order to give birth.[20] He received from the princess "three hundred dinars in the gold of the country [i.e., Byzantine hyperpyra; see cat. 12b] . . . two thousand Venetian dirhams, a length of woollen cloth . . . , ten robes of silk, linen and wool, and two horses."[21]

Among the new developments of the Palaiologan era was a series of European journeys by Byzantine emperors that exposed them to Western medieval culture. During the acme of Byzantine power, no emperor would have deigned to travel to the West; he remained in his palace in Constantinople to receive visits by Western kings or their envoys, or he embarked on military campaigns. But with the decline of Byzantine power, three Palaiologan rulers found it necessary to go to Europe. Their motivations differed: John V (r. 1341–91) went to Rome in 1369 to mark his personal conversion to Catholicism; Manuel II (r. 1391–1425) went to Italy, Paris, and London between 1399 and 1402 to seek military allies against the Turks; and John VIII went to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–39 to participate in negotiations for the Union of Churches, which he hoped might lead to an allied defense of Constantinople against the Ottoman foe that was pressing hard against the Byzantine capital (fig. 2.8; cats. 318–321).

Manuel II, who had a literary bent, took advantage of his trip to Paris to learn about French art and architecture. He noted his inspiration in a letter: "Now that we have arrived in France, my hand has begun to move . . . and has started to write, but really it would seem to attempt an unending task, if it sought to enumerate every detail."[22] He penned a description of a tapestry of spring that he saw in the Louvre, and he visited

Fig. 2.7. The *Nun Melane* (Maria of the Mongols), from the inner narthex Deesis, Church of the Chora. Mosaic, Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), Constantinople, 1316–21. Dumbarton Oaks Photo and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C. Photo: Carroll Wales

Fig. 2.8. Medallion of John VIII Palaiologos (cat. 321). Pisanello, cast bronze, Ferrara, ca. 1438–39. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

Saint-Denis, outside Paris. Upon his return to Constantinople he commissioned the painting of a frontispiece depicting the imperial family (see fig. 2.5) to be added to a manuscript of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite.[23] In 1408 the Byzantine ambassador Manuel Chrysoloras brought the book as a gift to the abbey of Saint-Denis (cat. 314). The manuscript includes Chrysoloras's autograph dedication, which reads: "This book was sent by his Highness the King and Emperor of the Romans Lord Manuel Palaiologos to the Monastery of St. Dionysios in Paris in France or Galatia from Constantinople with me, Manuel Chrysoloras, dispatched as ambassador by the said king. In the year of the Creation of the Universe 6916, of the Incarnation of the Lord 1408. The said king came formerly to Paris four years before."[24] The manuscript was a most suitable present, aimed to replace the rather small and plain eighth-century uncial copy of the works of Pseudo-Dionysios (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. gr. 437) that the emperor had seen on his trip to Paris and that had been the gift of the emperor Michael II (r. 820–29) to Louis the Pious some six centuries earlier, in 827. In return King Charles VI (r. 1380–1422) lavishly bestowed on Manuel and his retinue "an immense quantity of gold . . . gemstones, silken fabrics, and precious vessels."[25]

Economic and Political Decline

The two cities [of suburban Pera and Constantinople] are close to Turkish territory; no more than three miles separates the latter from one of the angles of Constantinople. Turks come daily to take part in the markets that are held in the two cities. . . .

Though the city is so large, it is not all well peopled, for in the middle of it there are many enclosures, where there are corn [i.e., wheat] fields and fruit gardens.[26]

—RUY GONZÁLEZ DE CLAVIJO

The city [of Constantinople] is sparsely populated. . . . The inhabitants are not well clad, but sad and poor, showing the hardship of their lot.[27]

—PERO TAFUR

Despite the efforts of the Palaiologan emperors, the recovery of the capital led to only a temporary reprieve for the Byzantine Empire, as it continued to face aggressive enemies on its borders, particularly Serbs and Turks, and progressively lost territory. By 1350, one hundred years before its capital fell to the Ottomans, it was reduced to three discrete areas: Constantinople and Thrace, with the Bulgarian frontier only one hundred miles distant from the capital; the region of Thessalonike, engulfed by the Serbian empire of Stefan Dušan; and a portion of the Peloponnesos (or Morea) centered on Mistra and surrounded by the Frankish principality of Achaia. Anatolia (or Asia Minor), separated from Constantinople by the mile-wide Bosporus, was under Turkish control, and the islands of the Aegean were held mostly by Venice and Genoa. The remnants of the Byzantine state were in close geographical proximity to neighbors who might alternate between peaceful alliances and hostility (fig. 2.9).

Constantinople itself was a city in decline, still severely depopulated, with inhabited neighborhoods separated by wheat fields and vineyards; according to the celebrated fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, there were thirteen villages within the city walls.[28] Many of its palaces and churches were in ruins, and the imperial court struggled to maintain the complex and lavish ceremonial of times past. At the wedding reception of John V Palaiologos in 1347, the historian Nikephoros Gregoras reported: "The palace was so poor that there was in it no cup or goblet of gold or silver; some were of pewter, and all the rest of clay . . . at that [wedding] festival most of the imperial diadems and garb showed only the semblance of gold and jewels; [in reality] they were of leather and were but gilded . . . or of glass which reflected in different colors; only seldom, here and there, were precious stones having a genuine charm and the brilliance of pearls. . . . To such a degree the ancient prosperity and brilliance of the Roman [i.e., Byzantine] Empire had fallen, entirely gone out and perished, that, not without shame, I tell you this story."[29]

Just before the fall of the capital to the Turks, the Spanish traveler Pero Tafur commented: "The Emperor's state is as splendid as ever, for nothing is omitted from the ancient ceremonies, but, properly regarded, he is like a bishop without a See."[30] Another telltale sign of the hard times on which the empire had fallen was the coinage, now heavily debased and poorly struck; the gold hyperpyron, for centuries the dollar of the Mediterranean world, ceased to be made after the middle of the fourteenth century (fig. 2.10).

Attitudes Toward Decline

Yea, even if, by the permission of God, the nations [i.e., the Turks] now encircle the government and the residence of the emperor, the emperor has still to this day the same appointment [as] . . . basileus and autokrator of the Romans—to wit, of all Christians; the name of the emperor is recited in all places by all patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, wherever men have the name of Christians.[31]

—PATRIARCH ANTONIOS IV
letter to Grand Prince Basil I of Moscow,
probably 1393

Although Byzantine territory was steadily shrinking and the emperor increasingly beleaguered in his capital, the patriarch of Constantinople, who was termed ecumenical patriarch and claimed spiritual authority over most Orthodox believers, held

Fig. 2.9. Map of the Late Byzantine Empire. Map: Anandaroop Roy

Fig. 2.10. Hyperpyra showing the Virgin Orans rising over the city walls of Constantinople, obverse, and Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos in proskynesis before Christ, reverse (cat. 12B). Gold, 1282–94. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

jurisdiction over a much larger region than did the emperor, including as far away as Muscovy. And even at the end of the fourteenth century, the patriarch Antonios IV could write a letter to Grand Prince Basil I of Moscow, rebuking him for his failure to commemorate the name of the Byzantine emperor during church services: "My son, you are wrong in saying, 'We have a church but not an emperor.' It is not possible for Christians to have a church and not to have an empire."[32] It would seem that some Byzantines were failing to face up to the reality of their dire situation. Other observers, like Alexios Makrembolites in the mid-fourteenth century, were all too aware of the empire's moribund condition: "[In the past] our Empire and her religion were at their height and we had in our possession the farthest reaches of the earth. Now no territory of a province is left to us . . . now it is we who are enslaved by all those peoples who were then under our sway."[33]

No one expressed the plight of the Byzantines more poignantly than the young emperor Manuel II (see figs. 1.1, 2.5), who as a vassal of the Ottoman sultan was forced to accompany the armies of Bayezid I on campaigns in Asia Minor, helping his enemy to increase his power. A number of the letters he wrote during the winter campaign of 1390–91 survive; they

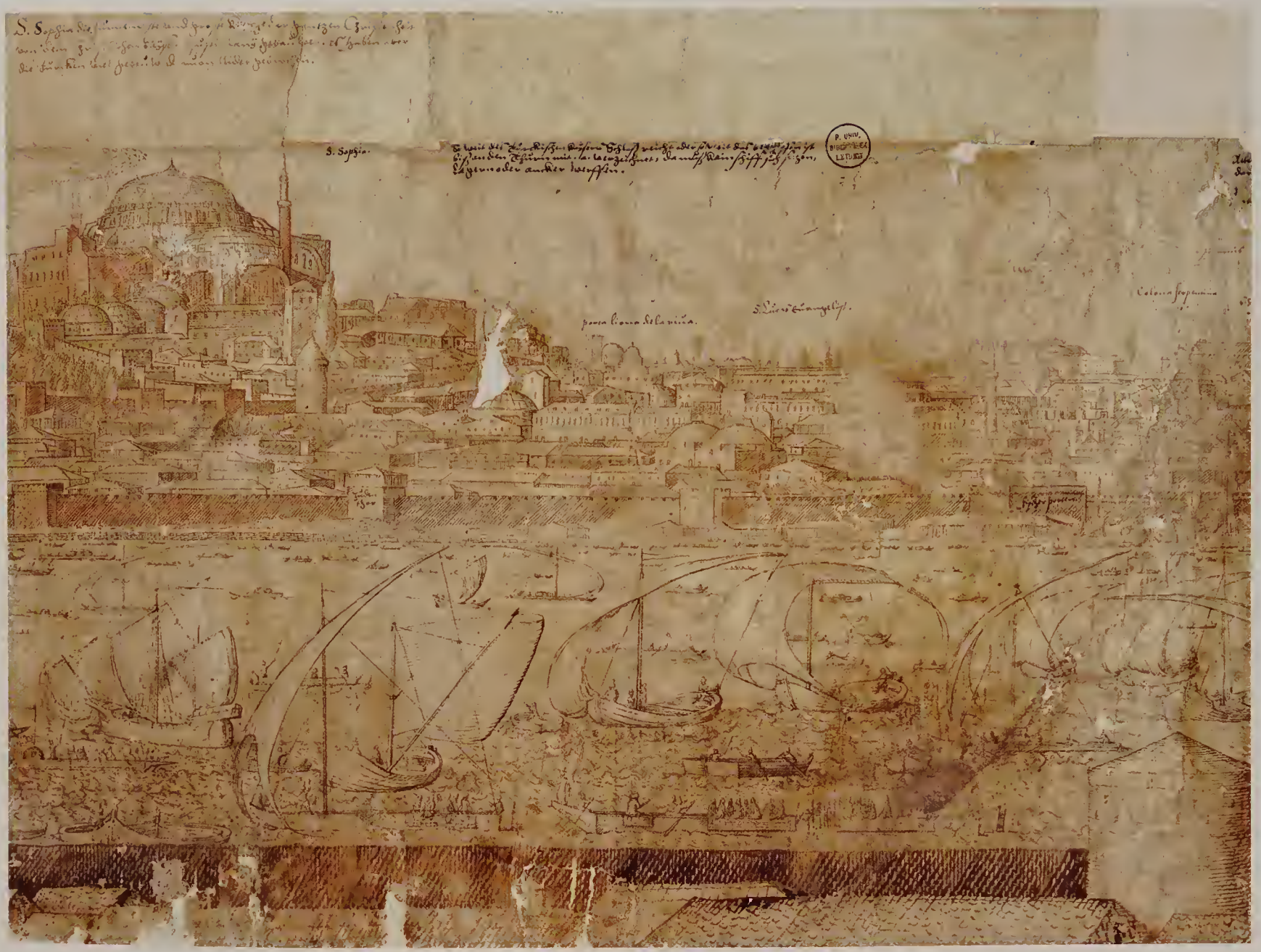

Fig. 2.11. The Ottoman capital of Constantinople, from Melchior Lorck's *Prospect of Constantinople* (cat. 249). Tempera on vellum, brown paper with green and red watercolors, 1559. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Netherlands

Fig. 2.12. View of the Late Byzantine city of Mistra, Greece, from the north. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

offer rare insights into Manuel's painful experiences as he saw firsthand the ruins of the famed Roman cities of old: "I have marched with the Romans from our own land to wage war with the Scythians [i.e., Tatars?] in the land of the Scythians and to command troops for our enemies. . . . Most of these cities [in Anatolia] now lie in ruins, a pitiable spectacle for the people whose ancestors once possessed them. But not even the names have survived, since they were destroyed so long ago."[34] A sympathetic friend replied to his lament: "The most bitter and difficult of all [is] your living together with barbarians. . . . For you to have to live with these people . . . , you a religious man from way back . . . a lover, as well as a craftsman of Hellenic writing . . . this, I think, is a burden not even the mythical Atlas could bear. . . . But even more than that, for an emperor of the Romans to see cities, which had of old been peopled by the Romans, now under the lordship of the barbarians, cities which have cast off the name given by their settlers and exchanged it for ruins, who would not be dejected in spirit and fill his eyes with tears?"[35]

The End of the Empire

When the Romans saw the huge army of Turks massed against the City, [Loukas Notaras, the grand duke] dared to say against the Latins, "It would be better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in the center of the City than the Latin mitre." The Constantinopolitans, in their despair, had been saying, "Would that the City were delivered into the hands of the Latins, who call upon Christ and the Theotokos [Virgin Mary], and not thrown into the clutches of the infidel."[36]

—DOUKAS,
mid-fifteenth century historian

During the Palaiologan era there were two main schools of thought about how best to preserve the empire. Some advocated a policy of rapprochement with the West, through intermarriage and union of the Orthodox and Roman churches, in an attempt to secure the assistance of Western military power against the Turks. Others, ardent anti-Unionists, argued that it was better to maintain loyalty to Orthodoxy even if it meant submitting to Turkish rule. During the two final centuries of Byzantium, the Orthodox Church twice agreed to recognize the primacy of the papacy, first at the Union of Lyons in 1274 and a second time at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–39. On both occasions the emperor and patriarch who agreed to the union underestimated the passionate devotion of the Byzantine masses to Orthodoxy; in each instance the union was short-lived, and large-scale military aid never materialized.

The City was desolate, lying dead, naked, soundless, having neither form nor beauty.[37]

—DOUKAS

Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks on May 29, 1453 (fig. 2.11; cat. 247), and the sole remaining Byzantine outpost, Mistra (fig. 2.12), surrendered to Mehmed II almost exactly seven years later, on May 31, 1460. The power of empire was no more, yet the faith and culture of the so-called Byzantine commonwealth would continue to the present day. Indeed, it could be argued that Byzantium lives on, especially in the monasteries of Athos, Meteora, and Sinai. The spirituality of Byzantine Orthodoxy would sustain the Christians of the Balkans throughout the long centuries of Ottoman domination, until the emergence of independent states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

1, fol. 6r

1. Funeral Oration of Manuel II Palaiologos for His Brother Theodore

Constantinople, 1409–11
Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment
24.5 x 16.5 cm (9⅝ x 6½ in.)
Inscribed: ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Manuel faithful in Christ, emperor and autocrat of the Romans)
Provenance: Jean Du Tillet, baron de la Bussière; after 1653, at the convent of the Jacobins of Rue Saint-Honoré, Paris; entered the Bibliothèque Nationale de France after the French Revolution.
Condition: The original binding was restored in 2001.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris (Supplément grec 309)

The funeral oration, written by Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425) before the autumn of 1409, pays homage to the emperor's younger brother, Theodore, the despot of Morea, who died in June 1407.[1] This manuscript is unique among the seven extant versions of this text, as it bears a portrait of its author, inserted on folio 6r, between the prefatory passages and the opening of the oration itself. The illumination represents the emperor in majesty, garbed with the insignia of his rank: the imperial crown or stemma, decorated with hanging ornaments called prependoulia; the scepter surmounted by a cross, the symbol of his faith; and the akakia, the purple silk pouch filled with earth, a token of humility that the emperor displays in his left hand. This representation is identical to that found in a manuscript of the works of the Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, now at the Louvre (Art Objects, MR 416), which is slightly earlier in date. A short message from the emperor to his deceased brother appears in the left margin of the page with the portrait. Two versified paraphrases from this text message, one in iambic meter and the other in hexameters, are inscribed at the top and bottom of the page. They are attributed to two members of Manuel's court: the officials Mathew Chrysocephalos and Demetrios Magistros.

Copied personally by the hand of the future cardinal Isidore of Kiev, who played an important role in the distribution and perhaps even the editing of the funeral oration, the manuscript still preserves its original binding, the decoration of which enables us to connect it with a group of similar bindings linked with the Palaiologos family. In light of the information furnished by the correspondence of Manuel II, it can be affirmed that the Paris manuscript is the official example of the oration brought by Isidore of Kiev to the court at Mistra before June 1411.

CF

1. Chrysostomides 1985; Schreiner 1998.

References: Bordier 1883, pp. 281–82; Paris 1958, p. 33, no. 52; Athens 1964, p. 346, no. 369; Belting 1970, pp. 75–76; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 233–34; Paris 1992–93, p. 465, no. 357; Paris 2001c, p. 28, no. 46.

2. Works of Hippocrates

Constantinople, ca. 1338 (text),
1341–45 (illuminations)
Paper (text), parchment (illuminations); 344 fols.
42 x 31 cm (16½ x 12¼ in.)
Inscribed: On fol. 10v, Ο ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΩΟΣ (Hippocrates of Cos); on fol. 11, ΜΕΓΑΣ ΔΟΥΞ Ο ΑΠΟΚΑΥΚΟΣ (The Grand Duke Apokaukos)
Provenance: Seraglio Library, Istanbul; entered the Bibliothèque Royale in 1688.
Condition: The manuscript has been repaired on numerous occasions, most recently in 2001; the pictures on fols. 10v–11 are fragile from multiple folds, with the background detaching in many spots.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris (cod. grec 2144)

This volume contains most of the treatises attributed to the father of medicine, Hippocrates of Cos (fifth–fourth century B.C.). An examination of the watermark indicates that the text was copied around 1338. At the beginning of the manuscript, between the *Hippocratic Lexicon* by Galen and the *Life of Hippocrates* by the Pseudo-Soranas, a parchment bifolio was inserted, upon which was painted the portrait of the author and the owner of the volume; both were portrayed against a full-page gold background. On the left page (fol. 10v), Hippocrates displays the book of *Aphorisms,* the first

2, fols. 10v–11r

lines of which—"Life is short, art long, opportunity fleeting"—he has just written. He is dressed in a blue robe embroidered with gold and a red cloak, part of which forms a hood for his head. This dress conforms to information found in Pseudo-Soranos, according to whom most ancient portraits represented Hippocrates with his head covered.[1]

Facing Hippocrates on folio 11r is Alexios Apokaukos, the donor; the title of "Grand Duke" that appears in the inscription above the figure serves as a terminus post quem, enabling us to date the illumination between November 1341, the date when Apokaukos assumed this title, and June 1345, the date of his death.[2] Apokaukos wears his formal state dress, notably the red and gold hat called a skanarikon, which bears an image of the emperor, an attribute particular to the rank of grand duke.[3] With his left hand he gestures to a lectern supporting an open book, in which appears the above-mentioned passage from the *Aphorisms*. The book is held open by a youth standing in the background; this figure is probably a personification of medicine, rather than a portrayal of either of Apokaukos's two sons.

A fifty-verse dodecasyllabic eulogy praising medicine and Apokaukos is arranged around the figure of Hippocrates on the left.[4] On the right, in response to this panegyric, a similar eulogy of sixty-five dodecasyllables[5] surrounds the portrait of the grand duke; it praises Hippocrates, while stressing Apokaukos's personal passion for medicine. This dialogue is directly linked to the portraits, indicating that these verses were specifically composed to appear in the borders of these sumptuous illuminations.

CF

1. Ilberg 1927, pp. 175–78.
2. Trapp 1976–96, vol. 1, pp. 109–10, no. 11180.
3. Verpeaux 1966, p. 153.
4. Boivin 1702, vol. 2, pp. 777–78.
5. Ibid., p. 778.

References: Bordier 1883, pp. 233–35; Paris 1958, pp. 39–40, no. 64; Athens 1964, p. 344, no. 365; Belting 1970, pp. 58–59, 82–83; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 148–51; Spatharakis 1981, p. 63, no. 252; Paris 1982b, no. 1; Paris 1992–93, pp. 455–58, no. 351; Paris 2001c, p. 28, no. 42.

3. Gospel Book

Constantinople, mid-14th century; miniatures added, Venice, third quarter of the 16th century
Tempera and ink on parchment; 386 fols.
17.8 x 13.8 cm (7 x 5⅜ in.)
Inscribed: In the left margin of fol. 385v, Ὁ δοῦλος Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Δημήτριος Παλαιολόγος; (The servant of Christ the Lord, Demetrios Palaiologos)
Provenance: Imperial Public Library (now National Library of Russia), Saint Petersburg, acquired before 1848.
Condition: Buckled leaves have caused some flaking in most of the miniatures. Conservation treatment was carried out in 1968 by G. Z. Bykova.
National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg (Ms. gr. 118)

This kneeling figure, placed at the end of the Gospel of John (fol. 385v), is usually considered a portrait of the last despot of Morea (deposed 1460, died 1470). However, the sitter wears Venetian dress[1] and is more likely identified as a later Demetrios Palaiologos, mercenary warrior (*stradioto*) and knight (*cavaliere*) of the Republic of Saint Mark. His father hailed from Zakynthos or the Peloponnesos and later settled in Venice, where he was a distinguished member of the local Greek confraternity.[2] Demetrios recorded his testa-

3, fol. 385v

ment in September 1570 and probably died soon thereafter.[3]

The portrait's author also painted New Testament scenes on folios 1r, 2r, 3v, 21r–v, 22v, 23r, 123v, 125v, 126r, 191v, 194v, 302v, 303r, and 386r–v. Although he occasionally followed Byzantine iconography, his style is essentially a form of Italian Mannerism. Greek artists in sixteenth-century Venice could work in both the traditional Byzantine and the new Italian styles of painting. The present miniatures can be associated with such "bilingual" workshops,[4] for example, that of Markos Vathas/Marco Bathà (1498–1578).[5]

A second painter, his style almost unaffected by Western influences, added to the manuscript an icon of Saints Constantine and Helen (fol. 1v) and an (evidently fictitious) portrait of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (fol. 22r), as well as a pair of imperial emblems: an armillary surmounted by a cross (fol. 2v) and a double-headed eagle bearing the Palaiologan monogram (fol. 3r). It is not clear where this artist worked, but his miniatures were probably also commissioned by Demetrios, who was aware of bearing a royal family name (in his testament, he claimed to have come from Constantinople).[6]

The lettering of the Saint Petersburg Gospel Book must predate the accompanying illustrations, since it resembles that of manuscripts copied about 1330–60 at the Hodegon Monastery in the Byzantine capital.[7] Originally, an evangelist portrait, a headpiece, and an initial before each Gospel formed the book's only decoration (fols. 23v–24r, 126v–127r, 195v–196r, 303v–304r). The miniatures were modeled upon those in an eleventh-century lectionary, now Vatican Cod. gr. 1156.[8]

Miniature styles in the first half of the fourteenth century are exemplified by efforts to bring movement, painterly freedom, spatial depth, and architectural structures into the composition. A close link with Hellenism, however, makes the style of this time deeply retrospective, both in form and in spirit. The multilayered history of the Saint Petersburg Gospel Book shows how the Byzantine past could be reused and revitalized, both before and after 1453. GRP and PM

1. Molmenti 1973, vol. 2, pp. 304–6, repr. pp. 19, 295, 300; see also M. Chatzidakis 1962, pls. 8–9, 55.
2. Kolyva 1973, pp. 139–40, 160–61.
3. Mauroeidē 1976, p. 106; see also M. Chatzidakis 1962, p. 14.
4. See esp. London 1996, pp. 112–17, no. 25.
5. Hunger 1972; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2002, pp. 577–81 and n. 47.
6. Kolyva 1973, p. 139.
7. See esp. Turyn 1980, pl. 81; Spatharakis 1981, fig. 466, no. 260.
8. Vatican 2000, pp. 244–48, no. 54.

References: Treu 1966, pp. 71–73 (with bibl.); V. Likhacheva 1969; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 2, p. 60, no. 514 (with bibl.); Spatharakis 1976, pp. 90–91, figs. 59–60; V. Likhacheva 1977a, pls. 56–62 (with bibl.); Spatharakis 1980–81; Fonkich 1989; Galavaris 1991.

4. Reveted Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria

Cover (thringion), Constantinople, late 13th–early 14th century; painting, Dionysius (?),[1] Moscow, last quarter of the 15th century
Cover, silver, worked in repoussé, with filigree decoration; painting, tempera over gesso on wood panel
40 x 32 cm (15¾ x 12⅝ in.)
Inscribed: On the inner panel, in Greek, on two roundels to the left and right of the Virgin's nimbus, "Mother of God"; on two rectangular plaques, to the left of the Virgin's head, "Hodegetria"; above Christ's head, "Jesus Christ"; at the upper edges, "Archangels Michael" "Gabriel"; on the frame, above the Virgin's head, "Hetoimasia"; on the left side, "Saint Peter," "Saint John the Theologian," "Saint Luke," "Saint Cosmas"; on the right side, "Saint Paul," "Saint Matthew," "Saint Mark," "Saint Damien"; below Christ's foot, "Saint Panteleemon"; in the lower corners, on the left, "the servant of God Christ, Constantine Akropolites"; on the right, "Maria Komnene Tornikina Akropolitissa"
Provenance: Supposedly a donation of Sophia, daughter of Foma (Thomas) Palaiologos to the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, Moscow.
Condition: The thringion is deformed, with tears and with losses on the nimbus of the Virgin and on the corners; three circular rosettes are completely lost, and another has partial losses. There are minor abrasions on the surface of the painting that partially reveal the gesso under the clothing of both figures.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (22722, OS 118)

In 1906 Nikodim P. Kondakov identified the donors represented here as the Byzantine courtier the great logothete Constantine Akropolites and his spouse, Maria Komnene Tornikina Akropolitissa. Citing studies by Ducange, he noted that Maria was the daughter of the prefect of the Peloponnesos and his spouse, Theodora, who was a member of the Tornikes family. Because of her mother's lineage, Maria was called Palaiologina.[2] The identification of the donors and the style confirms the date of the thringion that enframes the icon to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, as is frequently cited in the literature.[3]

In contrast, the icon has only recently become the subject of particular study. Its Hodgetria pose is based on the most sacred

4

icon, one that was formerly preserved at the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople and first venerated in Russia during the pre-Mongol period. According to tradition, a copy of the Hodegon icon was brought to Russia by the Greek princess Anna, daughter of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–55), who became the wife of the Chernigov prince Vsevolod Yaroslavich. Their son, Vladimir Monomach, the prince of Smolensk, Kiev, and Pereyaslavl', inherited the icon, which was eventually placed in the Dormition Cathedral there, where it was called the Hodegetria of Smolensk. After being housed in Moscow for some time, the icon was returned to Smolensk in 1456, being carried in a farewell procession reminiscent of those that bore the original Hodegetria in Constantinople. During the fifteenth century in Moscow, a special devotional cult arose dedicated to the Smolensk Hodegetria. Among the copies created of this holy icon were those by Dionysius and the painters in his circle.[4] In 1482 Dionysius restored a Greek Hodegetria that had been brought to Russia in 1381 by Dionysios, the archbishop of Suzdal', and was damaged by a fire at the Resurrection Monastery of the Moscow Kremlin. One of the Russian Chronicles mentions that this icon was an exact copy of the Constantinopolitan miracle-working icon.[5]

This icon, with its Byzantine thringion/riza, can be compared to Greek icons of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries in its iconography (the frontality of the figures and the presence of archangels in the upper corners). At the same time, it also possess traits of those copies of the Smolensk Hodegetria revered in Russia, which were also reminiscent of the Hodegetria of 1482.

A technical examination of the image has resulted in a clarification of the relationship between the thringion and the painting. The panel is limewood of a later date with characteristics of Moscow icons from the fifteenth century. It is probable that its original icon either was greatly damaged or simply disintegrated. The new icon was painted specifically to fit the old thringion; the particular iconographic details of the original image of the Hodegetria could be determined by the silhouette outlined by the frame. The figures of the Akropolites donors preserved on the frame probably indicate that the icon had a special significance for the commissioner of the new icon, who probably was their descendant.

The icon was given to the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, the most important one in Moscow, which was under the special patronage of the city's grand princes. According to the monastery inventory of 1641, this icon was one of the most venerated images, and as such was located behind the right kleros, on the wall of the cathedral, immediately beside the relics of the monastery's founder, Blessed Sergius of Radonezh.[6] It may have been a gift of Sophia, daughter of Foma (Thomas) Palaiologos,[7] despot of Morea until 1460. The original icon in the riza most likely belonged to a Peloponnesos female aristocrat and made its way into the hands of her relative Sophia, the daughter of the last Morean Palaiologos, who brought it to Moscow in 1472 as part of her dowry.

Sophia is known to have prayed for an heir at the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, asking the Blessed Sergius, patron of the reigning family of Moscow, for his assistance. In 1479 she had a son, the future Grand Prince Vasily III, who was declared the heir of the Moscow throne only in 1502, after extensive dynastic and court upheavals.[8] The riza of the family icon may have been used to assert the continuity between the power of the grand princes and that of the Byzantine emperors, and thus may have served as a validation of Vasily's right to the throne.[9] It is not accidental that this was an image of the Hodegetria, the patroness of the state and the ruling family.

In light of the hypothesis that the House of the Great Princes of Moscow was involved in the commissioning of the new icon, it seems reasonable to assume that the painter would be Dionysius, the most famous icon painter of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. And the icon is indeed characteristic of his style.[10] The painting, especially that of the faces, employs shades of light olive ground and golden hues delicately touched with ocher, both typical of Dionysius.[11]

EG

1. Attribution made in Guseva 1999, pp. 105–9; Guseva 2002, pp. 58–60. Until 1919, when the thringion was removed to restore the painting, the dating of the painting was only approximate. Some scholars thought that it was contemporary with the thringion (Likhachev 1906, 1911), others that it was a sixteenth- to seventeenth-century replacement of the original (Kondakov 1914–15). After the cleaning, the painting was attributed to a "Russian Master Painter," with a broad period dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century (Olsuf'ev, Svirin, Bank, Antonova). Antonova, Popov, and Guseva attributed the painting to the Moscow School.
2. Kondakov 1906, pp. 81–83 n. 2.
3. Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 166 (with bibl.).
4. Guseva 1999; nos. 1, Dionisii 2002, nos. 4–5, 39, 41, 45.
5. Guseva 1982; Lidov 2000, no. 86 (with bibl.); Dionisii 2002, no. 1 (with bibl.).
6. Olsuf'ev 1929, pp. 97–98.
7. Guseva 1999, pp. 105–9, fig. 8.
8. Shchepkina 1954.
9. Records indicate that Sophia Palaiologos made donations to the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, possibly upon the birth of Vasily and upon his receiving the title of grand prince. This is one of the two *poruch* (liturgical vestment to cover the wrists of the priest during celebration of the Mass) with an image of the Annunciation (Vasily III was born on the second day after the Annunciation, the feast of the archangel Gabriel, and his second name was Gabriel); see Manushina 1983, no. 27. Another gift is a fabric with an image of the Cross of Golgotha, and the family's patron saints, with an inscription dating it to 1499 (the year of Vasily III's accession; in the text Sophia is called the Princess Tsargrad [Constantinople]); see Maiasova 1968, p. 122; Maiasova 1971, pp. 21–22, pls. 29–30.
10. Guseva 1999, pp. 105–9, fig. 8; Guseva 2002, pp. 58–60.
11. Analysis of the pigments by the conservator T. M. Mosunova (publication forthcoming) confirms the painting is similar in materials and characteristics to works securely attributed to Dionysius.

REFERENCES: Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 166, p. 219 (repr.) (with complete bibl.); Guseva 1999, pp. 105–9, fig. 8; Guseva 2002, pp. 58–60.

5. Pyxis with Royal Figures, Musicians, and Dancers

Byzantine (Thessalonike?), 1403–4 (?)
Ivory
Height 3 cm (1 3/16 in.); diameter 4.2 cm (1 5/8 in.)
INSCRIBED: Ιω̄ (John); ΑΝΔΡ (Andronikos); ειρ (Irene); M (Manuel)
PROVENANCE: Stroganoff collection, Rome; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, Washington, D.C.
CONDITION: The surface of the figures is rubbed; the lower left leg of the syrinx (?) player is missing; the box is split into halves (with vertical breaks behind the peacock's head and in front of the harpist); and a chip is missing from the lid.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (36.24)

A frieze of sixteen figures encircles this small box, beginning with a kneeling figure offering the model of a city—with a peacock below it—to an emperor. This emperor introduces two groups, each consisting of a long-bearded emperor and an empress flanking a youth. These formally posed, frontal figures with crowns are followed by musicians, including drummer, flautist, harpist, two trumpeters, lute player, and syrinx (?) player, and two dancers, one with arms akimbo and another with a scarf behind her head. This last performer is half-hidden behind the first, kneeling figure.

The pyxis is deeply carved, and its thin wall is now broken into halves and held together by a metal ring at the top; traces of copper oxide at the bottom suggest a similar ring was used here, too. The lid is slightly domed and has incised concentric circles; one circle contains twenty-four smaller circles, and twenty of these, as well as the central umbo, retain their gilt-wax insets.

5

Four of the imperial figures are identified by abbreviations. Several theories have been proposed as to who they represent and for what occasion the pyxis was made. Nicolas Oikonomidès' interpretation, which follows, is the most recent and the most convincing.[1]

Receiving the city is Emperor John VII Palaiologos (r. 1403–8), accompanied by his wife, Irene, and son Andronikos. John's co-emperor is his uncle, Manuel II (r. 1391–1425). Though at times estranged, the rulers reached an entente in 1403: Manuel would rule from Constantinople and John from Thessalonike as "emperor of all Thessaly." Thessalonike had just been returned to Byzantium by the Turks, and Constantinople to Manuel by John, who had served as regent during Manuel's four-year absence in Europe—the elder emperor had tried to raise funds for the defense of the empire agaist the Turks. The depiction of their sons crowned as emperors alludes to a policy of alternating dynastic succession.

As the new ruler, John symbolically receives his capital city while musicians and dancers enliven the festivities. Kurt Weitzmann interpreted the musicians as based on historical precedent, like images in the manuscript of John Skylitzes in Madrid,[2] while Oikonomidès placed more emphasis on the association of the musicians and dancers with the Psalms and King David.[3] The imagery could have borrowed from both sources.

The representation of two imperial families side by side is unique.[4] Moreover, the depiction of imperial figures in conjunction with animated performers is rare in Byzantine art. Examples that do exist, such as those on the late-fourth-century Obelisk base of Theodosius in Constantinople[5] or in eleventh-century frescoes in Saint Sophia, Kiev,[6] are fundamentally different in ceremonial meaning and composition.

The imagery on this pyxis represents the optimistic scheme for power-sharing between John VII and Manuel II, which seems to have been an attempt to settle the ambitions of nephew and uncle as well as to offset the vulnerability of the Byzantine Empire in the face of Turkish expansion. The carver has shown the formality of the new imperial order and the celebrations that would have accompanied its establishment. Fatefully, this political maneuver was short-lived, with John VII dying in 1408 and the empire itself conquered within a half century. SZ

1. Oikonomidès 1977. Earlier interpretations are those of A. Grabar 1960 and Weitzmann 1972a.
2. Weitzmann 1972a, p. 80, figs. 45–46.
3. Oikonomidès 1977, pp. 336–37.
4. Imperial families in similar paratactic arrangements are known, but divine patrons are present in each case; see the Barberini Psalter, ca. 1059–67, Vat. Gr. 372, fol. 5r; the Slavonic Tetraevangelion, dated 1356, British Library, Add. 39627, fol. 3r; and the Works of Dionysios the Areopagite, dated 1408, Louvre, Ms. Ivoires 100, fol. 2r, illustrated in Spatharakis 1976, figs. 7, 39, 93, respectively. The manuscript in Paris represents Manuel II with his family.
5. See A. Grabar 1960, fig. 21.
6. See ibid., figs. 22–23.

References: Paris 1931, no. 141; Boston 1940, no. 122; A. Grabar 1960; Weitzmann 1972a, no. 31; Oikonomidès 1977; Cutler 1994, p. 284 n. 121; Cutler 1995, p. 225.

6. Seal of Michael VIII Palaiologos

Byzantine, 1261–62
Lead
Diameter 4.7 cm (1 7/8 in.); weight 47.5 g
Obverse: The emperor, standing frontally, wears a crown with prependoulia, a loros, and a divetesion. Above his head he holds with both hands an icon of the Virgin Blachernitissa, who holds a portrait of the Christ Child.
Reverse: A metric verse of nine lines in twelve-syllabic, iambic trimeter.
Inscribed: On the obverse, on either side of the emperor (left), MI / EN XΩ TΩ ΘΩ / ΠICTOC / BACIΛEV / C KAI AV / [T]OKPAT / [Ω]P PΩ/MEΩN [ΔOY]K / [AC]; (right), AΓΓ / ΕΛΟC / KOMN[H] / NOCOΠ / ΑΛΑΙΟ / ΛΟΓΟC / KAI N / EOC K / ΩNCT[A] / NTI[N] / [OC] (Michael, in Christ the Lord, faithful king and emperor of the Romans, Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos and New Constantine [dotted circle]); to the left and right of the Virgin's feet, MP Θ[V] (Mother of God). On the reverse, TOIC AΘETO[V] / CI THN ΔIKHN TOV CE / KPETOV O NVN KPATVNE[I] / TΩ XPONΩ BEBVCMEN / ON O MIXAHΛ TO ΘAVMA / TΩN BACIΛEΩN ΠOI / NH ΘC TA ΠPΩT[A] KAI KPICIC KA[1] (Immediate punishment and judgment of offense are for those who violate the decisions of the Sekreton, which, after being gagged for a time, is now strengthened by Michael, the wonder of Emperors)
Provenance: Formerly in the Zakos Collection. Numismatic Museum, Athens (2032/1998. B.E. 728)

On August 15, 1261, the feast day celebrating the Koimesis of the Virgin, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82) entered the capital of the shattered Byzantine state through the Golden Gate, bound for Hagia Sophia. At the head of the procession accompanying Michael was the palladium of the empire, the

6, obverse

6, reverse

icon of the Theotokos of the Hodegon Monastery, a symbol of the divine power that according to the emperor made possible the reconquest of Constantinople. The "New Constantine," as Michael was called in rhetorical texts and encomiums, then proceeded to legitimize his newly established dynasty, the Palaiologan, the longest lived and final dynasty of Byzantium. Michael took diplomatic steps intended to reestablish Byzantium's importance to the western European world, and he undertook the expensive work of restoring public and ecclesiastical structures.

This lead seal was made soon after the recapture of Constantinople as part of Michael's reorganization of the government. One of his first moves was to reinstitute the Sekreton, the highest royal court, which had ceased to function during the Latin occupation (1204–61). The seal must have been issued as soon as the Sekreton started to function again and was most probably used to stamp the document drawn up either for the foundation of the office or for the appointment of the First Secretarial Judge.

The iconography is unique not only in the numismatic and sigillographic tradition but also in Byzantine art in general. The representation of the emperor holding an icon of the Virgin over his head is a clear reference to Michael's triumphal procession into Constantinople. However, the Virgin on the seal is depicted in the iconographic pose known as the Blachernitissa, not in the Hodegetria pose. The most likely explanation is that the emperor was attempting to connect the newly reinstated Sekreton with the Virgin named after the Blachernai, the imperial palace. YN

1. The reading of the last word of the metric inscription, apparently incorrect, is suggested here for the first time. It is in accordance with the meter and corresponds to the shape of the lead seal.

References: Laurent 1932, no. 723, pp. 59–60; Kōnstantopoulos 1933; Lemerle 1948; Lemerle 1949; Geanakoplos 1959; Laurent 1963–81, vol. 2, no. 824, pp. 435–36 (with bibl.); Zacos and Veglery 1972, vol. 1, nos. 2756 bis, pp. 1579–81 (with bibl.); Macrides 1980; Nicol 1993; Macrides 1994; Gounaridēs 1999; Touratsoglou 2001, pp. 120–21.

7A–F. Seals

7A. Lead Seal of Theodora Doukaina Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII

Constantinople, 1259–82
Lead
Diameter 3.8 cm (1½ in.)
Inscribed: On the obverse, sigla at left and right of the Virgin's head, M̄HP–Θ̄V (Μή(τη)ϱ Θ(εο)ῦ; Mother of God); on the reverse, in a column at left and right of the empress, ΘΕ|ΟΔΩ|ΡΑΕV|CEBE|ϒΑΤΗ|ΑVΓϑ|...¯ Δϑ|ΚΑΙ|ΝΑΗ|ΠΑΛΑ|ΟΛ|Γ (Θεοδώρα εὐσεβεστάτη αὐγού[στα] Δούκαινα ἡ Παλα[ι]ολ[ο]γ[ίνα]; Theodora Doukaina Palaiologina, most pious augusta)
Condition: On the obverse the specimen is bent in the center and the face of the Virgin has suffered some metal loss.
Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore (1951.31.5.1701)

7B. Lead Seal of Andronikos II Palaiologos

Constantinople, 1282–1328
Lead
Diameter 3 cm (1¼ in.)
Inscribed: On the obverse, traces at right of the figure of Christ, X̄C ['Ι(ησοῦ)ς] Χ(ριστό)ς; on the reverse, traces in the column at left and right of emperor, . . . |ΔΡΟ|ΝΙ|ΚΟCΔ-Π ([Ἀν]δρόνικος δ[εσπότης ὁ] Π[αλ(αιολόγος]; Andronikos Palaiologos, despotes)
Condition: The impression is strong, but the seal was made using a blank that was too small to receive the full circumference of the dies.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (58.106.644)

7C. Lead Seal of Irene Komnene Doukaina Palaiologina, Wife of Andronikos II

Constantinople, 1285–1317
Lead
Diameter 2.9 cm (1⅛ in.)
Inscribed: On the obverse, sigla at left and right of the Virgin's head, M̄HP–Θ̄V (Μή(τη)ϱ Θ(εο)ῦ; Mother of God); on the reverse, in the column at left and right of empress, +| .IPH| NIEV| CEBE| CTATH| AVΓϑ| CTA–+| KO| MNH| NHΔϑ| KENA| HΠAΛ| AIOΛ.| ΓIN| A ([Ε]ιρήνι εὐσεβεστάτη αὐγούστα Κομνηνὴ Δούκενα ἡ Παλαιολ[ο]γίνα; Irene Komnene Doukaina Palaiologina, most pious augusta)
Condition: There is wear on the high points.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (55.1.4362)

7D. Lead Seal of Constantine, Despotes, Son of Andronikos II Palaiologos

Constantinople, 1292–1322
Lead
Diameter 3.7 cm (1½ in.)
Inscribed: On the obverse, in the column at left and right of Constantine, +| Kω| NϒA| NTI| NOC| ΔECΠ| OTIC–+| ΠOP| ΦVPOГ| ENNHT| OCΔϑ KA| CKOMNH| NOCOΠA| ΛAIOΛ| OΓO|C (Κωνσταντῖνος δεσπότης πορφυρογέννητος Δούκας Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολόγος; Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos, despotes, born in the purple); on the reverse, in eight lines, +CΦPAΓIC| OX̄ CKAIΦVΛA| KTHPKAICKEΠHAN| AKTOΠAIΔOCΔECΠ| OTϑKωNTANTINϑ| KAIΠORΦVPANΘ.| CΔOVKAΠAΛA.| OΛOГOV (Σφραγὶς ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς καὶ φυλακτὴϱ καὶ σκέπη ἀνακτόπαιδος δεσπότου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ πορφυρανθ[οῦ]ς Δούκα Παλα[ι]ολόγου·; Christ is the seal and protector and refuge of Constantine Doukas Palaiologos, despotes, a royal child, of purple bloom)
Provenance: Formerly in the Pierce collection.
Condition: The object is in virtually mint condition.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (47.17.4293)

7A, obverse

7B, obverse

7C, obverse

7A, reverse

7B, reverse

7C, reverse

7E. Lead Seal of Anna Palaiologina (Anna of Savoy), Wife of Andronikos III

Constantinople, 1341–47
Lead
Diameter 2.8 cm (1⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, sigla at left and right of the Virgin's head, M̄HP–Θ̄V (Μή(τη)ϱ Θ(εο)ῦ; Mother of God); on the reverse, in the column at left and right of empress, ANN| AЄVCЄ| BЄ¶A| THAVΓ| ϒ..–AVTOK| .ATOP.| CCA...| Є....| A....| ...| .. (Ἄννα εὐσεβεστάτη αὐγού[στα] αὐτοκ[ϱ]ατόϱ[ι]σσα [Ῥομ]έ[ον ἡ Π]α[λεολογίνα]; Anna Palaiologina most pious augusta, autokratorissa of the Romans)
CONDITION: The reverse has suffered partial corrosion.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (8.106.638)

7F. Lead Seal of David Komnenos of Trebizond

Trebizond, 1204–14
Lead
Diameter 3.9 cm (1½ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, in the column at left and right of King David, ΔAΔ| BAC| ..EV| .–OΠP| OΦH| TH| C (Δα(βὶ)δ βασ[ιλ]εὺ[ς] ὁ ϱοφήτης; King David the Prophet); on the reverse, six lines, preceded by a cross and followed by decoration, +| Δ̄AΔBACIΛEV| ACΦAΛECEΓPA| ΦωNKVPOC| Δ̄AΔKOMNHNOV| BACIΛEKΓO| NOVΓIN϶| –·– (Δα(βὶ)δ βασιλεῦ, ἀσφαλὲς γϱαφῶν κῦϱος Δα(βὶ)δ Κομνηνοῦ βασιλεκγόνου γίνου; King David, may you be the unfailing confirmation of the decrees of David Komnenos, descendant of emperors)
CONDITION: The flan is slightly bent, and the obverse has suffered a gouge at the left.
Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore (1951.31.5.1706)

In his *Treatise on the Dignities and Offices*, compiled in the middle of the fourteenth century, Pseudo-Kodinos states that the emperor used a wax seal when he wrote to his mother, wife, or son. The matrix (or boulloterion) was kept by an official called the parakoimomenos (literally, the chamberlain) of the seal. He goes on to say that the emperor employed a lead seal when communicating with despotai, the patriarch, and other persons of rank.[1] He might have added that lead seals were also employed by empresses, as witness here, for example, the lead seals of Theodora Doukaina Palaiologina, wife of Michael VIII (cat. 7A), and Anna of Savoy, wife of Andronikos III (cat. 7E). On occasion, emperors sealed in gold. Gold seals survive, for instance, of Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82), John V Palaiologos (r. 1341–47; 1354–91), and John VIII Palaiologos (see cat. 8).[2] In earlier centuries only the Byzantine emperor used a gold seal, but over time numerous rulers adopted the practice, such as Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1155–90), Leo II of Armenia (r. 1199–1219), and Charles I, king of Sicily (r. 1266–85).[3] The rarest of seals is the silver seal, used by rulers of Epiros and the Peloponnesos during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[4]

In order to seal in lead, two pieces of equipment were required: a blank and a boulloterion. Blanks were cast in molds, often of slate. The molds were fashioned with grooves into which wires were set. After lead was poured into the mold and the metal began to cool, the wire was removed, resulting in a disk with a channel running through its interior. The boulloterion was a plierslike instrument made of iron, with heads resembling two punches. On the inner face of each punch was carved in negative the owner's choice of decoration, such as a figure or an inscription. Since lead seals were used to validate the signature on a document, a hole was made at the bottom of a document. A thin cord was drawn through the hole, each end of which was tied and then threaded

7D, obverse

7E, obverse

7F, obverse

7D, reverse

7E, reverse

7F, reverse

through a blank's channel. Finally the blank was placed between the heads of a boulloterion and pressure was applied to the handles. As a result, the dies were impressed into the metal, and, with the collapse of the channel, cord and blank were securely joined together.[5]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is some correspondence between coins and imperial lead seals with regard to their overall design, as well as details of iconography. Later, the two genres part company. For example, on hyperpyra of Emperor Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328) (Dumbarton Oaks, 220 and 224), the obverse bears a depiction of the Virgin within the walls of Constantinople, and the reverse features a representation of the emperor kneeling before Christ. On seals, in contrast, the obverse is decorated with a representation of Christ standing and holding a book, while on the reverse the emperor is shown full length, facing the viewer and holding the labarum, a Christian military standard and symbol of regal power. On imperial seals figures are stiff and, as such, exhibit the same rigidity of posture and gestures they had shown for nearly a thousand years. The choice of iconography is also conservative. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, imperial seals regularly bear a depiction of Christ. In the later centuries, Christ is favored among emperors, while their consorts prefer the Virgin. Thus we find the Virgin enthroned, holding the infant Christ, on the seals of Theodora (cat. 7A), Irene, wife of Andronikos II (cat. 7C), and Anna, wife of Andronikos III (cat. 7E). The chancery sought to maintain as much as possible the illusion of timelessness: Palaiologan seals have, on balance, the same figure style and iconography as seals had had for centuries, and reflect the same high standards of epigraphy. The same cannot be said of coins. On the obverse side of a coin of Andronikos II (Dumbarton Oaks, 5, 220), the Virgin's sigla, identifying her as "Mother of God," is absent; but no such gaucherie mars, for example, the seal of Empress Theodora (cat. 7A), on which, to the left and right of the Virgin's head, the Virgin's identifying label appears in bold relief. Whereas coins often have either misspellings or names with odd forms, inscriptions on imperial seals are usually orthographically correct, a reflection of the cultivation and education of the officials who supervised the issuance of state documents and who zealously protected the empire's image.

Some seals are in late die state or are corroded. In these instances, such as the seal of Anna Palaiologina (cat. 7E), it is difficult to judge the quality of die carving, but no such problem presents itself with regard to the seal of Constantine, the son of Andronikos II (cat. 7D). Here we are confronted with the imprint of an exquisitely carved die on which all the details of costume are sharply defined, including the shape of Constantine's hat (called a skiadion) and the jeweled lozenges that ornament his chlamys. It is also clear that the figure is beardless, suggesting that the seal was issued about 1292, the year Constantine (born in 1277) was bethrothed and raised to the despotate. The refinement of this seal contrasts with the seal of David Komnenos (cat. 7F), the younger brother of Alexios I of Trebizond (r. 1204–22). David and Alexios were reared at the court of Queen Thamar of Georgia and were in Georgia when the Latins seized Constantinople. With Thamar's help, the two brothers led an army of Georgians into Trebizond, where they established a Byzantine successor state in 1204. David died in 1214 while resisting a Seljuk siege at the Pontian port of Sinope. On the obverse of his seal we see King David dressed in imperial costume and holding in his right hand a scepter. The left may be holding an akakia,

although, since David was a prophet, the object may also be a scroll. The depiction is awkward, but the letters on the reverse are neatly carved, and their arrangement reflects the literary touches that Byzantine aristocrats tended to esteem the most. The two-verse inscription is in dodecasyllabic meter.[6]

JN

1. Verpeaux 1966, pp. 175–76.
2. See Martini 1984, nos. 10, 18, 22–23.
3. Ibid., nos. 1, 8, 11.
4. A silver seal is illustrated in Oikonomidès 1985, p. 6, no. 9.
5. For illustrations of molds, blanks, and a boulloterion, see ibid., pp. 4–8.
6. The inscription on the reverse of Constantine's seal consists of three verses, also in dodecasyllabic meter.

REFERENCES: (7A) unpublished, but for similar specimens, see Zacos and Veglery 1972, no. 122; (7B) ibid., no. 124a; (7C) unpublished, but for similar specimens, see ibid., no. 125; (7D) ibid., no. 2758a; Oikonomidès 1985, no. 45; (7E) Zacos and Veglery 1972, no. 127b; (7F) ibid., no. 2754a.

8. Gold Seal of John VIII Palaiologos

Constantinople, 1425–48
Two thin disk-shaped sheets of gold, joined by a binding substance, probably wax
Diameter 3.8 cm (1½ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, sigla at left and right of Christ's head, $\overline{\text{IC}}$–$\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς; Jesus Christ); in the field at the left, the letter Φ is superimposed on an M or an Φ in a ligature with the letter Γ. In either case the meaning is unknown. On the reverse, in a column at the left and right of the emperor, $\overline{\text{Iω}}$| ΕΗ$\overline{\text{Xω}}$ΑΥΤω| ΚΡΑ| ΤωΡ–Ο| ΠΑ| ΛΑΙ| Ο| ΛΟ| ΓΟ| C (Ἰω(άννης) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ αὐτωκράτωρ ὁ Παλαιολόγος; John Palaiologos, in Christ, autokrator)
PROVENANCE: Formerly in the Bertelè collection.

8, obverse

CONDITION: The seal is virtually mint state.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (56.23.2909)

In John's reign (1425–48) the standard coin was the silver stavraton (see cat. 12D), with which our gold seal stands in stark contrast. During this reign Byzantium underwent the loss of Thessalonike to the Turks in 1430 and the subjugation of the Morea by the Turks in 1446, while attempts to unify the Eastern and Western churches ended in failure. Yet even as the power of Byzantium waned, the imperial chancery maintained the traditional standards, projecting to its public a courtly world of dignity, majesty, and splendor. On the stavraton Christ and the emperor are mere stick figures; in the process of simplification even the emperor's symbols of power have been eliminated. On the gold seal, however, we can discern a distinct face with a long beard, a crown surmounted by a cross, and a jeweled gown. The emperor holds in his right hand a sceptered cross and in his left an akakia.

Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328) was the last Byzantine emperor to strike large quantities of gold coinage. In that reign and in prior times, the weight of a gold seal corresponded to a unit of gold coinage. Since gold coinage had ceased to be issued by John's reign, we are unsure what this seal's weight (6.6 g) signifies. It may be that it equals one and a half solidi. The seal has the same matrices as a gold seal of 1433, preserved in the Vatican.[1]

JN

1. For an illustration of the Vatican gold seal of John VIII, see Dworschak 1936, pl. 1 (opposite p. 288), and Martini 1984, no. 22.

REFERENCES: Grierson 1966, pp. 252–53; Zacos and Veglery 1972, no. 128 bis.

8, reverse

9. Gold Seal of Thomas, Despot of Epiros

Epiros (northwestern Greece), ca. 1313–18
Two disk-shaped sheets of gold, with the one of larger circumference folded over the edge of the smaller
Diameter 3.27 cm (1⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, at left and right of Saint Michael, AP| $\overline{\text{X}}$–MI| $\overline{\text{X}}$ (Ἀρχ(άγγελος) Μιχ(αήλ); Archangel Michael). On the reverse, in a column at left and right of Thomas's head, X| PI–K.| PIϑ (χ(ε)ὶρ Κ[υ]ρίου; Hand of the Lord); in a column at the left and right, ΑΓΓΕ| ΛΟΓΟ| ΝΟV| CΦΡ| Α–ΓΙCΜ| Α| ΘωΜ| ΑΔΕ| CΠΟ| Τϑ (Ἀγγελογόνου σφράγισμα Θωμᾶ δεσπότου; Seal of Thomas, despot, member of the Angelos family)
PROVENANCE: Acquired by the British Museum in 1862.
CONDITION: Besides a loss of metal and slight discoloration at the top, there is also a small crack at the bottom.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (M&LA 62,7-29,1)

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204 to the Latins, Michael I Komnenos Doukas (r. 1205–15) founded a government-in-exile in Epiros. In 1224, his brother Theodore wrested control of Thessalonike from the Latins and was crowned emperor there. The adoption of this title placed the overlords of Epiros in contention with the Vatatzes, the rulers of Nicaea, and in 1242 John III Vatatzes forced Theodore's son, John Komnenos Doukas, to adopt instead the designation despotes, the title that is found on this seal. Its owner, Thomas, was born about 1288–89. He was the son of Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas, ruler of Epiros (r. ca. 1266/8–ca. 1296/8) and Anna Palaiologina Kantakouzene. The inscription on the reverse directly mentions his descent from the Angeloi family, of which the presence of the archangel Michael as a decorative motif on the obverse is an indirect reminder. In 1307 Thomas married Anna Palaiologina, the granddaughter of Emperor Andronikos II, and until 1313 harmonious relations prevailed between the despotate of Epiros and the imperial court of Constantinople. Thomas ended his career as a rebel against imperial authority, however, and died in 1318 at the hands of his nephew Nicolas Orsini.[1] Werner Seibt dates the seal to the period 1313–18, when Epiros and Constantinople were moving toward open conflict. The right to use a gold seal belonged exclusively to the emperor. Its use by anyone else constituted an act of defiance, a deliberate affront that is compounded here by the fact that the figure of Thomas is shown wearing imperial clothes and holding the symbols of imperial office, namely

9, obverse

9, reverse

a scepter in the right hand and in the left an akakia (here, the pipe-shaped object terminating in a knob at each end). In this portrayal of Thomas we see the art of fourteenth-century political propaganda. JN

1. Thomas's life is discussed in Nicol 1957 (rpt.), pp. 63–80.

REFERENCES: Buckton 1994b, no. 214; Seibt 1994, pp. 71–76, pl. 60.

10. Gold Seal of Czar Constantine Asen

Bulgarian (Tarnovgrad), after 1268
Gold, approx. 10 carats
Diameter 3.8 cm (1½ in.); weight 7.57 g
INSCRIBED: In relief, in old Bulgarian, on the obverse, "Archangel Michael"; on the reverse, "Constantine Asen, in Christ God loyal Czar and Autocrat of the Bulgarians"
PROVENANCE: The findspot is unknown. The seal was bought in Istanbul. The collection of the Institute of Archaeology with Museum in Sofia contains another seal (inv. 98) with the same provenance. It is made of the same material, but its diameter (3.4 cm) is smaller.
CONDITION: The seal is in a good state of preservation. The details in the representations are sharp, especially on the obverse. The reverse die of the seal is less worn than is the obverse. The object has never been subjected to restoration or conservation.
Institute of Archaeology with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Numismatics, Sofia (97)

The whole field of the obverse is occupied by the full-length figure of the archangel Michael, nimbate and with long-feathered outspread wings. Michael, dressed in a chiton, cuirass, and chlamys, faces forward while standing on a suppadaneum. The sword in his right hand extends over the right shoulder; from the left hip hangs the sheath. This detailed representation is very expressive. On the reverse, the czar is shown standing on a suppadaneum and facing forward. The figure is contained within an oval frame around which runs the inscription. He is dressed in a divetesion and wears a loros with its end thrown over his left hand. Prependoulia hang from his crown on both sides of the head. The czar holds a labarum in his right hand and the akakia in his left. The reverse pattern resembles known types of seals belonging to the early Latin emperors in Constantinople.[1] A similar lead seal, with a diameter of 4.2 cm (1⅝ in.), is kept in the Athens Numismatic Museum,[2] while another lead example in the same collection depicts the archangel Michael and the emperor, with certain iconographical differences.[3]

Images of Czar Constantine Asen (r. 1257–77) survive in excellent wall paintings from 1259 in the Boyana Church, near Sofia. The donor's inscription there lays stress on the kinship of the local sebastocrator Kaloyan with Bulgarian and Serbian rulers.[4] Conflicts between the Asen ruling dynasty of Bulgaria and the aristocracy brought to the throne the boyar Constantine Tich, grandson of Serbian king Stephan I and son of the boyar Tich from Skopje. The czar is depicted in the Boyana wall paintings together with his wife, Irene, daughter of the Nicaean emperor Theodore II Laskaris and granddaughter on her mother's side of the Bulgarian czar Ivan Asen II. Having received a kind of legitimacy through his first marriage, the new Bulgarian czar Constantine adopted the family name Asen. His second wife, Maria, was also a Byzantine princess—a niece of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. Most probably since that date the representation of the archangel Michael, the personal protector of the Byzantine emperor, began to appear on the seals of Constantine Asen. The low-grade gold used for the seal's lamellae is a reflection of the troubled situation in the country during the twenty-year reign of Constantine, due to repeated Tatar invasions and internecine wars.[5]

The authenticity of the seal has been questioned in the past,[6] but recent studies and new discoveries have confirmed its authenticity.

MV

1. Iurukova and Penchev 1990, p. 54.
2. Kōnstantopoulos 1930, p. 285a; Gerasimov 1960, pp. 65–68, pl. IV.2, fig. 2.
3. Iurukova and Penchev 1990, pp. 163–68, no. 190.

10, obverse

10, reverse

4. A. Grabar 1924.
5. Ĭordanov 2001, p. 117, no. 159.
6. Gerasimov 1970, pp. 37–38, fig. 5a.

REFERENCES: Mushmov 1924, no. 247; Gerasimov 1940–41, pp. 66–73; Gerasimov 1970, pp. 37–38, fig. 5a; Paris 1980, p. 182, no. 395; Iurukova and Penchev 1990, pp. 52–56, pl. III, 24a–b; Ĭordanov 2001, p. 177, no. 159.

11. Lead Seal of Patriarch Vissarion

Bulgarian (Tarnovgrad [Veliko Tarnovo]), mid-13th century, maybe 1246 (?)
Lead
4 x 3.7 x .2 cm (1⅝ x 1½ x ⅛ in.); weight 20.75 g
INSCRIBED: Four lines in old Bulgarian, on the reverse, "Vissarion, by the grace of God, Patriarch of the Bulgarians"
PROVENANCE: The seal is a stray find from the village of Belene, in the Veliko Tarnovo region (on the Danube River).
CONDITION: The seal is in a good state of preservation. The surface of the relief on the obverse is slightly worn, but the details are still clear. The inscription is legible.
Institute of Archaeology with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Numismatics, Sofia (110)

11, obverse

11, reverse

The entire field of the obverse is occupied by a relief scene depicting Christ's Ascension. An encircling ring of dots is partially preserved along the rim. The composition is symmetrically arranged on both sides of the vertical axis. The two major figures, around which the rest of the participants in the scene are grouped, are represented one above the other: Christ enthroned within an oval compartment (mandorla), and the standing Virgin, her hands over her breast. The mandorla is supported by two flying angels. Beneath them, on either side of the Virgin, are the twelve disciples, in two groups of two rows. With their bodies slightly turned, they gaze up at the divine image.

The iconography of the scene on the obverse and the high quality of the engraving give much support to the suggestion that the matrix of the seal was manufactured in the old Bulgarian capital, Tarnovgrad, and that the scene itself reproduced a famous icon kept most probably in the patriarch's church, which is known to have been devoted to the Ascension.[1] The remains of that church and of the patriarch's residence, which have been precisely localized and archaeologically studied, were situated on the uppermost part of Tsarevets Hill (Czar's City) in Tarnovo, just next to the ruins of the czar's palace. Judging by another known specimen—the seal of patriarch Symeon from the 1340s, the scene represented here seems to have been used as a particular symbol of the Bulgarian patriarchs during the Middle Ages.[2]

The lead seal of Patriarch Vissarion is a rare sphragistic survival, one of the few known seals of heads of the Bulgarian church in the Middle Ages. At the same time, the identification of the personality of the patriarch is still a matter of scholarly discussion. His name is not attested in the preserved documents. Not long ago graffiti mentioning his death were discovered in the Saints Peter and Paul Church in Veliko Tarnovo. They read: "Patriarch Vissarion passed on in the month September."[3] Unfortunately, the year is not recorded. The time of Vissarion's patriarchate is differently specified in the scholarly literature, ranging from the second decade to the middle of the thirteenth century. The lack of official records has given rise to different hypotheses. One suggests a conflict between the head of the Bulgarian church and the Bulgarian czar Ivan Asen II (r. 1218–41), possibly over opposition of the former to the czar's numerous marriages. Another theory concerns the patriarch's support for union with Rome,[5] which has been put forward by I. I. Ĭordanov, who dates the seal to 1246. According to Ĭordanov, the patriarch's adherence to Uniatism led to his non-inclusion in official documents of the Orthodox Church. The absence of the formula "of all the Bulgarians" in the patriarch's title, which became obligatory from the time of Patriarch Basilius I (1246–56) on, is another argument in favor of this suggested dating of the seal.[6]

MV

1. Gerasimov 1964, pp. 45–49; Iurukova and Penchev 1990, p. 66.
2. Ĭordanov 2001, p. 131.
3. Ovcharov and Hadzhiev 1991, pp. 24–27.
4. Iurukova and Penchev 1990, p. 68; Giuzelev 1972, p. 81; Andreev 1994, p. 58.
5. Gerasimov 1964, pp. 46–47; Ovcharov and Hadzhiev 1991, pp. 24–27.
6. Ĭordanov 2001, p. 131.

REFERENCES: Gerasimov 1952, pp. 95–100, fig. 2; Gerasimov 1964, pp. 45–49; Paris 1980, no. 396; Iurukova and Penchev 1990, pp. 65–68; Totev 1999, pp. 613–14; Rome 2000, p. 190, no. 67; Ĭordanov 2001, pp. 130–31.

12A–P. Byzantine Coins

12A. Gold Hyperpyron of Michael VIII Palaiologos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1261–82
Maximum diameter 26 mm (1 in.); weight 4.14 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: [$\overline{\text{MP}}$] $\overline{\Theta}$ (Mother of God)
Bust of the Virgin Orans, rising over the city walls of Constantinople.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: Χ/Μ/Δ/Π/Γ (Despot Michael Palaiologos); above, Μ ([Archangel] Michael); in center, $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Christ); on right, Ο/ΠΑ/Λ (Palaiologos)
Archangel Michael presenting the kneeling emperor to Christ, seated on a low throne and holding a scroll in his left hand.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (48.17.3592)

12B. Gold Hyperpyron of Andronikos II Palaiologos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1282–94
Maximum diameter 23 mm (⅞ in.); weight 3.77 g
Obverse
Bust of the Virgin Orans, rising over the city walls of Constantinople.

12A, obverse

12A, reverse

Reverse

INSCRIBED: +/..ΔP/NIKOC/X̄Ω̄T/ΘOOI/IPOC/ACIΛ (Andronikos, in Christ the Lord, [the sanctified emperor]); on the right, IC/XC (Jesus Christ)

Haloed emperor kneeling in proskynesis before standing Christ, who places his right hand on the emperor's head and holds the Gospels in his left hand.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.88.4454)

12C. Silver Basilikon of Andronikos II and Michael IX Palaiologos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1304–20 or later

Maximum diameter 21 mm (7/8 in.); weight 2.12 g

Obverse

INSCRIBED: $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ)

Christ seated on a high throne.

Reverse

INSCRIBED: VTOKPATO–PECPOMAION (Emperors of Rome)

Andronikos II, bearded, standing to the right of his son Michael IX. Between them the royal pair hold a labarum.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (48.17.3631)

12B, obverse

12B, reverse

12C, obverse

12C, reverse

12D. Silver Stavraton of John V Palaiologos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1354–76

Maximum diameter 28 mm (1 1/8 in.); weight 8.6 g

Obverse

INSCRIBED: $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ)

Bust of Christ, holding the Gospels in his left hand.

Reverse

INSCRIBED: In concentric circles, + IΩ...ECΠO...O ΠAΛEOΛOГOC – ΘVXAPITIB ACIΛEC TΩN POMΩN (Despot John Palaiologos, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans)

Bust of haloed emperor.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.125.1674)

12D, obverse

12D, reverse

12E. Silver Half-Stavraton of Manuel II Palaiologos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1391–95

Maximum diameter 19 mm (3/4 in.); weight 3.48 g

Obverse

Saint Demetrios on horseback, with sword raised in right hand.

Reverse

INSCRIBED: In circle, +M...ΠICTOCB ACIΛ. (Manuel . . . faithful emperor)

Bust of haloed emperor with Palaiologan monogram to his right.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (56.23.4743)

12F. Silver Stavraton of John VIII Palaiologos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1425–48
Weight 7.12 g
Obverse
Inscribed: $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ)
Bust of Christ, gesturing with his right hand and holding the Gospels in his left hand.
Reverse
Inscribed: In concentric circles, ..ЄСП.. ΟΠΑΛΕΟΛΟΓ .../ΘVΧΑΡΙΤΙΒ ΑCΙΛΕVCΤΟИΡΟΜΕ (Despot [John] Palaiologos, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans)
Bust of haloed emperor.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.88.5531)

12E, obverse

12E, reverse

12G. Silver Half-Stavraton of Constantine XI Dragases

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1449–53
Maximum diameter 17 mm (⅝ in.); weight 3.27 g
Obverse
Inscribed: $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ)
Bust of Christ, gesturing with his right hand and holding the Gospels in his left hand.
Reverse
Inscribed: In concentric circles, ...ΤΗCΟΠΑΛ... (Despot [Constantine] Palaiologos)
Bust of haloed emperor.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (90.2.2)

12F, obverse

12F, reverse

12H. Copper Assarion of Andronikos II and Michael IX Palaiologos

Byzantine (probably Constantinople), 1294–1320 or later
Weight 1.55 g
Obverse
Inscribed: Palaiologan monogram, ΠΑΛΓ (Palaiologos)
Reverse
Inscribed: In circle, +A...ΡΟΜΑΙΩΝ (Emperors of the Romans)
Half-length figures of Andronikos and his son Michael, holding between them a labarum.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (93.3.11)

12G, obverse

12G, reverse

12I. Copper Assarion of John V Palaiologos and Anna of Savoy

Byzantine (Thessalonike), 1352–65
Maximum diameter 16 mm (⅝ in.); weight 1.09 g
Obverse
Emperor standing, holding a labarum in his right hand and an akakia in his left hand. Left of emperor, B (B), a symbol of the royal dynasty.

12H, obverse

12H, reverse

12 I, obverse

12 I, reverse

Reverse
Anna standing, holding a model of the city of Thessalonike in her right hand and a scepter in her left hand.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.125.1690)

12J. Copper Assarion of John V Palaiologos

Byzantine (Thessalonike), ca. 1365–76
Maximum diameter 18 mm (¾ in.); weight 1.58 g
Obverse
Emperor, haloed, stands on the left, holding a scepter and gesturing with a small cross in his left hand toward a structure, perhaps the shrine of Saint Demetrios.
Reverse
A group of soldiers (one visible) thrust their spears into Saint Demetrios's side. The saint, seated, slumps forward with his hand raised.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (67.34)

12J, obverse

12J, reverse

12K. Billon Politikon, probably of John V Palaiologos

Byzantine (probably Constantinople), ca. 1340–60
Maximum diameter 17 mm (⅝ in.); weight .83 g
Obverse
Inscribed: +ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΙ (the city, or, the public)
Square cross at center.
Reverse
Large castle or gates of a city, with a cross surmounting the uppermost tower.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (58.160)

12K, obverse

12K, reverse

12L. Billon Politikon, probably of John V Palaiologos

Byzantine (probably Constantinople), ca. 1340–60
Maximum diameter 14 mm (½ in.); weight .41 g
Obverse
Inscribed: +Π... ΙΚΟΙ (the city, or, the public)
Square cross at center.
Reverse
Double-headed eagle with wings spread.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (70.4)

12L, obverse

12L, reverse

12M. Copper Tornesion of Andronikos IV

Byzantine (probably Constantinople), 1376–79
Maximum diameter 18 mm (¾ in.); weight 2.09 g
Obverse
Inscribed: +ΑΙΔΡΟΝΙΚΟ ...Ι (Andronikos [Despot]); at center, Palaiologan monogram, ΠΑΛΓ (Palaiologos)

Reverse
Saint Demetrios and emperor, both haloed, riding on horseback. The emperor rests a long cross over his right shoulder.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.88.4755)

12N. Silver Asper of John II Komnenos of Trebizond

Byzantine (Trebizond), 1280–97
Maximum diameter 23 mm (⅞ in.); weight 2.3 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: Ⓐ/EV/Γ/E/NI/O/C (Saint Eugenios)
Saint Eugenios standing, with a long cross in his right hand, gesturing with his left hand.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: IC̄Ω/O/K/OMN/N/O/C (John Komnenos)
Emperor standing, holding cruciform globe in his left hand and labarum in his right hand.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.88.4938)

12O. Silver Grosh of Ivan Alexander and Michael Asan

Bulgarian, 1331–71
Obverse
Weight 1.8 g
INSCRIBED: IC XC (Jesus Christ)
Christ with both arms raised in benediction, monograms to his left and right.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: Not legible (usually shorthand for the rulers' names)
Ivan and Michael standing side by side, holding a banner between them and each holding a long cross over his shoulder.
The American Numismatic Society, New York (0000.999.53384)

12P. Silver Denga of Pskov

Russian (Pskov), ca. 1510
Weight .7 g
Obverse
Bust portrait of crowned duke with sword raised in his right hand. The letter K appears to his right.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Russian, деньга Псковъская (coin of Pskov)
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1956.163.1744)

Coins of the Late Byzantine world offer a unique window into the affairs of the empire and its neighbors. They reveal the great faith invested in saints and holy powers charged with the protection of particular

12M, obverse

12M, reverse

12N, obverse

12N, reverse

12O, obverse

12O, reverse

12P, obverse

12P, reverse

dynasties, regions, or cities. They also show a tension between the will to preserve the grand traditions of the Byzantine economy and the need to adapt to a complicated new world.

Although history remembers the first Palaiologan emperor for his aggressive pragmatism, and in particular for his concessions to the pope, Michael VIII's coins paint a different picture of the emperor (r. 1259–82). He is shown kneeling—a first in coin iconography—with his namesake archangel Michael behind, commending him to Christ who sits enthroned before the emperor (cat. 12A). Subsequent rulers followed Michael VIII in his humility before the empire's heavenly protectors, especially his deeply devout son Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328), who was sometimes depicted in full proskynesis before Christ (cat. 12B).

This new representation of the relationship between the earthly and heavenly ruler on coin reverses was coupled with an equally significant iconographic innovation on the obverse. There a new icon type showed the Virgin, with arms raised, rising over a cityscape of Constantinople—a city for many centuries entrusted to her care. By depicting the city, the coin reveals an immediacy and specificity in representations of Byzantine faith that characterizes many other coins of the period. The coins of the splinter state of Trebizond stopped emulating traditional types and instead called upon a local patron saint, Eugenios, to protect his specific region (cat. 12N). In Thessalonike surviving coins speak to the special faith there in Saint Demetrios, who appears on many copper coins minted in the region, as well as on a silver coin celebrating his martyrdom and his miracle-working shrine (cat. 12J). Other small-denomination coins incorporated symbols of political power specifically associated with the ruling dynasty—the Palaiologan monogram (cats. 12E, 12H, 12M), the double-headed eagle (cat. 12L)—or the city itself, whether shown in isolation (cat. 12K) or in the hands of a local ruler, like the empress Anna of Savoy (r. 1341–65), who took on the administration of Thessalonike (cat. 12I).

The inventiveness of Late Byzantine coinage did little, however, to mask its general decline in quality and international significance. With Byzantium's share in global economics on the wane, its coins too—the symbols of that economic power—ebbed in prestige and influence. As high-quality gold coins came to dominate western European currencies, the Byzantine hyperpyron could not keep pace, and by the mid-fourteenth century it had declined to the point that production of gold coinage was stopped altogether. Instead, Byzantium and its neighbors shifted to a silver standard, based on the basilikon coin (cat. 12C), first developed under Andronikos II and modeled on the Venetian grosso (see cat. 313). Serbian coins replicated the grosso in their design (see cat. 13), while Bulgarian coins, like their Byzantine counterparts, preserved as far as possible a traditional Byzantine iconography in this new format (cat. 12O). Under John V (r. 1341–91) the basilikon was superseded by the stavraton coin (cats. 12D–12G), a heavier and thus more valuable coin than the basilikon, but of a much cruder design. Further north, in Russia, by the fifteenth century principalities were experimenting in silver coinages of their own, animated both with symbols unique to particular dynasties and with those emerging from Russia's long-standing place in a Byzantine world (cat. 12P). The political unification of Russia and the gradual development of a unified coinage were under way by the turn of the sixteenth century. RH

References: Bertelè 1937; Metcalf 1965; Bendall and Donald 1979; Grierson 1999, nos. 10, 12 (cat. 12A reverse, obverse); 220, 224 (cat. 12B obverse, reverse); 302 (cat. 12H obverse); 517, 524 (cat. 12C obverse, reverse); 701 (cat. 12H reverse); 1212 (cat. 12K); 1216, 1217 (cat. 12L obverse, reverse); 1229 (cat. 12I); 1233, 1239 (cat. 12D obverse, reverse); 1251 (cat. 12J); 1258, 1259 (cat. 12M obverse, reverse); 1311 (cat. 12E); 1611, 1613 (cat. 12F obverse, reverse); 1788 (cat. 12G).

13A–D. Serbian Coins

13A. Dinar of Stefan Uroš II Milutin

Serbia, 1282–1321
Silver
Obverse
Diameter 20 mm (¾ in.)
Inscribed: IC-XC (Jesus Christ). Sigla: R-
Christ, nimbate, seated on a backed throne facing the viewer, confers blessings with his right hand and holds the Gospel in his left.
Reverse
Diameter 21 mm (⅞ in.)
Inscribed: VROSIVS—R/E/X-S STEFAN (King Urosius—Saint Stephen). Sigla: -V
Two figures stand facing front: King Milutin, on the left, and Saint Stephen, nimbate, on the right. Between them they support a tall double cross. The king holds an akakia in his left hand; Saint Stephen holds a Gospel book in his left hand.
Provenance: From the Dobrište hoard, Serbia.
Condition: Very good.
National Museum, Belgrade (O.1106/1, O.1106/2)

"De cruce" dinars issued by King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321) belonged to an already developed monetary production in Serbia, where seven silver mines existed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The exploitation of this precious metal led directly to the minting of silver dinars in Serbia during the reign of Stefan IV Dragutin (r. 1276–82) in about 1276, predating the appearance of the Bulgarian grosso and the Byzantine basilikon. All these coins were modeled after the Venetian grosso, which because of the Republic's trading power spread to the eastern Mediterranean and the interior of the Balkan Peninsula in the thirteenth century. The first Serbian dinars were fairly direct copies of the Venetian coin. But instead of Saint Mark, the protector of Venice, Serbian dinars featured an image of Saint Stephen, protector of the ruling Nemanjid dynasty. An image of Christ on the obverse, paired with one on the reverse of Saint Stephen handing the king a flag (on the first issues) or a double cross (on later issues), carried a clear political message, highlighting as it did the connection between Christ's heavenly power and the king's earthly rule. These representations had been appropriated from Byzantine coin iconography: the image of the enthroned Christ appeared on coins starting with the rule of Basil I (r. 867–86), while a representation of the archangel Michael handing a labarum to the emperor was found on coins beginning in the epoch of Michael IV (r. 1034–41). The representation of the enthroned Christ on one side of the coin and the ruler alone or accompanied by a saint on the other became a canon, which most coin issues in Serbia followed during the royal period. At the same time, images based on Western iconography were introduced by central European mint masters. The most conspicuous instance is a coin issued by King Milutin with a representation of the Virgin as queen on the obverse and the enthroned ruler holding an upright sword and a lance with a flag on the reverse. VI

References: Ljubić 1875; Metcalf 1979; Ivanišević 2001.

13A, obverse

13A, reverse

13B, obverse

13B, reverse

13C, obverse

13C, reverse

Due to the large quantity and high quality of silver ore in medieval Serbian mines, the monetary reform in the imperial period (1346–55) of Dušan's rule triggered a large production of silver dinars. Executed in a high-quality technique by mold masters, the silver dinars, through the strictly marked issue program, reflected the politics of the newly created empire that developed under the strong impact of Byzantine state ideology and culture. The coins largely contributed to the popularization of this ideology. In the service of political ideas "coronation dinars" appeared (cat. 13B), struck in a most representative fashion in the Novo Brdo mint, as one of the first imperial issues, in honor of Dušan's coronation as emperor in Skopje in 1346.

Confirmed by numerous finds, this issue, in all probability the first imperial one, contained silver of higher quality than the coinage of the previous period and can be classified as one of the main monetary units of the Serbian empire. It introduced a new iconographic program in Serbian coinage, with the central placement of the Serbian emperor as a Byzantine basileus, depicted in full attire and with insignia that, according to legend, were conferred by God on the emperor of the *Romanoi* for the solemn coronation ceremony. The symbolic elements of Dušan's dinars include, on one side, a lavishly decorated stemma with *orphanos* and pearl prependoulia, a stately divetesion adorned with a loros, a scepter with cross and pearls, two floating angels, and the imperial title, and, on the other side, the enthroned Christ. The coins were placed in the service of the cult that, through the mediation of God, were to justify Dušan's title of "Emperor and Autocrator of Serbia and Byzantium," which he obtained without the consent of the Byzantine emperor or the blessings of the patriarch in Constantinople. Although worthy of Byzantine imperial representation, Dušan's image was not appropriated from Byzantine coins, but from Serbian fresco painting of the Nemanjid lineage. VR

References: Ljubić 1875; Metcalf 1979; Radić 2000; Ivanišević 2001; Vujadin Ivanišević and Vesna Radić, "Kovnica srpskog srednjovekovnog novca u Novom Brdu" (Serbian Medieval Mint at Novo Brdo), in *Novo Brdo* (Belgrade, forthcoming).

13B. Dinar of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan

Serbia, Novo Brdo mint (?), 1346–55
Silver
Obverse
Diameter 21 mm (⅞ in.)
Inscribed: IC XC (Jesus Christ)
Christ, nimbate, seated on a backed throne facing the viewer, confers blessings with his right hand and holds the Gospel in his left.

Provenance: From the Debar hoard, Serbia.
Reverse
Diameter 20 mm (¾ in.)
Inscribed: In Slavonic, Ć(те)ф(ан)ь ц(а)р (Emperor Stephen); mark, N-O
A frontal standing figure of the emperor is flanked by two angels who are crowning him. The emperor is holding a cross or a double-cross scepter in his right hand and an akakia in his left.
Provenance: From the Kičevo hoard, Serbia
Condition: Both sides are in very good condition.
National Museum, Belgrade (O. 1104/1, O. 461)

13C. Dinar of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan

Serbia, Novo Brdo mint (?), 1346–55
Silver
Obverse
Diameter 22 mm (⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: IC XC (Jesus Christ)
A bust of Christ with a nimbus, facing the viewer, confers blessings with his right hand and holds an akakia in his left.
Reverse
Diameter 21.5 mm (⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, С(те)ф(ан)ъ ц(а)р (Emperor Stephen); mark, N-O
The crowned emperor, riding to the right, holds a cross scepter in the right and an akakia in the left hand.
PROVENANCE: From the Uroševac hoard, Serbia.
CONDITION: Both sides are in very good condition.
National Museum, Belgrade (O. 779/1, O. 779/2)

The appearance of a new, massive issue of silver dinars featuring the emperor on horseback was the result of the development of the monetary system and the increased use of coins within the territory of Dušan's empire. A high percentage of silver in these coins, similar to that in the major monetary types from the period of the proclamation of the empire in 1346, links their appearance to this event. Historical circumstances associated with battles, great victories, and the considerable extension of the Serbian territory, first at the expense of Bulgaria, and subsequently of Byzantium, must have been connected with the decision to mint this monetary unit.

Dušan's representations on coins can be divided into two iconographic categories. The first is ceremonial and is illustrated by symbolic scenes of the splendor of court ceremonies. The other is military. The depiction of the emperor on horseback, as here, is indicative of the pronouncedly bellicose spirit of the young empire and of a royal ideology that combines the triumphal symbolism of Byzantine emperors with Dušan's representation as a military leader. This is attested by every single detail of the representation, rendered through the precise work of the die-cutter: the ruler-victor in the splendor of the crown and the divetesion of the Byzantine emperor, with a scepter in his hand, rides a horse in rich harness that seems simultaneously to gallop and to rear in triumph. This issue can be distinguished from similar numismatic representations on Bulgarian or Byzantine coins by its later date, the remarkable quality of execution, and a new type of obverse—Christ the Pantokrator.[1] Its obviously Eastern model, with its victory symbolism, links Dusan's coins in a broader sense with triumphal scenes from Byzantine imperial iconography that are also present on imperial flags from the Palaiologan period.[2]

VR

1. Mushmov 1924, pp. 91, 94–95; Grierson 1982, p. 300; Grierson 1999, pt. 1, p. 185.
2. Marjanović-Dušanić 1994, p. 132.

REFERENCES: Ljubić 1875; Metcalf 1979; Radić 2000; Ivanišević 2001; Vujadin Ivanišević and Vesna Radić, "Kovnica srpskog srednjovekovnog novca u Novom Brdu" (Serbian Medieval Mint at Novo Brdo), in *Novo Brdo* (Belgrade, forthcoming).

13D. Dinar of Uglješa

Serbia, 1365–71
Silver
Diameter 20 mm (¾ in.)
Obverse
INSCRIBED: IC-XC (Jesus Christ). Sigla: I-A
Christ, nimbate, seated on a backed throne facing the viewer, confers blessings with his right hand and holds the Gospel in his left.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: +MONITA-D-ESPOT IOA (Coin of Despot Jovan)
Double-headed eagle with wings spread.
CONDITION: Very good.
National Museum, Belgrade (III2/124)

13D, obverse

13D, reverse

After the Serbian empire disintegrated in 1371, the society became feudalized; the change was reflected in coinage, as numerous coins of local rulers appeared. This process had in fact begun earlier, with the coins issued by King Vukašin (r. 1365–71) and his brother Despot Uglješa, two influential feudal lords in the time of Emperor Stefan Uroš V (r. 1355–71). While most feudal coins perpetuated old iconographic formulas, certain issues of Uglješa were enriched with new representations influenced by models from two sources, Byzantium and western Europe.

The double-headed eagle with spread wings seen on this coin originated in Byzantium, where it appeared in the twelfth century on textiles, sculptural decoration, and other types of works, but only rarely on the coins of the Palaiologoi. It was an insignia of the despot's rule.[1] The device appeared in Serbian coinage of later epochs only on the issues of Uglješa, Despot Stefan Lazarević (r. 1389–1427), and Despot Đurađ Branković (r. 1427–56). The motif had made its appearance in Serbia in the early thirteenth century and was frequently depicted there on royal attire and as an ornament on clothes, flags, stamps, shields, religious artifacts, vessels made of precious metals, rings, and decorative sculpture. The double-headed eagle was also a favorite motif in the Western world, where it was often placed on coins and became a symbol of the Holy Roman Empire in the late Middle Ages.

VI

1. Marjanović-Dušanić 1994, pp. 116–17.

REFERENCES: Ljubić 1875; Metcalf 1979; Ivanišević 2001.

14. Signet Ring of Konstantinos Mastounis

Thessalonike, 13th century
Gold and niello
Maximum diameter 2.6 cm (1 in.)
INSCRIBED: ΚΩΤΑΝΤΗΝΟΥ ΣΦΡΑΓΗΣΜΑ ΠΕΛΗ ΜΑΣΤΟΥΝΗ (Κωνσταντίνου σφράγισμα πέλεε Μαστούνης; the seal of Konstantinos Mastounis)
PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collection of the duke Alexei Lobanov-Rostovsky; to the State Hermitage Museum, 1897.
CONDITION: The surface of the bezel and hoop is worn down through rubbing; there are considerable losses of niello.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (ω 122)

The Greek inscription, engraved in reverse, indicates that the ring served as the seal of its owner, Konstantinos Mastounis. The inscrip-

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tion's paleography, the hexagonal shape of the bezel, and the decoration of the hoop are characteristic of rings from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[1] while the ring's fluted hoop and shoulders suggest further parallels with a number of well-known fourteenth-century Serbian rings.[2] The stylized lion heads that decorate the ends of the hoop, found frequently in rings originating in the Near East, are attributed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[3]

Unusual for a fourteenth-century signet ring is the design on the bezel. A retrograde inscription written in five lines of continuous text is found where a cross-monogram bearing the owner's name in the center and surrounded by an inscription indicating his status might be expected.[4] The bezel of Konstantinos Mastounis's ring is in some respects almost identical to that on the ring of Michael Zorianos in the Metropolitan Museum, made about 1300.[5] Both are similar to a group of rings in the Stathatos Collection, Athens, said to have been found near Thessalonike in a hoard containing twelfth-century coins from the reigns of Isaac II Angelos (1185–95) and Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203).[6]

A thirteenth-century date and Thessalonike origin for Mastounis's ring seems plausible, given its resemblance to the Stathatos rings. The patronymic indicates that Konstantinos was a member of this well-known Thessalonikian family.[7] At the end of the twelfth century two members of this family were mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel book kept in the monastery church of Megali Panagia (now Nea Panagia):[8] Ilarion Mastounis, who was the founder of the monastery as well as its abbot, and his son, the monk Gerasimos, who was the patron of the Gospel book.[9] Konstantinos Mastounis, the owner of the Hermitage ring, may have been their relative. VNZ

1. See Bank 1980 concerning paleography, in particular the ligatures ΓΗ and ΗΜ, which are typical for Late Byzantine script, as is the straight crossbar in the letter M.
2. Radojković 1969, figs. 42–45, 48, 52, 54.
3. Content 1987, nos. 38–44, pp. 77–83.
4. Zalesskaya 1994, pp. 95–98; Athens 1985–86, nos. 213, 215, 221, pp. 194–98.
5. Evans et al. 2001, p. 54.
6. Coche de la Ferté 1957, pp. 40–41.
7. Kissas 1986, pp. 113–14.
8. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta 1997, pp. 34–35, fig. 29.
9. P. Papageōrgiou 1897, p. 542.

References: Bank 1980; Kissas 1986, pp. 113–14; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta 1997, pp. 34–35.

15. Signet Ring of Manuel

Probably Mistra, 14th century
Gold and niello
Diameter 2.65 cm (1 in.)
Inscribed: M, N, H, Λ (monogram for Μανουήλ [Manuel])
Provenance: Bequeathed to the British Museum by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks in 1897.
Condition: The condition is good, although the ring shows signs of wear.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (M&LA AF 271)

This ring is difficult to date with precision, as parallels for the shape of the hoop and bezel can be found on rings ranging in date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.[1] O. M. Dalton read the monogram on the bezel as "Manuel,"[2] and perhaps this example can be identified with Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425).[3] Only four gold signet rings naming Palaiologoi survive. They have on their bezels the double-headed eagle, which was used as the Palaiologan emblem, or monograms associated with the family, including the Palaiologan patronymic or the device formed by the appearance of two confronted Bs.[4]

In the construction and decoration of this ring's hoop and shoulders, but not the bezel, Manuel's ring can be compared with the gold ring from the Stathatos Collection in Athens.[5] The latter is said to have been found near Thessalonike, its possible place of origin, since its ornamentation was characteristic of jewelry made in Macedonia and Epiros. On the other hand, rings with an octagonal bezel and fluted shoulders were widespread in western Europe in the last quarter of the fourteenth to the first half of the fifteenth century, as attested by a gilded bronze ring now in the British Museum. It has on one shoulder a crown above three fleurs-de-lys, and on the other a tiara above two crossed papal keys. According to Dalton, the British Museum ring was made for one of the French popes.[6] Additionally, the design of the bezel of Manuel's ring can be compared to rings found in Constantinople and attributed to workshops of the capital, including the ring of a Palaiologos, protonobilissimos and sebastos, from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington, D.C.[7]

Besides this Constantinopolitan association, Manuel's ring is similar to an example from the Benaki Museum, Athens, bearing a cross-monogram encircled by the patronym of the owner: ΤΟΥ ΕΥΜΟΡΦΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ.[8] The Eumorphopouloi were a noble family of Mistra, the capital of the Morean despotate in the Peloponnesos.

The mixture of different elements in the design of this piece is easily explained if the ring belonged to the despot of Morea, Manuel Kantakouzenos (r. 1349–80). The decorative art of Morea displayed the multicultural features one might expect from the influence of both Byzantine and western European traditions. The capital, Mistra, was founded on the territory of the former French principality, and Manuel's wife, Isabelle, originated from the royal house of the Lusignans.[9] Thus Manuel Kantakouzenos may have been the owner of the ring and

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15

used this massive jewel as his personal signet. If these assumptions are correct, the ring can be dated to the fourteenth century.

VNZ

1. Buckton 1994b, no. 215, p. 199.
2. Dalton 1901, no. 171, p. 27.
3. Dalton 1912, no. 94, p. 16.
4. Zalesskaya 2003.
5. Coche de la Ferté 1957, pp. 40–41, fig. 30.
6. Buckton 1994b, p. 199.
7. Ross 1965, no. 129, pp. 90–91; the title sebastos is mentioned for only one member of the Palaiologos family: Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos, the nephew of Michael VIII, who died sometime after 1310.
8. Athens 1985–86, no. 215, p. 196.
9. Nicol 1993, pp. 339–43.

REFERENCES: Dalton 1901, no. 171, p. 27; Dalton 1912, no. 94, p. 16; Buckton 1994b, no. 215, p. 199; Zalesskaya 2003.

16. Signet Ring of Michael Zorianos

Byzantine, ca. 1300
Gold
Diameter 2.3 cm (⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: In reverse, ⋆CΦA/ΓHC MI/XAHΛ TO/V ZѠPI/ANOV (Seal of Michael Zorianos)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.42)

The hexagonal shape and lettering style of this heavy gold signet ring suggest that it belonged to an aristocrat of the Late Byzantine period. The letters are carved in reverse so that the owner's name, Michael Zorianos, appears properly in wax impressions.

Around the year 1300 a certain Michael Zorianos was the highest-ranking general in the despotate of Epiros, a Byzantine state in central Greece that emerged in opposition to the Latin rulers of Constantinople (1204–61) and strove to preserve its independence after the Palaiologan recovery of the capital. Zorianos was widely known for his learned writings and his local patronage. His name is preserved as a founding patron of the Church of the Taxiarches in the town of Mokista, and a small village in the Phokida region of Greece still proudly bears the name Zorianos. It is impossible to know whether it was this famous Michael Zorianos or a lesser-known aristocrat of the same name who used this ring to seal his documents.

RH

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17. Queen Theodora's Ring

Until 1322
Cast gold and niello
2.3 x 2.3 cm (⅞ x ⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, ✣ Кто га носи помози мѵ Б(о)гъ (He who wears it may God help him)
PROVENANCE: Tomb of Queen Theodora, Banjska Monastery, Kosovo. The ring was found in 1915, together with another gold ring ornamented with an engraved semiprecious stone from antiquity. Both rings were held privately until 1926, when the ring of Queen Theodora was presented as a gift to the National Museum. The other remained in the private collection of the heir of the collector Lj. Nedeljković.
CONDITION: Along the edge of the head is a scratch of 0.2 mm; besides a hole on the shoulder, there are small convexities on the edge of the ring.
National Museum, Belgrade (342)

The ring, cast in one piece, has a head featuring a double-headed eagle and a pronounced cylindrical neck with an inscription executed in niello. The motto of the inscription relates both to the protective quality attributed to the ring and to the protective character ascribed to the representation of the double-headed eagle. For states in the Byzantine cultural sphere, the acceptance of the double-headed eagle, a sign of the Byzantine imperial house and a symbol of Byzantium, confirmed their affiliation with the family of Orthodox lands.[1] As an emblematic token of the royal sphere, the double-headed eagle appeared on all official materials.[2]

The Romanesque-Gothic stylization of the niello ornamentation of the entire surface of the ring includes fantastic zoomorphic compositions surrounded by a stylized vegetal design. The ambivalent stylistic orientation, equally open to Eastern and Western influences, is characteristic of the entire range of medieval Serbian art and is especially noticeable on objects commissioned by rulers or members of royal houses. In architecture, this phenomenon was part of the building program.[3] The form, style, and wording of the inscription and the ornamentation of this ring were widespread at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century throughout Serbia. Other examples exhibiting the same exquisite technique of craftsmanship and aesthetic criteria indicate a source that can be associated with workshops in Kosovo.[4] The ceremonial decorativeness of this ring, in addition to other imperial features, is in accordance with the high status of Queen Theodora, daughter of the Bulgarian emperor Smilac (r. 1292–98) and married to the Serbian king Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (r. 1322–31). The mother of the most powerful Serbian ruler, Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–55), died in 1332 and was buried in the north chapel of the Church of Saint Stephen, the patron saint of the dynasty, in Banjska Monastery in Kosovo.[5]

BI

17

1. Ostrogorski 1970, pp. 238–62; Obolensky 1991, pp. 283–323; F. Uspenskii 2000, p. 764.
2. Solovjev 1958, pp. 116–51.
3. Korać and Šuput 1998, pp. 340–42.
4. Radojković 1969, pp. 107–32; Milošević 1990, nos. 82–88.
5. Sima Ćirković, "Vladavina Stefana Uroša III Dečanskog," in Srejović et al. 1994, vol. 2, p. 501; Gordana Babić, "Razgranjavanje umetničke delatnosti i pojave stilske raznorodnosti," in ibid., vol. 2, pp. 654–55.

REFERENCES: Milošević 1990, no. 77 (with earlier bibl.); Ivanić 1998, p. 26, fig. 8.

18. Earrings

Byzantine (Mistra)
Silver gilt
Height (with hook) 2.2 cm (⅞ in.)
Inscribed: ΠΑΛΓ (monogram of the Palaiologoi)
Provenance: Mistra Archaeological Site.
Condition: The earrings have been preserved complete.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (1421, 1428)

Each of these crescent-shaped earrings is formed of two thin, curved plates with a broad, semicircular hook bolted to them. The ends of the hook are flattened where the bolts pierce them. The decoration on one side comprises a medallion with an engraved monogram of the Palaiologoi composed of the Greek letters Π, A, Λ, and Γ, and beneath it, two sprouts terminating in trefoils. On the other side, within a medallion and also surrounded by blossoming tendrils, is seen the emblem of the Palaiologoi: two intertwined broken lines that resemble facing Bs.

Both the monogram and the double-B emblem often appear on Late Byzantine coins, sculpture, textiles, and jewelry, usually together with other symbols of the Palaiologan dynasty such as two intersecting staffs, a "Solomon's knot," a swastika, or a two-headed eagle.

The pieces seen here belong to a group of earrings that were found in Mistra during excavations in 1952. Each is decorated with a Palaiologan monogram and one of the above-mentioned symbols. Since they bear such emblems, the earrings must have belonged to members of the Palaiologos family, which after 1384 governed the despotate of Morea. Their uniformity and relatively large number suggest that all of the earrings in the group were produced in a local workshop.

AM

Reference: Kalamara and Mexia 2001, pp. 166–67, no. 23.

18

19. Nine Medallions

Greece, 14th to the first half of the 15th century
Silver gilt
Diameter 1.5 cm (⅝ in.)
Provenance: Probably from a grave; purchased in Athens.
Condition: Five of the medallions are intact, four are damaged.
Benaki Museum, Athens (nos. 1786–1794)

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The function of these small round medallions is uncertain, though it likely related to clothing.[1] It has been suggested that they were intended to be sewn on Palaiologan garments,[2] but the lack of holes in one and the purely decorative arrangement of the holes in another make this suggestion questionable. The repoussé decoration, however, has strong links to the Palaiologan family. Seven of the medallions display an eight-lobed rosette surrounding a double-headed eagle or a rampant lion in profile, with three holes around the edge. The eighth is edged by a circular band surrounding a cruciform motif; its rounded arms have chevrons in the interstices, and there are seventeen holes, one in each of the compartments created by the linear decoration. The ninth has a similar circular band, but no holes; it contains a ligature of the name Palaiologos in a form often found on personal objects of members of that family.[3]

The linear form of the cruciform motif also suggests a connection with a group of emblems—crossed staffs, intersecting angles, and swastikas—that belong to the imperial Palaiologan family.[4] It should probably be considered a variation of a well-known Palaiologan emblem, the cross symbol with the Greek letter B repeated four times,[5] particularly since an integral part of that design often consists of a number of dots, here replaced by holes.

Double-headed eagles and rampant lions are also associated with a form of heraldry that originated in the Palaiologan era, possibly as a result of contacts with the Latin West. These symbols often function as imperial emblems,[6] but occasionally they are depicted in such a way as to suggest actual escutcheons,[7] which are sometimes connected with a ligature of the name of an emperor or other high-ranking official.[8] Their inclusion within eight-lobed rosettes, here as well as on the wedding ring of Constantine XI Palaiologos, despot of Morea and later emperor (r. 1449–53),[9] indicates the steady maturation of Byzantine heraldry,[10] while also supporting the theory that the medallions have some connection with the despotate of Morea.

PK

1. Small metal decorative motifs can be found on a belt from Venice dating from the second half of the fourteenth century; see Phillips 1996, p. 67, fig. 51.
2. Segall 1938, p. 146, pl. 45; Athens 1985–86, pp. 196, 197, no. 217.
3. Makridis 1931, pp. 333–37, fig. 8; Millet 1947, pp. 78–81, pl. 162; Kalamara and Mexia 2001, pp. 166, 167, no. 23, pp. 180–82, no. 28.
4. C. Mango and Hawkins 1968, p. 181; Kalamara and Mexia 2001, pp. 180–82, no. 28; Athens 2001–2, p. 123, no. 48; Millet 1947, pp. 78–81, pl. 162.
5. Svorōnos 1899, pp. 395–97, figs. 52–61.
6. Gerola 1931a, pp. 380–82; Solovjev 1935, pp. 119–33, 163, 164.
7. Fıratlı 1990, pl. 29, no. 78ª; Kalamara and Mexia 2001, pp. 162, 163, no. 17; C. Mango 1965, pp. 334, 335 n. 91; Mouriki 1987a, p. 212, figs. 7–8; Solovjev 1935, pp. 134, 135; Spieser 1972, pp. 133–35, fig. 41, no. 21.
8. Makridis 1931; Millet 1910, pls. 56.5–6, 56.8; Kalamara and Mexia 2001, pp. 180–82, no. 28; Pazaras 1988, p. 35, pl. 25, no. 36.
9. Athens 2001–2, p. 123, no. 48.
10. Byzantine imperial emblems at first had no special backgrounds or borders like those that form an integral part of Western escutcheons.

References: Segall 1938, p. 146, pl. 45; Athens 1985–86, pp. 196, 197, no. 217; Athens 2001–2, no. 50.

20. Cup of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan

Serbia, 1345–55
Silver gilt, cast and carved
Height 3.7 cm (1½ in.), diameter 18.1 cm (7⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, + Стєпань ц(а)рь ѡ Христе бла(го)вѣрьнии (Stephen, Emperor faithful in Christ)
PROVENANCE: Found in a cavity of the narthex wall of the Church of Saint Nicholas, Drenovo village, Tikveš region, Macedonia, together with a silver ring bearing the engraved name Radoslav; in the National Museum in Belgrade from about 1936.
CONDITION: The gilt is rubbed off in places; 5.2 cm (2 in.) of the rim of the handle is missing. The field of the ornamental decoration of the handle is also damaged; next to the damaged area is a hole measuring 1 mm in diameter.
National Museum, Belgrade (2001)

The cup belongs to the table vessels used by royalty or by secular and ecclesiastic dignitaries in medieval Serbia. Cups of identical shape, for both drinking and eating, are found in all social circles in almost all epochs,[1] though several features indicate that this cup may have been made for a monarch's table. The placement of the short handle gives the outline of the cup an air of elegance, most frequently associated with luxury goods,[2] which the figure of the heraldic double-headed eagle engraved in the center of the medallion shares. We also know that Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, the ruler whose name is written around the central medallion, commissioned thirty-three silver cups in Venice.[3] In the inventory of a subsequent Serbian ruler, the despot Djurdje Branković, mention is made of fifty-five silver cups with the despot's emblem.[4] In a map by the Italian cartographer Angelino Dulcerto of 1339, a double-headed eagle, representing the Serbian state, appears on the flag placed next to the sign of Dušan's capital at that time, Skopje.[5]

The dedicatory prayer of the Serbian ruler in the central composition is typical of the luxurious works given to feudal lords. The ring bearing the name of Radoslav, found with the cup, suggests that the lord who received this royal sign of approval was among those close to Stefan Dušan.[6] As the stylization of the king's name is thought to be related to the dialect spoken in the southwestern regions of Serbia, the cup may have been manufactured in Kotor, a town under the control of the rulers of Serbia.[7]

BI

1. Cvjetićanin 1995, fig. 9; Kondić 1995, fig. 1c; Beckwith 1958, p. 20, fig. 13; Andersson 1983, pp. 35–45, nos. 20–26; Vattai 1956, pl. 11, fig. 2, pl. 12, fig. 1; Vasić 1953, p. 130, fig. 2.
2. Geneva 1988, nos. 90–91.
3. Radojković 1969, p. 116.
4. Spremić 1994, p. 258.
5. Srejović 1991, p. 31.
6. On Lord Radoslav, founder of the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin in 1331 in the village of Kučevište near Skopje, see Đorđević 1994, pp. 131–34.
7. Radojković 1965–66, pp. 67–69.

REFERENCES: Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969, no. 129 (with earlier bibl.); Radojković 1977a, vol. 1, pp. 89, 73 (repr.); Jevtović et al. 1985, no. 140.

21. Bowl with Ligature of the Name of Saint Demetrios

Thessalonike, 14th century
Lead-glazed earthenware
Height 6.2 cm (2½ in.); diameter 11 cm (4⅜ in.); base diameter 4.8 cm (1⅞ in.)
CONDITION: The bowl is almost intact; there is some loss of slip and glaze on the rim.
Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike, Greece (BK 4432/5)

The vessel is made of red clay. It has a low stem foot and a hemispherical body ending in a simple lip. Both interior and exterior are covered with a layer of white slip and, except for the base, a coat of colorless glaze. Inside the bowl, the ligature of the name Demetrios is engraved in the center, and there are marks left by a tripod stilt used to stack vessels during firing.

Vases engraved (sgraffito) or impressed with the ligature of the name Demetrios have been found in significant numbers in Thessalonike and were probably used in connection with the *ayiasma,* or holy oil, in the Basilica of Saint Demetrios in Thessalonike.[1]

Monograms and ligatures of other names besides Demetrios, such as Theodoros or Theodoroi, Theodora, Michael, and George, are found on the interiors of vessels, mainly bowls.[2] These objects too are very probably associated with places of pilgrimage and the sanctification of *ayiasma.*[3] DP-B

1. Sotiriou 1952, p. 238, pl. 95; Bakirtzis 2002, p. 186, fig. 5.
2. D. T. Rice 1930, pp. 74–79; Kuzev 1974, pp. 157–58.
3. Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1987.

REFERENCES: Mauropoulou-Tsioumē 1985b, pp. 285–87, fig. 2, pl. 9; Thessalonike 1986, p. 78, IV 17.4; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, p. 82, no. 88; Thessalonike 2001–2, p. 186, no. 206; Madrid 2003a, p. 66, no. 23.

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20, detail

21

21, side view

22. Plate with Bird Decoration

Serres (eastern Macedonia), late 13th–14th century
Lead-glazed earthenware
Height 5.5 cm (2⅛ in.); rim diameter 20 cm (7⅞ in.); base diameter 8.8 cm (3½ in.)
CONDITION: The plate has been reassembled from fragments; missing parts are filled with plaster and painted. The glaze and the slip are chipped off in many places.
Tokos Mansion, Kavala, Greece (SS1/51)

The vessel is made of fine red clay. The body is shallow, the rim narrow and horizontal, the base low and flaring. The plate's interior and rim are covered with a layer of white slip, through which the design is engraved with a line of medium thickness. The main motif of the decoration is a large, impressive bird, which faces right. It has tall, strong legs with large curved talons, a wing that extends horizontally, and a long tail that curls over at the end. The plumage is indicated by groups of parallel lines going in various directions. A spear-shaped tree stands in front of the bird, and another is above its tail. Below the tail is a small medallion with a trefoil. A pair of lines encircles this composition on the plate's central field. On a band around the rim, regularly spaced disks alternate with groups of parallel curved lines. Yellow-brown and green splashes enhance the sgraffito pattern, and a colorless lead glaze covers the entire top surface and lip.

22

22, side view

The plate is a product of the ceramics workshops of Serres, in eastern Macedonia.[1] The type of clay, the characteristic bird decoration, the vessel's rather shallow body and narrow horizontal rim, and the bright yellow-brown and green colors are all typical features of those workshops' production during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[2]

DP-B

1. Urbana 1992.
2. Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2003, pp. 57–58.

REFERENCES: Urbana 1992, no. 1; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, p. 225; Thessalonike 2001–2, p. 335, no. 374.

The artist was no doubt familiar with Byzantine painting, particularly that of the Komnenian period, which is suggested by the heavy use of line to create volume in the saints' heads and bodies.[3] The dress of the Serbian rulers, based on Byzantine imperial costume, is further evidence of the influence of Byzantine culture on Serbia, which greatly increased under Milutin.[4] The artist took great care to place Helena's devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, an act of piety that is the primary focus of the image, in a separate space. The supplicatory gestures of her sons are directed toward the apostles above, identified by Cyrillic characters, thus making clear their allegiance to the Serbian Church.

BR

1. Belting 1994, p. 337. While Belting identifies the figure as Saint Nicholas of Bari, Manolis Chatzidakis and Gordana Babić identify him as Pope Nicholas IV; see Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 140.
2. Queen Helena was a well-known patron of the arts. She donated large sums to a number of foundations, including her mausoleum church at Gradac. Her biographer, Danilo II, archbishop of Serbia, records that Helena presented to the church icons in gold frames set with pearls and precious stones and containing many relics, as well as curtains of cloth-of-gold, books, and liturgical vessels. See Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 140.
3. Chatzidakis and Babić (in ibid.) suggest that the painter was a Greek artist living along the Serbian coast.
4. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Stefan Uroš II Milutin."

REFERENCES: Anichini 1941; Volbach 1941; Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 140; Weitzmann 1983b, p. 26; Belting 1994, p. 337, fig. 206.

23. Icon with Saints Peter and Paul, with Donor Portrait of Serbian Queen Mother Helena

Serbian, late 13th century
Tempera, canvas on poplar wood
49 x 74 cm (19 5/16 x 29 1/8 in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, ѓ(ве)тъı Петрь; ѓ(ве)тъı Павьлъ (Saint Peter; Saint Paul)
CONDITION: The overpainted icon was restored to its present condition in 1941. Prior to the restoration, the two figures on the lower half of the icon, now identified as Milutin and Dragutin, were identified as Constantine the Great and Pope Sylvester.
The Vatican Treasury, Vatican City

23

This icon illustrates the complex intertwining of the cultures of the Mediterranean basin during the Late Byzantine period. Originating in Serbia, the panel, which is executed in a style influenced by Byzantine painting, was ultimately presented to the pope in Italy. Divided into two registers, the icon is an image within an image. Above, Christ blesses the apostles Peter and Paul, dressed in the traditional Byzantine chiton and himation. Below, in an archway visually distinct from the rest of the icon, Queen Helena of Anjou, a Roman Catholic, bows in supplication to a figure dressed as a Roman bishop, most likely Saint Nicholas of Bari, a popular Byzantine saint whose cult spread to the West when his relics were translated to Bari, in southern Italy, in 1087.[1] Her sons—Milutin, the reigning king of Serbia, and Dragutin, who abdicated the throne to his brother in 1282—stand on either side of the archway, hands raised in supplication to the saints above.

Helena commissioned the panel, which was sent to Italy as a gift for Pope Nicholas IV.[2]

24A–C. Three Icons with Portraits of Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina

Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina (d. 1394) was the daughter of the Serbian emperor of Thessaly, Symeon Uroš Palaiologos, and was married as a twelve-year-old in 1361 to the future despot of Ioannina, Thomas Preljubović (r. 1366/67–84). She is known from three surviving icons, all of personal scale and bearing her portrait. Two—the remarkable panel with the Doubting Saint Thomas (cat. 24A) and an icon with the Virgin and Child (cat. 24B)—remain at Meteora, of which Maria's brother Ioasaph was the second founder and abbot. The third icon (cat. 24C) is in Cuenca Cathedral.

24A

24A. Icon with the Doubting of Thomas

Between 1367 and 1384
Tempera on wood
38 x 31.8 cm (15 x 12½ in.)
CONDITION: The icon is in stable condition.
The Holy Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteora, Greece

The Gospel scene takes place in front of an elaborate architectural setting typical of Palaiologan painting. Christ, the central figure, bends his body to the left, in a pose possibly unique in Palaiologan art. He blesses with his left hand, which forms an arch, while he uncovers his wounded side with his right. The apostle Thomas, depicted below Christ's right hand, rushes toward him ready to touch the wound. The two figures behind the apostle have been identified as Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina and her husband Thomas Preljubović. Five apostles are depicted behind Maria at the left of the icon, and another five at the right. Judas, as the Gospels narrate, is missing.

It has been suggested that Maria Palaiologina and her husband gave this icon, along with other precious objects, as a gift to her brother Ioasaph at the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora. The incorporation of the royal couple into the group of the apostles is a unique iconographic element. Later, during the sixteenth century and afterward, we find similar representations in icons from Cyprus, whereas the Cretan painters of this era depict the donors at the side of the icon and in smaller scale. LD

REFERENCES: Xyngopoulos 1964–65, pp. 53–67; M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, p. 53.

24B. Icon with the Virgin and Child

Ioannina or Meteora (?), between 1367 and 1384
39 x 29.5 cm (15⅜ x 11⅝ in.)
Tempera on wood
INSCRIBED: ΜΑΡΙΑ Η ΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΝΑ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΗ ΔΟΥΚΕΝΑ Η ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΝΑ (Maria the most pious empress Angelina Komnene Doukaina Palaiologina)
CONDITION: Portions of the icon's surface have been badly abraded, as seen in the faces of the Virgin and the Christ Child, as well as in portions of the frame with medallions.
The Holy Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteora, Greece

The central composition depicts the Virgin, wearing a black maphorion and a blue himation and standing on a pillow; she holds with her left hand the Christ Child. At the feet of the Virgin, in smaller scale, the donor of the icon kneels, identified by the inscription above her as Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, daughter of Symeon Uroš Palaiologos, whose kingdom was centered in Trikala in Thessaly. In 1361 Maria

24B

married Thomas Preljubović, future despot of Ioannina. This icon was part of a significant gift from Maria to her brother Ioasaph, second founder and abbot of the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora (see also cat. 24A).

On the frame, fourteen saints are depicted in bust length: Theodore Teron, Theodore Stratelates, Anna, and Prokopios on the upper border; Pelagia, Kosmas, Damianos, and Panteleemon on the lower border. On the left border, from top to bottom, are Artemios, Eustratios, and Barbara; on the right, Nicholas the Younger, Gourias, and Samonas. The images of Saints Theodore Teron and Artemios have been completely destroyed. On the lower portion of each bust there is a small slot in which the relics of the pictured saints would have been placed. These slots would originally have been covered by the cloth of the icon, which was later cut when the relics were removed.

This icon served as a model for the Cuenca diptych (cat. 24C). LD

REFERENCES: Veĕs 1911–12, pp. 177–85, fig. 1; Cirac Estopañán 1943; Xyngopoulos 1957a, pp. 10–21; Xyngopoulos 1964–65, pp. 53–67; S. Radojčić 1962, pls. 50–51; Athens 1964, pl. 211; M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, p. 33, pl. 55.

24C. Cuenca Diptych

Meteora (?) or Constantinople (?), 1382–84
Tempera and gold on wood; silver gilt; 939 pearls and 67 gemstones; red velvet on exterior
38.5 x 27.5 cm (15⅛ x 10⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED: Over the portraits at the feet of the Virgin and Christ, ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΑCΙΛΙCΑ ΑΓΕΛ[Ν]Α ΔΟΥΚΕΝΑ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟ[ΓΙΝΑ] (Maria Empress Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina) and ΘΩΜΑC [ΔΕC]ΠΟΤΗC ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC Ο ΠΑ[ΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟC] (Thomas Despot Komnenos Palaiologos); Mary and Christ have their sigla, Μ[ΗΤ]ΗΡ Θ[ΕΟ]Υ (Mother of God) and Ι[ΗCΟΥ]C Χ[ΡΙCΤΟ]C (Jesus Christ). Identifying the saints around the Virgin's panel, clockwise from upper left, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC Ο ΤΗΡΩΝ (Saint Theodore Teron, the Recruit); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC Ο CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗC (Saint Theodore Stratelates, the General); Η ΑΓΙΑ ΑΝΝΑ Η Μ[ΗΤ]ΗΡ ΤΗC Θ[ΕΟΤΟΚ]ΟΥ (Saint Anna, Mother of the Theotokos); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΡΩΚΟΠΙΟC (Saint Prokopios); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΝΙΚΟ-ΛΑΟC Ο ΝΕΟC (Saint Nicholas the Younger); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΓΟΥΡΙΑC Ο ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΤ[ΗC] (Saint Gourias the Homologite); Ο ΑΓΙΟC CΑΜΟΝΑC (Saint Samonas); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜ[ΟΝΟC] (Saint Panteleemon); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟC (Saint Damianos); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΚΟCΜΑC (Saint Kosmas); Η ΑΓΙΑ ΠΕΛΑΓΗΑ (Saint Pelagia); Η ΑΓΙΑ ΒΑΡ-ΒΑΡΑ (Saint Barbara); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΕΥCΤΡΑΤΙΟC (Saint Eustratios); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΡΤΕΜΙΟC (Saint Artemios). Identifying the saints around the Christ panel, clockwise from upper left, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΝΔΡΕΑC (Saint Andrew); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΛΟΥΚΑC (Saint Luke); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΘΩΜΑC (Saint Thomas); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΕΟC (Saint Bartholomew); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΒΑCΙΛΙΟC (Saint Basil); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΝΤΙΠΑC (Saint Antipas); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΑΥΛΟC Ο ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΤΗC (Saint Paul the Homologite); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC Ο CΙΚΕΟΤΙC (Saint Theodore Sykeotes); Ο ΑΓΙΟC CΤΕΦΑΝΟC Ο ΝΕΟC (Saint Stephen the Younger); in Stephen's hand is a scroll on which appears a text assigned to the saint in the painting manual *Hermeneia*, compiled by the monk Dionysios of Phourna, Εἴ τις οὐ προσκυνεῖ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν περιγραπτὸν ἐν εἰκόνι, εἴη ἀνάθημα (If one does not venerate our Lord Jesus Christ inscribed in icons, let him be anathema);[I] Ο ΑΓΙΟC CΤΕΦΑΝΟC Ο ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΡΤΥC (Saint Stephen, the First Martyr); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΟC (Saint Lawrence); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟC (Saint Eleutherios); Ο ΑΓΙΟC CΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ (Saint Spyridon); Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗC] Ο ΕΛΕΗΜΩΝ (Saint John Eleemon)

PROVENANCE: Esau Buondelmonti, second husband of the empress Maria Palaiologina, may have sent the diptych to Italy, where it was in Genoa in the possession of the Spinola-Castagnola family by 1430; it probably reached Spain in the seventeenth century through the marriage of Jerónimo Castagnola to María Henriquez of Cuenca; it passed to his son Jean Francisco Castagnola Henriquez, then, in turn, to his son Juan Domingo Spinola-Castagnola Henriquez, who willed it to the Cathedral Chapter in Cuenca, 1718.

CONDITION: Aside from the deliberate erasure of Thomas Preljubović's form, some faces are rubbed, and the initial wide variety of gemstones—including, according to Juan Domingo Spinola-Castagnola's will, rubies, cut gems, sapphires, garnets, and turquoises—has been more uniformly replaced (15 of an original 954 pearls and 245 of the original 312 gems were lost). Nonetheless, the work remains remarkably intact and splendid.

Diocesan Museum, Cuenca, Spain

The third icon of the group is this diptych, which depicts Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina (see cats. 24A, 24B) at Mary's feet and her husband Thomas Preljubović at Christ's. Thomas's portrait was deliberately defaced, presumably following his assassination as a hated ruler, so that the work can be dated between his official confirmation as despot in 1382 and his demise in 1384.

Such personal icons of lay patrons survive only from the Late Byzantine period, and Maria's are exceptionally interesting in their number, splendor, and innovation. Most striking here are the quality of the painting, the gorgeous prodigality of the revetment, and the incorporation of relics. Precious metals were used to make icons and, increasingly in Late Byzantium, to enrich and protect painted icons. The figures here glitter with highlights and gold in a deliberate response to their gleaming surrounds. Relics were far more rarely incorporated in icons; only two other examples are known.[2] Akin in size, style, and high quality to the Triumph of Orthodoxy icon (cat. 78), Maria's icons are of uncertain origin, although the selection of relics suggests that these were acquired in Constantinople.[3]

AWC

1. Deciphered in Cirac Estopañán 1943, vol. 1, p. 21.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

REFERENCES: Paris 1931 (not catalogued); Cirac Estopañán 1943, vol. 1, pp. 1–59; S. Radojčić 1962, pls. 50–51; Athens 1964, pp. 259–60, no. 212; Xyngopoulos 1964–65; Beckwith 1970, p. 152, pl. 287;

24C

24C, exterior

Bermejo Díez 1980, pl. T-1; Cutler and Nesbitt 1986, pp. 311–12; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, p. 2078; Martínez Sáez 1997; Toledo 1999, pp. 32–34, fig. 17; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 320–21, no. 30; Vassilaki 2001, p. 137.

25. The Gospels of Jakov of Serres

Serbia (Serres), 1354
Kallist "Rasoder," scribe
Tempera and gold on parchment; 302 fols.
31 x 22.5 cm (12¼ x 8⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Acquired by the Hon. Robert Curzon (1810–1873) at the Monastery of Saint Paul, Mount Athos, August 1837, together with the Gospels of Czar Ivan Alexander (cat. 27); in the possession of the Curzon family until 1917, when it was bequeathed to the British Museum by Curzon's daughter Darea, Baroness Zouche.
CONDITION: The volume is in stable condition.
The British Library, Department of Manuscripts, London (Add. Ms. 39626)

25, fol. 292

This copy of the four Gospels in Serbian Church Slavonic is one of the finest books produced within the Serbian empire of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–55), which dominated the Balkans in the middle of the fourteenth century. The remarkable portrait of the book's sponsor, painted on an inserted leaf (fol. 292), has been described as "among the most outstanding in Byzantine art."[1] According to a prolix colophon that follows the portrait (fol. 293r–v),[2] the volume was copied in 1354 by Kallist "Rasoder" ("with torn monastic habit")[3] at the Metropolitan Church of Saint Theodore in the Macedonian city of Serres.[4] Together with an inscription on the portrait, the colophon identifies the person responsible for the manuscript's production as Jakov (fl. 1345–65), a protégé of Stefan Dušan and a man of considerable cultural attainment, who became the first Serbian metropolitan of Serres.[5]

Two further inscriptions that accompany the portrait[6] establish the image as a sort of visual colophon in which Jakov offers up and dedicates his book to Christ. The Gospel book itself is portrayed lying on the lectern before Jakov, immediately below the hovering figure of Christ. Jakov's offering is made in advance of the judgment of his soul and in the hope of its purification and eternal salvation. The depiction appears to derive from a Byzantine rather than Serbian model. Jakov's face, which is painted with much greater finesse than any other part of the book,[7] forms a clear focal point of the miniature. The individual features most probably reflect those of the metropolitan himself.

SMcK

1. Spatharakis 1976, p. 89.
2. Reproduced in L. Stojanović 1982–88, vol. 1, no. 103, vol. 3, no. 5544.
3. On this term, see Gavrilović 2000, p. 136 n. 3.
4. Although the colophon is dated only by the year, A.M. 6863 (A.D. 1354–55), its mention of the archbishop Joanikije of Peć, who died on September 3, 1354, narrows down the dating of the manuscript.
5. On Jakov, see Ostrogorski 1968.
6. Transcribed and translated in Gavrilović 2000, p. 136.
7. Apart from the figure of Christ, most of the miniature is painted with a heavy, broad brush over clumsily applied gold leaf. The decorative elements of the headpieces and initials in the rest of the volume are painted with a more delicate sense of line than are the heavily modeled palmettes of the portrait.

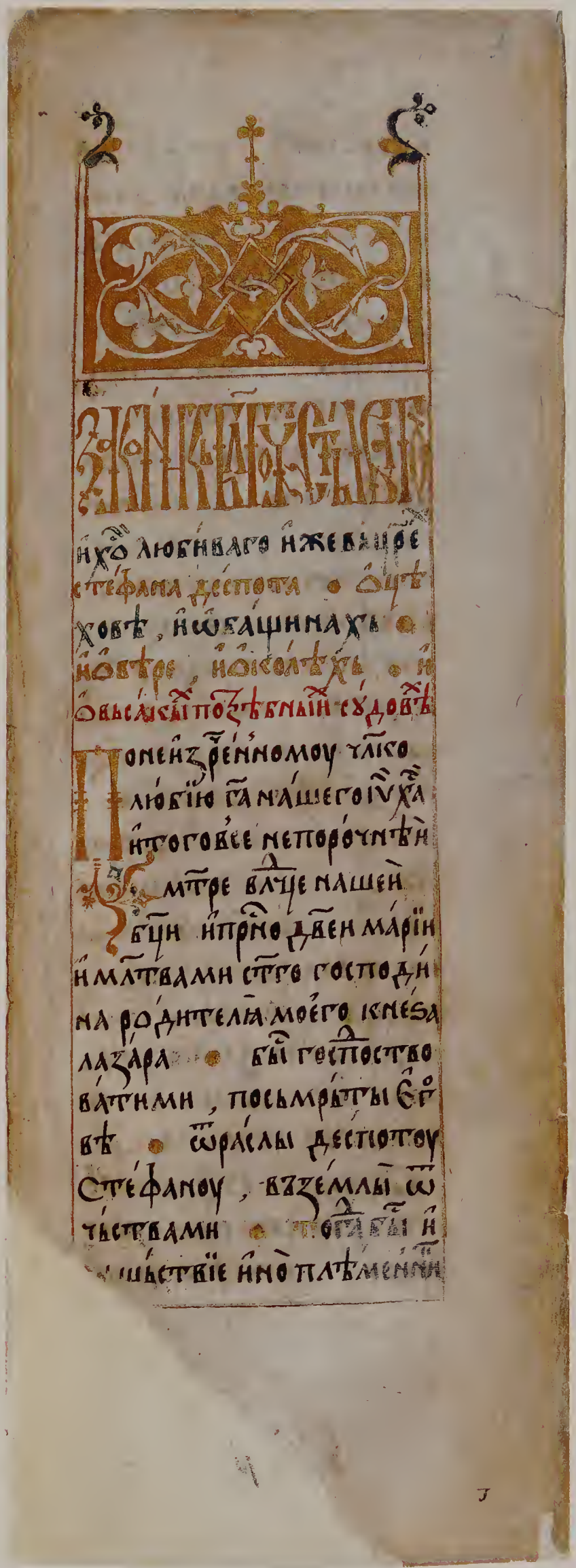
REFERENCES: British Museum 1933, p. 99; Harisijadis 1964; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 89–90, figs. 57–58; Walter 1976; Sofia 1977–78, no. 3; Maksimović 1983, pp. 102–3, pls. 14–18; Cleminson 1988, no. 77; Gavrilović 2000.

26. Novo Brdo Mining Law

Serbia, 16th century
Tempera on paper; 27 leaves
10 x 28 cm (4 x 11 in.)
INSCRIBED: In Serbian, at the end of the book, a historical note transcribed from the original Mining Law, written by Despot Stefan Lazarević in the first person singular, in the manner characteristic of charters: "All the aforementioned concerning the Law of Novo Brdo has reached my rule as it was before me, in the time of the former holy lords and Serbian kings, and during the lifetime and rule of my parent, the holy prince Lazar. It was my will to renew and confirm such rule, to remain constant and invariable in the course of all days of my life and unaltered during my rule, to God's request. I plead the one whom God pleases to select as heir to the throne after us, that this [which was issued] with a golden seal remain unchanged, as I did not change, but only confirmed what had been written and commanded by emperors and lords before me. I therefore reinforce this document with a golden seal of my lordship so as to confirm it. In the place of Nekudi, in the year 6920 [1412], indict 13, the month of January 29." The end sheets at the beginning and the end of the codex feature several short notices in Serbian, bearing witness to the history of the book in the eighteenth century.
PROVENANCE: After World War II, Mrs. Hočevar, wife of the Yugoslav ambassador Dr. Franc Hočevar, purchased the manuscript in Vienna at an auction of objects of art and antiquities. Hočevar presented the manuscript as a gift to the Serbian Academy of Sciences on April 11, 1959. It is not known how the manuscript reached the auction.
CONDITION: The manuscript is mainly in a good state of preservation. On its arrival at the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, it underwent conservation, and its leather covers were partially restored.
The Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade (465)

Novo Brdo, about forty kilometers east of Priština (Kosovo, Serbia), was the largest min-

26, fol. 3v



ИХѢ ЛЮБИВАГО ИЖЕВАЩЕ
СТЕФАНА ДЕСПОТА • ОЦѢ
ХОВѢ, ИШЕДШИМАХЪ •
ИѢВТРЕ, ИОИСОЛѢХЪ • И
ОБЫСЛЫСА ПОЗѢВЛИИ СѢДОВѢ

ПОНЕИЗРѢННОМОУ ТЛѢСО
ЛЮБІЮ ГА НАШЕГОІѴХА
ИТОГОВЕСЕ НЕПОРОЧНѢИ
МТРЕ ВЛЦЕ НАШЕИ
БЦѢ ИПРНОДѢВ МАРІИ
ИМЛТВАМИ СТРО ГОСПОДИ
НА РОДИТЕЛА МОЕГО ІСНЕЗА
ЛАЗАРА • БЫ ГОСПОСТВО
ВАТИМИ, ПОСЬМРЬТЫ БѢ
ВѢ • ѠРАСЛЫ ДЕСПОТОУ
СТЕФАНОУ, ВЗЕМЛЫ Ѡ
ТЬСТВАМИ • ТОГДА БЫ И
ШЬСТВІЕ ИНО ПЛѢМЕНИИ

26, fol. 4r

26, detail of fol. 3v

ing and marketplace settlement during Serbian rule at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Despot Stefan Lazarević (r. 1389–27) entrusted in 1412 the task of composing a law for the Novo Brdo mines to twenty-four miners from different parts of Serbia, but not from that mine. It guaranteed privileges to miners and security in all mining activities. It survives in this copy dating to the third quarter of the sixteenth century, which contains miniatures copied from the original and also a text in Serbian Slavonic with many vernacular elements.

Of an unusual format, the codex is bound in leather covers with a folding on the right-hand side, characteristic of Turkish manuscripts. The Islamic influence is observable in the treatment of pages, especially in the vertical rectangle, drawn in gold, in which the text is inscribed. On the reverse page of the third leaf is a miniature. Each of the five figures in the four rows wears a different cap and attire. Nikola Radojčić, the manuscript's editor, believes that "they represent a mining judicial board, as it was precisely described in the Czech law for miners."[1] Judging by the attire, all members of the judicial board were secular figures. The caps on their heads, for instance, are encountered in fifteenth-century miniatures in the illustrated novel of Alexander the Great (the Alexander Romance). Red and blue colors and gold were applied in the titles and initials of the text of the law, and logical and syntactic units in the text are framed by borders composed of large red points.

ĐT

1. Lazarević 1962.

References: Lazarević 1962; Jović 1968–69; Jovanović-Stipčević 1973, no. 215; Steininger 1975; Lazarević 1979; Jovanović-Stipčević 1980, no. 30; Badurina et al. 1983, p. 43, fig. 125; Jovanović 1988, pp. 38–40.

27. The Gospels of Czar Ivan Alexander

Bulgaria (Tŭrnovo), 1355–56
Tempera and gold on parchment; 286 fols.
33.5 x 24 cm (13¼ x 9½ in.)
Provenance: Purchased out of pledge by Voivod Alexander of Moldavia (r. 1402–32); owned by the Monastery of Saint Paul, Mount Athos, by the early seventeenth century, when the hierodeacon Gabriel made a copy to be sent to Romania; acquired by the Hon. Robert Curzon (1810–1873) at the Monastery of Saint Paul, August 1837, together with the Gospels of Jakov of Serres (cat. 25); in the possession of the Curzon family until 1917, when it was bequeathed to the British Museum by Curzon's daughter Darea, Baroness Zouche.
Condition: The menologion and synaxarion at the end of the volume (fols. 276–283v) are later additions.
The British Library, Department of Manuscripts, London (Add. Ms. 39627)

The present copy of the Four Gospels in Bulgarized Church Slavonic is the most celebrated work of art produced in Bulgaria before it fell to the Turks in 1393.

At the opening of the manuscript (fols. 2v–3r) is an imposing double-page portrait of Czar Ivan Alexander and his family receiving God's blessing.[1] This image, which is rendered in the tradition of Byzantine imperial portraits, reflects both the artistic heritage of the artist and the imperial ambitions of the czar. Together with a further 366 illuminated miniatures that illustrate each of the Gospels, this portrait was probably based closely on an earlier Byzantine Gospels. The frieze format and subjects of the miniatures are certainly very close to those of a Gospel book produced in the eleventh century at the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cod. grec 74).[2] Five further depictions of the czar, at the end of each Gospel (fols. 86v, 134v, 212v, and 272v) and between Abraham and the Virgin Mary in a large miniature of the Last Judgment (fol. 124), replace those of an abbot in the Stoudios manuscript.

As in the case of the only other illustrated Bulgarian manuscripts that survive from the fourteenth century,[3] the present manuscript was most probably produced in Ivan Alexander's capital, Tŭrnovo. The artists who illuminated the Gospels remain anonymous and of uncertain origin: Well trained in the Byzantine tradition of book illumination, they adhered closely to Byzantine models. According to a long inscription at its conclusion by the scribe Simeon (fols. 274–275), the Gospel book was created "not simply for the outward beauty of its decoration . . . [but] primarily to express the inner Divine Word, the revelation and the sacred vision."

SMcK

27, fol. 2v

27, fol. 3r

27, fol. 124r

1. Inscriptions identify the portraits as of the czar and his second wife, Theodora; their two sons, Ivan Shishman and Ivan Asan; their three daughters; and the despot Konstantin, husband of their eldest daughter, Kera Thamara.
2. On the attribution to the Stoudios Monastery, see Hutter 1997, pp. 202–3.
3. For these two manuscripts, see Filov 1927 and Dzhurova 1990.

References: Der Nersessian 1927; British Museum 1933, pp. 99–101; Filov 1934; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 67–70, figs. 30, 32, 34–35, 37–40; Sofia 1977–78, no. 4; Zhivkova 1980; Cleminson 1988, no. 78.

28. Icon with Saints Boris and Gleb

Moscow, mid-14th century
Primed canvas on two wood boards joined with two (recent) insert struts, tempera
142.5 x 94.3 cm (56⅛ x 37⅛ in.)
Provenance: Collection of the brothers M. O. and G. O. Chirikov, restorers and icon painters (Moscow); collection of Nikolai P. Likhachev (Saint Petersburg); entered the State Russian Museum, 1913.
Condition: There is loss of pigments and priming, especially along the edges and in the background; restorers' insertions and retouches throughout;

losses and abrasion of the gilding in the background, along the edges, and on the saints' clothing. The inscriptions are recent. Overpainting removed in the workshop of G. O. and M. O. Chirikov (Moscow); second cleaning by S. I. Golubev in the State Russian Museum Restoration Workshop, 1979–87.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (2117)

28

The holy martyrs Boris and Gleb, portrayed in this icon, were sons of Prince Vladimir I, known as the baptizer of Rus'. They were treacherously murdered in 1015 by their elder half brother (or cousin) Svjatopolk. The iconography of the two saints took shape soon after their canonization, which probably occurred after 1037.

The cult of Boris and Gleb was established in Rus' under the auspices of their brother Iaroslav the Wise, grand prince of Kiev. The first churches dedicated to the martyrs were built in the central region of Kievan Rus', close to the locations of their deaths, around Pereslavl' and Smolensk. The growth of their cult in Kiev was furthered by the translation of their relics to Vyshgorod, on the city's outskirts, and their interment at the Church of Saint Basil. Images of the two were placed next to the tombs. The oldest churches dedicated to Saints Boris and Gleb were built in Vyshgorod (rebuilt in stone in 1115), at Kideksha near Vladimir (ca. 1152), and in Smolensk (end of the twelfth century). In the course of the fourteenth century, numerous Boris and Gleb churches were erected in Novgorod.

In this icon the princes are depicted frontally, in full length, dressed as martyrs and with cross and sword in hand. This iconography grew out of hagiographic and liturgical texts that emphasized the martyrial aspect of the saints' cult and their princely rank. Medieval texts praise the two as defenders of the Russian land against the infidels: "You are our weapon, you double-bladed swords, defense and bulwark of the Russian land!" Thus, the saints are represented in princely attire, wearing tunics with embroidered hems, sashes, fur-rimmed hats, and ermine-lined cloaks, and holding swords. Similar iconography was known not only in Rus' (on the twelfth- to thirteenth-century icon in the Museum of Russian Art, Kiev, and the one in the Moscow State Historical Museum, originally from the Zverin Monastery in Novgorod and datable to ca. 1399) but also in Byzantium. In 1200 the future Novgorodian archbishop Dobrynia I. Andreikovich saw in Constantinople an icon of Saints Boris and Gleb. The spread of Boris and Gleb's iconography in the Byzantine commonwealth was facilitated by the international contacts of early Rus', including foreign marriages. Chronicles, for example, mention that the mother of Saints Boris and Gleb was Bulgarian.

This icon was formerly part of the most notable icon collection in fin-de-siècle Russia, that of the historian and paleographer Nikolai P. Likhachev (1862–1936). In the inventory that he compiled of his icons, Likhachev defined this one as unique and dated it to the thirteenth century. Modern scholars have attributed the icon to, variously, a mid-fourteenth-century Moscow workshop (S. I. Golubev, V. K. Laurina); artists from Vladimir-Suzdal' (Viktor Lazarev); and artists from Rostov (Ėngelina Smirnova). NP

References: Petr I. Neradovskii, "'Boris i Gleb' iz sobraniia N. P. Likhacheva," in Makovskii 1914, vol. 1, pp. 63–78; Nikolai N. Punin, "Zametki o ikonakh iz sobraniia N. P. Likhacheva," in ibid., pp. 36, 37, 62–65, 68; Skvortsov 1914; Sychev 1916, pp. 17–19; Kondakov 1927, pp. 62–65; Kondakov 1928–33, vol. 3, pp. 114–19; Schweinfurth 1930, pp. 293–300; Ainalov 1933, pp. 72–73, pl. 35a; Golubev and Laurina 1987; Klimanov 1993, pp. 130–31, no. 337; Lazarev 1997, pp. 246, 380, no. 84.

29. Epitaphios with Maria of Mangop

Romania, ca. 1476
Colored silks embroidered with polychrome silks and gold threads
188 x 102 cm (74 x 40 3/16 in.)
INSCRIBED: Around the edge, forming a border, worked in gold wire and silk embroidery in old Church Slavonic, ✣ Съ есть покровь гроба рабы бѡ/жіа благоуѣстивои и христолюбивои госпожди Іѡ(анна) Стефана воеводы / господарѧ земли молдавскои / Маріи, иже и престависѧ къ вѣчныи ѡбитѣлеи в лѣт(е) ҕ҃цѳ҃ѳ҃ ме(се)ца д(е)кевріа ѳ҃ї̄ въ п(арас)к(евьи)ѧ ч(с) ѣ҃ дне (This is the cover of the tomb of the servant of God, the pious and Christ-loving lady of John Stephen, voivode of the Land of Moldavia, Maria, who passed away to [her] eternal dwelling in the year 1476, on the 19th [day] of the month of December, Friday, at the fifth hour of the day)
PROVENANCE: The Holy Monastery of Putna, Romania.
CONDITION: The epitaphios has recently been restored.
Muzcul Mănastirii, Putna, Romania

29

In the upper left and lower right corners of the epitaphios are medallions containing the imperial symbol of the double-headed eagle. In the upper right corner is the monogram of Maria of Mangop, and, in the lower left corner, the Byzantine imperial Palaiologos family monogram. Maria of Mangop was the second wife of Stephan the Great (r. 1457–1504), one of Moldavia's most notable rulers. Tradition holds that she was an embroideress. On the epitaphios, her oval face is depicted in a schematized drawing with closed eyes under arched eyebrows, a small mouth, sharp chin, and hair parted in the middle. On her head she wears a crown decorated with two registers of red and blue precious stones. Above them a band of white stones supports five fleurons, each adorned with two precious stones and topped by a third. To the sides of her head, four strands of alternating oval stones and small round pearls hang to her shoulders. These strands partially cover her earrings, whose triangular frames each hold a red stone in the middle. From the frames hang three strands of red and blue stones fixed with small pearls. Under the chin, from the ears down, Maria's neck is covered with a net worked by gold wires.

The princess is dressed in a long robe of a worked blue and gray fabric that is decorated with pomegranates arranged on large fan-shaped leaves. The high collar is closed in the middle with a series of buttons and buttonholes, which continue on the collar's rim. Medallions, embroidered on the collar's face, are decorated with swastikas containing a red stone in the middle. Over the shoulders is a fur pelerine closed with oval buttons. The robe was lined with red silk and had two openings for the hands. It was embroidered, at the openings and at the hem, with a gold lace. The robe is buttoned with oval buttons its entire length, as are the openings. Under the robe the princess wears a shirt of delicate fabric with long sleeves ending in embroidered cuffs.

The figure is placed within a niche topped by a tricusped arch that is supported by a pair of columns, each composed of three slender shafts. The face of the arch is decorated with an interlace alternating the monogram of Maria of Mangop, swastikas, and geometrical motifs inscribed in medallions. This section is framed with a continuous creeping stem, a characteristic pattern in the era of Stephan the Great.

Drawing its inspiration from traditional Byzantine embroidery, this textile is one of the remarkable and original works of the Romanian Middle Ages, combining sensibility and fantasy with wide-ranging humanist inspiration. The unique work is considered a masterpiece that reflects the greatest phase of magnificence in Moldavian-style embroidery, during an era of internal political, social, and cultural stability in Moldavian society under the reign of Stephan the Great.

AP

References: Bréhier 1936, p. 103, pl. 95; Millet 1939–41, vol. 2, pp. 78–81, pls. 162–163; Berza 1958, pp. 288–90, figs. 202–203; Musicescu 1962; Johnstone 1967, p. 112, nos. 79–80; Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, p. 285, pl. 276; Musicescu and Dobjanschi 1985, pp. 15–16, 36, no. 16.

30A, B. The Marshal Ōshin Gospels

30A. The Manuscript of the Gospels
Kostandin, scribe; illuminator unknown; written in Armenian
Cilician Armenia (Sis), 1274
Colored inks, ink, and gold on vellum; 320 fols.
27.5 x 20.5 cm (10⅞ x 8⅛ in.)
Inscribed: In Armenian, in part on the dedicatory pages on fols. 6v–7, Executed for the great Armenian Marshal Ōshin, son of the Prince of Princes, Kostandin, Lord of Lambron . . . [who] had the Holy Gospels copied by the celebrated scribe Kostandin . . . and had it made more beautiful by means of golden paintings and placed in a chest. Then he offered it to the church, as he could find no better gift to God. This manuscript was finished in the metropolitan city of Sis, under the auspices of the churches of the Holy Cross and of the Holy Archangels, in the year of the Armenians 723 [1274].
Provenance: Purchased, with leaves missing, by J. P. Morgan from Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1928.[1]
Condition: The manuscript is missing a number of illuminations. Two evangelist portraits, part of the McLean Bequest, are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England. The donor portrait (see B) has recently been acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. M. 740)

30B. The Donor Portrait
Cilician Armenia (Sis), 1274
Colored inks and gold on vellum
22.5 x 15.3 cm (8⅞ x 6 in.), trimmed
Inscribed: In Armenian, now fragmentary because of damage to the upper and lower border of the image; above, [Hovan]nes [arch]bishop of Cilicia; Mother of God take in your care . . . ; below, Ōshin and with him . . . [Kostand]in and Het'um
Provenance: Feron-Stoclet collection, before 1956.
Condition: The leaf was cut from the Marshal Ōshin Gospels, at some point folded in four (the folds are visible), trimmed, and glued to a board, now removed.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. M. 1111), purchased in 1998 with funds from: The Manoogian Simone Foundation; the L. W. Frohlich Charitable Trust in memory of L. W. Frolich and Thomas R. Burns, in recognition of their interest in and contributions to the arts of the written word; The Hagop Kevorkian Fund; the Fellows Acquisition Fund; Kaloust P. and Emma Sogoian; Antranig and Varsenne Sarkissian; an anonymous donor, in memory of Sirarpie Der Nersessian; and the Institut de Recherche sur les Miniatures Armeno-Byzantines

The Cilician kingdom, on the northeast coast of the Mediterranean, was established in the twelfth century by Armenians forced by the Byzantine state from their homelands on the empire's eastern frontier. In the thirteenth century its rulers, the Het'umids of Bardzrberd, and their predecessors, the Rubenids, brought the kingdom into prominence as an intermediary between Byzantium, the Crusaders from the Latin West, and the new power in the East, the Mongols.[2] Connections between these peoples flourished at Sis, the kingdom's capital, where Marshal Ōshin's niece, Queen Keran, ruled with her husband, King Levon III.[3]

The elegantly wrought and richly gilded dedicatory pages of the Marshal Ōshin Gospels are among the finest produced in Cilicia. The brilliantly gilded and dramatically colored birds, trees, and vegetative patterns of the decorations are drawn from motifs long known in Byzantine art. Their use at Sis was inspired by their presence in manuscripts produced at the Armenian scriptorium at

30A, fol. 6v

30B

Hṙomkla, a town on the Euphrates River where the patriarchate of the Armenian Church had moved under threat from the Seljuks in 1151.[4] At Sis the illuminator created attenuated, emotionally intense variations of the calm, harmonious images seen in the mid-thirteenth-century manuscripts produced at Hṙomkla by the greatest Armenian painter, T'oros Roslin (cat. 173).[5] The illuminator at Sis also added decorative details, like the polylobed arch outlining the harpy over the dedicatory text, that may have been inspired by Cilicia's important political alliance with the Mongols.[6]

The donor portrait, now reunited with the manuscript from which it was cut, is one of two Armenian donor portraits in which members of the royal family kneel under the protective mantle of the Virgin of Mercy. Archbishop Hovannes, uncle of King Levon III, is shown standing erect and gesturing to the kneeling marshal and his two sons, Kostandin and Het'um, whom he presents to the enthroned Virgin and Christ Child.[7] The close connections of the royal family to the West through intermarriage with the rulers of many of the Crusader states, including those of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Cyprus, are reflected in the kneeling pose and fur-lined robes of the marshal and his sons as well as in the fleurs-de-lys on Archbishop Hovannes's vestments.[8] The appearance of the Virgin of Mercy in the donor portrait, however, should be specifically related to the presence of the Franciscan order in Sis. In 1254 the Armenians had signed papers of union with the Church of Rome through the efforts of the Franciscans sent to the East by Pope Innocent IV.[9] By 1289 there would be a Franciscan convent in the city, and by 1294 King Het'um II, Marshal Ōshin's great-nephew, would rule from there both as king and as a Franciscan monk.[10] Sirarpie Der Nersessian noted that the pose of the Virgin of Mercy in the donor portrait was probably inspired by a Western model, as it is most similar to Duccio's *Madonna of the Franciscans* in Siena dated to about 1280. In Duccio's work, three members of the order kneel beneath the protectively outstretched mantle of a seated image of the Virgin.[11] As Thomas Mathews has noted, the theme of monastic humility was transformed by the Armenian illuminator into a statement on the Virgin's role as the protector of the court aristocracy of Armenian Cilicia.[12]

The scriptorium at Sis reached its peak in the late thirteenth century, the era in which Hovannes was both chancellor of the realm and archbishop (1275–89).[13] Among the major manuscripts produced there was the Gospel book of Queen Keran of 1272 (Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem, Cathedral of Saint James, Ms. 2563), in which the royal family appears dressed in the imperial garb of the Byzantine court, a clear reference to the ambition of this dynasty to be the greatest Christian power in the East.[14] The scribe Kostandin who created this manuscript may well have been the Kostandin who was the scribe of the Queen Keran Gospels. HCE

1. Merian 1998–2000, p. 417.
2. Evans 2001.
3. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 93.
4. Evans 1990, p. 18.
5. See Der Nersessian 1973b, figs. 43–44, for the more harmonious motifs and formats from Hṙomkla as seen in the Gospels of T'oros the Priest (cat. 173) that inspired the dedicatory page decorations in the Marshal Ōshin Gospels.
6. Soucek 1998, pp. 116–18.
7. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 158–59, vol. 2, figs. 646 (the Morgan leaf) and 647 (Prince Vasak and his sons, Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem, Cathedral of Saint James, Ms. 2568).
8. Evans 1997, pp. 492–96; Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 159.
9. Evans 1998, pp. 106–7.
10. Evans 1990, pp. 44–46.
11. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 159, who makes no reference to the possible role of the Franciscans in the introduction of the image.
12. Mathews 1998b, pp. 168–70.
13. Evans in New York–Baltimore 1994, p. 80.
14. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 2, fig. 641.

REFERENCES: Evans 1990; Der Nersessian 1993; Helen C. Evans, "Cilician Manuscript Illumination: The Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," and "Gospels ('Marshal Ōshin Gospels')," in New York–Baltimore 1994, no. 64, pp. 193–94 (with previous bibl.); Evans 1997; Evans 1998; Mathews 1998b; Soucek 1998; Merian 1998–2000; Evans 2001.

31. Barlaam and Ioasaph

Byzantine, 14th century
Tempera and ink on parchment
23.5 x 18.5 cm (9¼ x 7¼ in.)
PROVENANCE: Monastery of Chalke, Constantinople; bought for the Bibliothèque Royale by François Sevin, 1729.
CONDITION: The binding is Oriental (sixteenth or seventeenth century); the folios are out of order; and the illuminations are covered by varnish.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris (cod. grec 1128)

The story of Barlaam and Ioasaph is a Christian adaptation of legendary Indian ele-

31, fol. 182v

ments that are enriched by long biblical citations. This frequently illustrated tale relates the edifying story of the Indian king Abenner and of his son Ioasaph, who are converted to Christianity thanks to the intervention of the hermit Barlaam. The text enjoyed widespread popularity during the Middle Ages, from Armenia to the Latin West.[1] Associated with John of Damascus, the Greek version was closely modeled upon a Georgian prototype and was transmitted in five different recensions and one hundred manuscripts.

Among the Greek illuminated examples, this one contains the most abundant cycle of miniatures: 210 illustrations were inserted into the text, in the form of unframed friezes. The drawings are of rather simple workmanship and are painted directly onto the parchment. A manuscript at Christ Church, Oxford (gr. 62), is closely related to this one but not identical, as some miniatures in the Paris codex do not appear in the Oxford manuscript, and vice versa. Both were probably based on a now-lost prototype that was even more richly decorated and that probably dates from the beginning of the Palaiologan dynasty.[2]

The miniature on folio 182v of the Paris manuscript, according to the inscription there, illustrates two successive episodes relating to the final part of the story, in which Ioasaph abandons the royal status that he inherited after the death of Abenner and goes in search of the hermit Barlaam, who taught him the Christian faith. In the first scene, Ioasaph offers his royal dress to a poor man, retaining only the rags that Barlaam had given him; in the second, he inquires of desert hermits, depicted in their caves, where Barlaam can be found. The composition and inscription here are very different from the illustrations in earlier (that is, pre-Palaiolgan) known texts of the Barlaam and Ioasaph story. The Paris manuscript and its lost prototype must have been relatively close in date. [3]

CF

1. Klaus Wessel, "Barlaam und Joasaph," in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1963–), vol. 1, pp. 496–507.
2. Hutter 1977–, vol. 4.1, pp. 159–73.
3. See ibid. and Der Nersessian 1937.

References: Bordier 1883, pp. 246–63; Der Nersessian 1937; Paris 1958, pp. 48–50, no. 86; Belting 1970, p. 19; Paris 1992–93, p. 458, no. 352; Paris 2001c, p. 25, no. 40.

32, fol. 143v

32. The Alexander Romance

Trebizond, mid- to late 14th century
Tempera, gold, and ink on bombycine paper; 193 fols.
Overall 33.4 x 24.6 x 8.5 cm (13⅛ x 9¾ x 3⅜ in.)
Inscribed: On fol. 143v, in Turkish, Ἡ δέ Κανδάκη ἀκούσασα περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὅπως χειροῦται τοὺς τηλικούτους Βασιλεῖς, ἔπεμψε ζωγράφον ἀπελθεῖν κρυφίως καὶ τὸ ὁμοίωμα λαβεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρου (Having heard how Alexander subdued such great kings, Kondake sent an artist to go secretly and procure a likeness of Alexander);[1] below, in Turkish, "The queen was frightened of Alexander and sent him a gift. She asked an artist to make a good image of Alexander"; upper left, "This is the artist who made the image of Alexander."[2]
Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Venice (Codex 5)

The Alexander Romance, the legendary story of Alexander the Great, became the most popular secular tale of the Byzantine world and was translated into eleven languages. The book's 250 miniatures demonstrate that a Byzantine emperor living in the successor kingdom of Trebizond, probably Alexios III Komnenos (r. 1349–90), owned the codex.[3] Alexander served as a role model for Byzantine emperors, particularly Trapezuntine emperors who had to fight enemies from the East, such as the Turks, just as Alexander fought the Persians.

On folio 143v, Queen Kondake is shown commissioning an artist to secretly paint a portrait of Alexander, whom she greatly admired. This illumination highlights the fourteenth-century Trapezuntine context in several ways. The dress depicted borrows from many cultures and is evidence of the multi-ethnic population of Trebizond: the turbans, commonplace among Byzantines, were originally borrowed from their Georgian, Armenian, and Islamic neighbors; Queen Kondake enthroned on the bottom register and Alexander at the top are dressed in Byzantine imperial dress, including the fan-shaped hats that became popular at the Constantinopolitan court during the twelfth century; the artist's hat probably demonstrates the influence of the Latin West.[4] The explanatory Turkish inscriptions on folio 143v suggest that the book fell into Turkish hands shortly after Trebizond fell to the Turks in 1461. Finally, notations in a Georgian script on several folios indicate that at least one, if not all, of the three artists who painted the illuminations was a Georgian speaker:

Trebizond not only bordered Georgia but also had a large Georgian-speaking population known as Laz.[5] JB

1. Text and translation in Trahoulia 1997, p. 99 n. 8, quoting Xyngopoulos 1966, p. 51.
2. Turkish translated in Trahoulia 1997, p. 225.
3. First proposed by Gallagher 1979.
4. On turbans, see Ball 2001. On the courtly hats, see Hilsdale 2003, Appendix II, "Vatican Greek Manuscript 1851: Dating Difficulties." The last hat is probably the one described by Choniates, who identified it as Latin; see Choniates 1984, p. 232.
5. Trahoulia 1997, p. 98.

REFERENCES: Kakoulidou 1971; Gallagher 1979; Galavaris 1995, nos. 227–28; Trahoulia 1997; Chrysa Maltezou, "The Alexander Romance," in Athens 2001–2, pp. 48–51, no. 8.

33. The Book of Job, with Catenae

Mistra, 1361–62
Tempera and ink on paper; 247 fols.
39 x 28 cm (15⅜ x 11 in.)
PROVENANCE: Library of Charles-Maurice Le Tellier, archbishop of Reims; given to the Bibliothèque Royale by Le Tellier, 1700.
CONDITION: Pages are mutilated in the margins and covered with water stains; the volume was restored during the 1960s.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris (cod. grec 135)

The Book of Job is one of the biblical texts that was most often illustrated in the Greek world: there are a dozen illuminated examples, dating from between the eighth and the fourteenth century, in which the images are completely surrounded by exegetical catenae.[1] Within this group, the Paris volume occupies a unique position: its nearly two hundred miniatures stand out because of their Western style, which is without equivalent in Byzantine illumination. The signature on the last folio indicates that the text was copied between 1361 and 1362 by Manuel Tzykandeles, a scribe active at Mistra between 1362 and 1372. He worked, notably for the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54) after his abdication and also for the emperor's son Manuel Kantakouzenos, despot of Morea (1349–80).

Though in all probability the manuscript was copied at Mistra, Tzykandeles was not responsible for the illustrations. In a volume of Plutarch that was entirely copied and illustrated by Tzykandeles, also in 1361–62, the decoration is clearly Byzantine.[2] The images in the Paris manuscript, by contrast, are Western in their style, although the anonymous illuminator followed the corpus of illustrations appropriate to Byzantine versions of the Book of Job, which date to as early as the pre-Iconoclastic period. Therefore, it appears that a Western artist was working from a Byzantine model.

The miniature on folio 18v illustrates Job 1:13, the feast of the seven sons and three daughters of Job. This image of the patriarch's good fortune includes abundant realistic details and picturesque elements. The opposite image, on folio 19r, represents the capture of the oxen and the massacre of Job's servants (1:14–15). The contrast between the two scenes highlights the abrupt descent into misfortune described in the biblical text on which the surrounding commentary of Polychronius of Apamea, fifth-century bishop, is based. CF

1. Klaus Wessel, "Hiob," in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1963–), vol. 3, pp. 123–52.
2. The manuscript is preserved in two parts, one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Canon. gr. 83), the other in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (D538); see Hutter 1977–, vol. 3.1, pp. 251–52; Turyn 1972, vol. 1, pp. 229–31.

REFERENCES: Paris 1958, p. 50, no. 87; Athens 1964, pp. 304–5, no. 292; Belting 1970, pp. 16, 38, 98; Spatharakis 1981, p. 65, no. 264; Paris 1992–93, p. 460, no. 354; Paris 2001c, p. 25, no. 38; Velmans 2001, pp. 337–65.

33, fols. 18v–19r

Religious Settings of the Late Byzantine Sphere

SLOBODAN ĆURČIĆ

Religious architecture and monumental art (mosaics, fresco paintings, architectural sculpture) constitute the most palpable remains of Byzantine spirituality. Paradoxically, in their reliance on these strictly visual, physical means, the Byzantines communicated not only their deepest spiritual sensibilities but also their most sophisticated theological thoughts regarding the structure of the heavenly kingdom upon which their own empire was believed to have been modeled. The concept of the Church as a representation of "Heaven on Earth" was formulated in Byzantine thought as early as the seventh century and acquired a subtly articulated expression by the eighth.[1] It remained the basis for understanding church architecture and art throughout the Byzantine era, notwithstanding the implementation over the centuries of various modifications pertaining to the building form, its functions, and its decorative program.

Within the history of Byzantine art, which embraces more than eleven hundred years of creative output, the period encompassed by this exhibition arguably constitutes its least understood chapter. This is especially true of church architecture, which is generally perceived as an "epilogue" or "nostalgic eclecticism" in contrast to Byzantium's far more accomplished prior achievements.[2] Byzantine monumental painting has fared slightly better, although a satisfactory comprehensive study of it has yet to be produced.[3] The problem is all the more glaring if one bears in mind that more monuments survive from this time than from any other phase of Byzantine history. Yet the aim of this essay is not to attempt a critical review of the historiography on the subject nor to try to rectify in a few pages of text past misconceptions and omissions. The following discussion, however, does hope to highlight some key aspects of religious settings in the Late Byzantine world by exploring a select number of examples.

Fig. 3.1. Manasija (Resava) Monastery, Serbia and Montenegro, 1407–18. Photo: Bruce White

"Religious setting," as defined here, should be considered as referring to the broadest contextual understanding of Late Byzantine religious art. This involves, above all, the church building as a three-dimensional form with its own exterior aesthetic characteristics; the church as an interior space in which various specific religious functions take place; wall paintings that cover all church interior walls and vaulting surfaces and whose own arrangement relates to the functional layout of the architecture; church furniture (including altar tables, iconostasis screens, thrones, and tombs) and other works of religious art that, together, once constituted entities of which each component was considered to be an inseparable part. This microcosmic reading of Byzantine art and architecture, we believe, approximates how such entities were viewed and understood by the Byzantines themselves. At the same time, we must contend with the fact that, notwithstanding the fair rate of survival of individual buildings, essentially nowhere in the territories of the erstwhile Byzantine Empire has a single such entity survived in its complete original form. Our task is thus doubly difficult. It requires that we look at individual components of such entities, not only outside their original settings but also often substantially removed from each other in time and space. Combining these elements mentally into a new "virtual" entity, we can begin to appreciate the vision expressed by the Byzantines in their churches.

Late Byzantine art has generally been viewed as a form of rebirth of artistic production following a hiatus of nearly six decades brought about by the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. Often labeled the "Palaiologan Renaissance" (after the last Byzantine imperial dynasty), this era has also been understood to have ended in 1453, with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks. Not all of these concepts are universally accepted. For our purposes the period in question will be referred to simply as Late Byzantine, and its chronological limits will not be set as rigidly as in the past.

Indeed, the dates 1261 and 1453 have true relevance solely in the context of the city of Constantinople itself, historically

speaking the major if not exactly the exclusive generator of cultural developments and artistic trends in the Byzantine world. The role of Constantinople in Late Byzantine art has been greatly exaggerated. Modern studies have begun to remove layers of romanticized preconceptions and to focus on aspects of grim realities in the Byzantine capital under the Palaiologan emperors.[4] New construction after 1261, at least on the basis of what has survived, suggests that repairing, rebuilding, or, at best, enlarging existing complexes appears to reflect most accurately the limited means of patrons (aristocratic and imperial) in Late Byzantine Constantinople.[5] The largest church building programs of the fourteenth century, for example, were the buttressing of Hagia Sophia under Andronikos II, after 1317, and the rebuilding of its dome and eastern semidome after the devastating earthquake of 1346.[6]

Constantinopolitan buildings constructed after 1261 display limited stylistic coherence.[7] The surviving churches have been divided into roughly two groups—those built until circa 1300 and those built between about 1300 and 1330, when architectural activity appears to have substantially come to an end. The oldest extant Late Byzantine church building in the capital—the south church of the famous Lips Monastery (the present Fenari Isa Camii; fig. 3.2)—was commissioned by Empress Theodora, wife of Michael VIII (r. 1259–82).[8] The building, begun somewhat before 1282 and dedicated to Saint John the Forerunner, was intended to accommodate imperial burials. A cluster of churches thus created appears to have emulated the complex of churches in Constantinople at the Pantokrator Monastery founded by John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43), itself including a dynastic mausoleum. Although practically nothing of the interior of the Church of Saint John has survived, its rich exterior articulation and the decorative vocabulary seem to hark back to some of the Komnenian buildings.[9]

Very different in architectural character is the Parekklesion of Hagia Maria Pammakaristos (the present Fethiye Camii), a small three-domed chapel attached, like the Church of Saint John the Forerunner at the Lips Monastery, to an older church as part of a remodeling carried out around 1310 (fig. 3.3).[10] The chapel was built by an aristocratic lady, Maria, as a mausoleum for her deceased husband, Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, and other family members. The south facade of the chapel is elaborately articulated with windows, a multitude of niches, a pair of decorative disks, and an inscription executed in brick just below the roof eaves. Another long inscription, in fact an epigram commemorating the foundation of the building, was carved on the underside of a marble stringcourse, so as to render it legible from the ground.[11] The decorative vocabulary also includes a single ogee arch, a stylistic element absorbed much earlier into Byzantine architecture, possibly from the Islamic world. The building technique of the Parekklesion of the

Fig. 3.2. The south church of the Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii), Constantinople, begun before 1282. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Fig. 3.3. Parekklesion of Hagia Maria Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii), Constantinople, 1310. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Pammakaristos displays a conservative preference for a technique that became common in Constantinople as early as circa 400—a regular, colorful banding created by the alternation of several courses of small stones with several courses of brick.

Comparable stylistic features and building technique appear on a number of other churches built during the first decades of the fourteenth century in the Byzantine capital and elsewhere, where they are presumed to have been exported by the builders and artisans from Constantinople. Among several locations where such phenomena have been noted, the most remarkable is undoubtedly Nesebŭr (Byzantine Mesembria), Bulgaria.[12] This small town on the Black Sea coast repeatedly changed hands between the Bulgarians and the Byzantines during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from which time several of its churches survive. Most of them have lost all of their interior decoration, and none of them are dated securely. The extraordinary Saint John Aleiturgetos survives as an impressive ruin (fig. 3.4).[13] The architectural articulation and the decorative vocabulary visible on the exterior of this building display a polychromatic virtuosity that has earned it, the other churches of Nesebŭr, and, by extension, Late Byzantine architecture in general a reputation for indulging in decorative excess.[14] While the external wall patterning of Late Byzantine church architecture continues to fascinate the modern viewer and to provide an aesthetic standard by which architecture of the period is judged, it has been questioned whether that type of facing was the desired aesthetic choice in Late Byzantine times.[15] A considerable number of contemporaneous churches from Crete and Peloponnesos in the south to Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Serbia in the north are known to have been externally plastered, commonly with the emulation of the building opus applied in paint to the plaster surface. Thus an important aspect of Byzantine architectural aesthetics continues to elude us, possibly having been misinterpreted in scholarship on the basis of past erroneous assumptions.

The last decades of the thirteenth and the first decades of the fourteenth century saw the emergence of the region of Macedonia as the hub of major Byzantine architectural activity—in stark contrast to the preceding century, which was marked by an almost total lack of building activity in the region. Macedonia, with its main urban centers, Thessalonike foremost among them, generated a major new demand for builders that had to be imported from elsewhere. Where exactly these builders may have come from has not been studied adequately.[16] Some of them must have come from Asia Minor, following the abandonment of Nicaea as the imperial capital in 1261. Others undoubtedly came from Epiros, where the volume of building drastically declined toward the end of the thirteenth century. The significance of Epiros for the development of Late Byzantine architecture cannot be overestimated, in part because of a fairly large number of monuments that have survived.[17] Their greatest concentration is in and around the provincial capital of Arta. Among these none is more impressive than the Church of the Panagia Paregoretissa, built in 1284–96 by Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas and his wife, Anna Palaiologina (fig. 3.5).[18] The hulky mass of this curious building, evolved in the course of construction, reveals a blend of highly conservative as well as highly innovative features, also combining, as it does, the aesthetic attitudes of Byzantium with those of the Latin West.[19] The rich decorative patterning of its exterior reflects a method of building established locally in the course of the thirteenth century.

Fig. 3.4. Saint John Aleiturgetos, Nesebŭr, Bulgaria (Byzantine Mesembria), 13th to 14th century. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

The demand for builders in Macedonia was driven by a number of factors, most important among these probably being fortification construction in the northern areas of the region contested by the Serbs and the Byzantines.[20] A monument of great significance, although still inadequately understood in this context, is the katholikon of Hilandar (Chelandari) Monastery on Mount Athos (fig. 3.6).[21] Built under the auspices of the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321), sometime between 1300 and 1316, this church followed the established planning formula for Athonite katholikai while incorporating many characteristics of Constantinopolitan Komnenian architecture. Neither the identity nor the origins of

Fig. 3.5. Panagia Paregoretissa, Arta, Greece, 1284–96. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

its builders are known, complicating the task of unraveling its genesis and understanding its impact.

Several Late Byzantine churches in Thessalonike have been preserved. Their architecture and fresco decoration make them of prime importance for the study of this period. Unfortunately, not one of them is securely dated, and for most of them even the original dedication is disputed.[22] Unquestionably the finest and best known among these is the Church of the Holy Apostles (fig. 3.7).[23] Built as the katholikon of a major urban monastery for the ecumenical patriarch Niphon (r. 1310–14), who was probably also responsible for the mosaic decorative program in the naos, its construction date has recently been challenged.[24] The building, one of two five-domed churches in Thessalonike (the other is Hagia Aikaterini), shows idiosyncrasies of planning and exterior decoration. Aspects of both, including several of its architectural elements, may be tied to Constantinople, believed to be the source of its unknown builders. The last major building in Thessalonike, the katholikon of an unknown monastery now dedicated to Prophetes Elias (Prophet Elijah), was built ca. 1360–70.[25] The model for this structure was clearly adopted from Mount Athos, where the formula for planning large katholikai with lateral apses had been in place for centuries. The church incorporates four small domed chapels, each nestled between the large projecting apses on the east as well as the north and the south sides. Preceding the church is a spacious narthex, characteristic of later Byzantine monastic churches on Mount Athos and elsewhere.[26]

During the last decade of the thirteenth century, Ohrid, Byzantine Achrida (in the present-day FYR–Macedonia), which had been the center of an autocephalous Byzantine archbishopric since the reconquest of Macedonia in the eleventh century, became a lively construction site equal to Thessalonike. No monument of this period in Ohrid is better preserved and more important than the Church of Bogorodica Periblepta (Theotokos Peribleptos), now known as Saint Kliment (Clement) (fig. 3.8).[27] The prominently situated cross-in-square Church of Theotokos Peribleptos was a private monastic foundation, commissioned and built sometime before 1295 by the Byzantine megas hetaireiarches (semi-military official) Progonos Sgouros, a relative of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328). The well-preserved building reveals architectural characteristics that have been unmistakably linked to Epiros.[28] The walls of the church were built in standard cloisonné technique, with extensive use of brick for arches and niches, where decorative designs abound. Among these, the meander and diaper patterns and the recessed sawtooth brick bands stand out as the clearest indicators of the Epirote origins of its builders. While the

Fig. 3.6. Katholikon of Hilandar (Chelandari) Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece, 1300–1316. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Fig. 3.7. Church of the Holy Apostles, Thessalonike, Greece, ca. 1310–14. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

names of the builders remain unknown, the frescoes that cover the church's interior walls were the work of two attested artists, Michael Astrapas and Eutychios,[29] whose signatures and monograms appear in several places on the frescoes. The interior of the building contains one of the earliest and best-preserved Late Byzantine fresco programs, which fully reflects the general stylistic and programmatic characteristics of monumental painting of the period (fig. 3.9). Beyond its compositional framework inherited from the Middle Byzantine tradition, the fresco program of the Theotokos Peribleptos reveals its Late Byzantine idiosyncrasies.[30] Multiplication of individual scenes and the consequential multiplication of individual figures in each composition, as well as the increase in the number of horizontal zones of paintings in church interiors, are the most palpable traits of this new stage of Byzantine religious art.

Fig. 3.8. Saint Kliment (Theotokos Peribleptos), Ohrid, before 1295. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 3.9. Interior view of Saint Kliment (Theotokos Peribleptos), Ohrid. Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, frescoes, before 1295. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 3.10. Mother of God of Zaum Monastery, Ohrid, 1361. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

By about 1300 Ohrid had become one of the most vigorous centers of architectural and artistic activity in the Balkans. The volume of construction and fresco decoration continued well into the fifteenth century, resulting in the establishment of local workshops, whose activities have been noted in part.[31] Persistence of the established Epirote mode of construction in Ohrid is apparent as late as 1361 in a fine monastic church dedicated to the Mother of God of Zaum (Sveta Bogorodica Zahumska), on the eastern shore of Lake Ohrid (fig. 3.10).[32] Notable on this building are the cloisonné technique, the meander and diaper patterns, and the distinctive detailing of the dome drum, including the recessed sawtooth bands that frame the window niches. All are directly related to the same features on the Theotokos Peribleptos, built nearly seven decades earlier.

A very different approach in overall design, if not in detail, marked the enlargement of the Cathedral Church of Ohrid, Sveta Sofija (Hagia Sophia). Commissioned by Archbishop Gregorios in 1313/14, the construction consisted of the addition of a huge, two-storied exonarthex, wider than the original eleventh-century church to which it was added. Flanked by two domed, towerlike forms, the exterior facade was marked by superimposed open arcades, blind niches, an abundance of decorative patterns, and a monumental inscription commemorating the occasion of its construction (figs. 3.11, 3.12). Here one is confronted with a grand propaganda statement, alluding to the imperial power behind that of the archbishop-donor. The ostentatious scheme was clearly designed to relate to an urban setting—a street or a square—of which nothing remains. A belfry that once rose above the inner narthex must have added to its impressive character. That feature was dismantled when the Ottomans took Ohrid and converted the cathedral into a mosque.[33] Destruction of church belfries was a corollary of the Ottoman prohibition of the use of bells, few of which belonging to the medieval period have survived (cat. 76).

One may gain an idea of what such a monumental urban church, including an open exonarthex and a belfry, may have looked like by turning to the Cathedral Church of Bogorodica Ljeviška (Mother of God Ljeviška) in Prizren (present-day Kosovo, Serbia; fig. 3.13).[34] Rebuilt by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin over the remains of an eleventh-century Byzantine basilica, the church introduced the five-domed scheme into Serbian church architecture. Its tall axial belfry is one of the few such features in all of Late Byzantine architecture that have been spared drastic Ottoman interventions. Bogorodica Ljeviška shares with the Cathedral of Ohrid the use of a monumental inscription that decorates its exterior, in this case appearing on the main apse (fig. 3.14). The use of exterior brick inscriptions, it should be noted, was a practice also directly related to thirteenth-century Epiros. Here the Serbian king used it not only to record the occasion of the building of an important church but also to refer to his holy royal lineage, and to his familial ties to the Byzantine emperor.

Soon after his marriage to Simonis, daughter of Emperor Andronikos II, in 1299, King Milutin was ready to compete openly, in matters of patronage of architecture and the arts, with his father-in-law, the Byzantine emperor. It would not be

Fig. 3.11. Sveta Sofija (Hagia Sophia), Ohrid, 1313. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 3.12. Sveta Sofija (Hagia Sophia), Ohrid, 1313. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 3.13. Bogorodica Ljeviška (Mother of God Ljeviška), Prizren (Kosovo), 1306–7

Fig. 3.14. Inscription, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Prizren (Kosovo), 1306–7. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

inaccurate to state that the best achievements in Byzantine architecture and monumental painting between 1300 and 1321, on the basis of what has survived, were accomplished under the auspices of the Serbian monarch. The single most impressive church building executed under Milutin's auspices in the Late Byzantine style is the Church of the Dormition at Gračanica Monastery (Kosovo, Serbia) (fig. 3.15).[35] Related to the architecture of Thessalonike (especially the Church of the Holy Apostles), this building exceeds its presumed models in the sophistication of its planning and the formal integration of its component parts, resulting in a pronounced accentuation of its verticality.

Notwithstanding its modest appearance, one of the most remarkable monuments of the era is the smallest of the churches commissioned by King Milutin. Popularly known as the "King's Church," it is actually dedicated to Saints Joachim and Anna (parents of the Virgin Mary).[36] It was conceived as a parekklesion, or special chapel, situated within the courtyard of the venerable Studenica Monastery (Serbia), whose katholikon dedicated to the Mother of God (Bogorodica) was built by the king's great-grandfather, Stefan Nemanja, during the last decades of the twelfth century. Sainted after his death in 1199, Nemanja became the first national saint of the Serbs, Saint Symeon (see cat. 119), whose relics are kept in his church in an elevated reliquary standing before the iconostasis. Thus the Church of the Mother of God is not only the monastic katholikon but also a pilgrimage church and a national shrine of prime importance. Milutin's selection of the site for the Church of Saints Joachim and Anna, therefore, was by no means accidental.

The King's Church is, essentially, a compact cubical mass crowned by a single dome elevated on an octagonal drum (fig. 3.16). The exterior of its protruding three-sided altar apse bears a lengthy two-line inscription incised with great precision into white marble blocks, its letters originally highlighted in red paint. In location, intent, and spirit, if not in material, this arrangement echoes the design at Bogorodica Ljeviška.[37] At the King's Church the inscription cites the date of construction

Fig. 3.15. Church of the Dormition, Gračanica Monastery, Kosovo, ca. 1311. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

(1313/14), gives the king's full title, and enumerates his dynastic lineage, in juxtaposition with the dedication of the church to Christ's ancestors Joachim and Anna. Inside is one of the most sophisticated Late Byzantine fresco programs; though imperfectly preserved, it can be fully understood. Within a tiny interior space it presents a paradigmatic articulation of the Byzantine view of the Christian universe. The fresco program also shows the donor, King Milutin, in the full regalia of a Byzantine emperor (see Manuel II on the Funeral Oration, cat. 1, fig. 1.1), with a model of the church in his hands and his wife, Byzantine princess Simonis, by his side (fig. 3.17). Appropriating the Byzantine notion of the emperor as Christ's vicar on earth, Milutin had himself portrayed as a descendant of a saintly royal family, through whom, by Divine Will, he rules over his realm. The direct juxtaposition of the king's own ancestry with that of Christ, the dedication of the church to Christ's forebears, and the location of the church next to that built by Milutin's great-grandfather, Stefan Nemanja, Saint Symeon, delivered a potent ideological message,[38] adopted from Byzantine imperial ideology and iconography but carried considerably further. Although we do not know the name of the architect of the King's Church, we do know that its principal painter was Michael Astrapas, one of the team of two artists responsible for painting the Theotokos Peribleptos in Ohrid.[39]

Milutin's competitive spirit must have reached a high point in the construction of his mausoleum church of Saint Stefan (Stephen) at Banjska Monastery (Kosovo, Serbia). Unfortunately, this large resplendent church, deliberately modeled after the main church of the Studenica Monastery and finished about 1316–17, is preserved only in ruins.[40] Nothing survives of its interior decoration save for fragments of its decorative sculpture, among which is an impressive high-relief sculpture of the enthroned Mother of God that once graced the tympanum above its main interior portal (cat. 41). This sculpture signals unmistakably two important phenomena: first, it reflects Serbia's dual cultural exposure between Byzantium, to the south, and the Latin West, through its coastal region on the Adriatic; second, it reveals a slowly developing inclination on the part of the Orthodox Church, during the Late Byzantine era, to accept three-dimensional representations of holy persons.

The construction of special churches and chapels for funerary purposes increased tremendously in the Late Byzantine period. Nowhere is it possible to gain a better impression of the culture's preoccupation with death and the afterlife than in the funereal arrangements preserved in the church complex of the Chora Monastery (the present Kariye Camii) in Constantinople.[41] Under Theodore Metochites, a distinguished writer and statesmen in the service of Emperor Andronikos II, the restoration of the ruined Middle Byzantine monastery was completed in 1316–21. The main church was enlarged by peripheral additions including a substantial parekklesion along its south flank (fig. 3.18). One of the finest buildings constructed in the city

Fig. 3.16. Church of Saints Joachim and Anna, Studenica Monastery, Serbia and Montenegro, 1313–14. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Fig. 3.17. Fresco depicting King Stefan Uroš II Milutin holding a model of the church and standing with his wife, Simonis, 1313–14. Church of Saints Joachim and Anna, Studenica Monastery. Photo: Bruce White

after the reconquest of 1261, the chapel was internally embellished with resplendent mosaics, frescoes, and sculptural decoration. With the exception of liturgical installations, removed at the time of its conversion into a mosque, much of the chapel's interior decoration has been preserved. The long axis is dominated by a monumental depiction of the Anastasis (Resurrection) in the conch of the apse, while a saucer dome directly in front of it is given over to an elaborate representation of the Last Judgment.[42] The large dome elevated upon a tall drum over the main bay of the elongated chapel is crowned by the image of the Mother of God and a Christ Child in a medallion; this space, normally reserved for the representation of Christ as a Heavenly Ruler, is here given over to his mother in her role as the caretaker of the souls of departed Christian believers. The entire fresco program, both in overall conception as well as in details, departs from the standard program insofar as it reflects the particular functional requirements of the space for which it was created, underscored by the presence of large arcosolia, monumental arched tombs, framed by richly carved marble panels that line the longitudinal walls at ground level.[43]

The fresco program in the funerary chapel created by Theodore Metochites was designed for a wealthy aristocrat. No comparable imperial funerary settings have been preserved in Byzantium. The closest one can come to imagining imperial funerary settings is in the royal mausoleum at the Church of the Pantokrator at the Dečani Monastery (Kosovo, Serbia), built in 1327–35 by King Milutin's son Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (r. 1322–31) and his grandson Stefan Dušan (r. 1332–55). Among the largest, best preserved, and most impressive of the surviving Orthodox Christian churches not only in Serbia but in the entire Balkan Peninsula,[44] Dečani, like Banjska, reveals its reliance in terms of architectural style and sculptural decoration on Studenica Monastery and on Serbia's continuing links with the Adriatic littoral. As recorded in an inscription, the church was built by a Franciscan, one Vita (Vitus), from the coastal town of Kotor (fig. 3.19). In addition to its overtly Western—Romanesque and Gothic—architectural style, the building is unparalleled for its frescoed interior, with hundreds of compositions, thousands of individual figures, and several different programmatic cycles. Interior furnishings include, in their original state, the stone iconostasis together with its icons, the royal and episcopal thrones in the naos, and the huge bronze choros suspended by chains from the base of the dome (see cat. 60 for a lamp related in form). Also preserved in the church are the tombs of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and his second wife, Maria Palaiologina.[45] Stefan Dečanski died in 1331 and was sainted in 1343. At that time his completely intact body was exhumed, placed in a special wooden reliquary (cat. 59), and prominently displayed against the church iconostasis, directly below the posthumous portrait showing him with the model of his church. The royal burial and the treatment of the king's relics after the proclamation of his sainthood followed clearly established principles.[46]

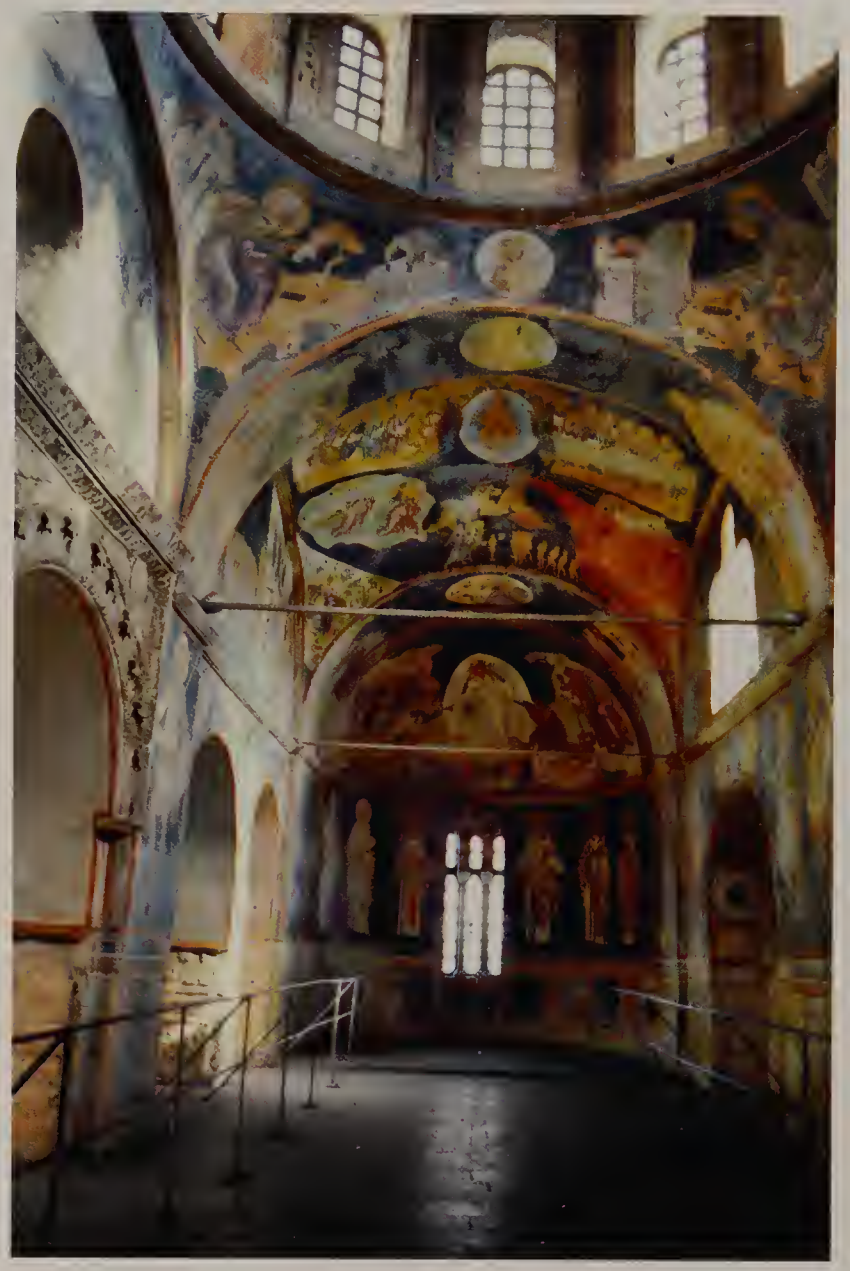


Fig. 3.18. Interior of the Parekklesion. Monastery of the Chora, Constantinople, with frescoes, 1316–21. Photo: Robert Ousterhout

Tombs belonging to high-ranking royal subjects are situated in the north aisle of the spacious narthex. All of them face an unusual composition on the east wall in which aspects of the Divine and the Heavenly Liturgy are ingeniously combined (fig. 3.20). The body of Christ is here depicted as that of an adult man displayed on an altar table symbolizing his tomb. In both form and symbolic content this fresco is unmistakably linked to the so-called epitaphioi (cats. 188–91), liturgical cloths that became popular in Late Byzantine art.[47]

The eastern bay of the corresponding south aisle of the narthex accommodates a baptismal font in front of a monumental fresco depicting the Nemanjid Dynastic Tree (fig. 3.21).[48] Depiction of this composition in Serbian art illustrates the ultimate juxtaposition of faith and royal ideology. Here the royal dynastic tree has been given the form of the Tree of Jesse (Christ's family lineage), graphically underscoring the divine origins of the Serbian ruling family, from its "root"—Nemanja/Saint Symeon, at the bottom—to its ultimate "fruit"—the current ruler Stefan Dušan—at the top. It was no coincidence that at

Dečani the composition depicting the Tree of Jesse, as the literal blueprint for the Nemanjid Dynasty Tree, was placed back-to-back, on the opposite side of the very same wall.

The curious juxtaposition of Western and Byzantine styles in the church at Dečani and other buildings in Serbia, though especially pronounced in that cultural context, was not unknown in Byzantium itself. Various manifestations of this have been noted and studied.[49] Western features entered Byzantine art on very selective bases, most often on the exteriors of church buildings and in secular architecture. The city of Mistra, initiated and fortified by the Franks, passed into Byzantine hands in 1262 and remained the regional capital until 1460.[50] Its architecture, particularly its secular buildings, reveals a continuing affinity for Western stylistic features. The churches of Mistra, on the other hand, were overtly conservative in design and in their manner of construction. The monastic Church of the Hagioi Theodoroi, built ca. 1290–95, is the last known example of the so-called octagon domed type (fig. 3.22). Likewise, the nearby katholikon of the Brontocheion Monastery, the Church of the Hodegetria, built about 1310 and distinguished by its juxtaposition of a basilica with a cross-in-square scheme, has been linked to much earlier prototypes. The katholikon of the Pantanassa Monastery, built and painted around 1428–30, by contrast, displays a particular affinity to Late Gothic style, adapting it to the older scheme of the Church of the Hodegetria (fig. 3.23).[51] It is arguably the last major church building constructed in what was left of the Byzantine Empire before its final collapse. Based on a locally established design scheme known as the "Mistra type," its architecture is markedly conservative with the exception of the eastern end, where aesthetic experiments with Gothic architectural and sculptural forms are pronounced. Some Western stylistic characteristics have also been noted in its fresco decoration, whose program otherwise relies heavily on the established local tradition.[52]

The architecture in Serbia, from about 1370 until its fall to the Ottomans in 1459, was similarly experimental—though on a far more extensive scale. During this time of adverse political circumstances, a remarkable flurry of building activity took place. Labeled the "Morava School" and declared a "national style" by Gabriel Millet, it awaits a proper assessment from aesthetic and other points of view.[53] The katholikon of Ravanica Monastery (Serbia), built in the 1370s, may be considered the inaugural statement of this style, which drew its characteristics from Mount Athos, from Serbian architecture itself of the 1340s and 1350s, and from other still unclear sources (fig. 3.24).[54] The appearance of lateral apses along the flanks of the Ravanica church clearly suggests the growing importance of the Athonite monastic formula, juxtaposed here with the five-domed church scheme. The most perplexing aspects of this architecture, however, are its sculptural elements, whose sheer quantity, exuberance, and variety of motifs have defied explanation. Evident on a large number of buildings, from Lazarica in

Fig, 3.19. Portal with inscription. Church of the Pantokrator, Dečani Monastery, Kosovo, 1327–35. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Fig. 3.20. East wall showing a fresco with the dead Christ. Church of the Pantokrator, Dečani Monastery, Kosovo, 1335–55. Photo: Branislav Strugar

Fig. 3.21. Fresco of the Nemanjid Dynastic Tree. Church of the Pantokrator, Dečani Monastery, Kosovo, 1327–35. Photo: Branislav Strugar

Fig. 3.22. Church of the Hagioi Theodori, Mistra, Greece, 1290–1295. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Kruševac to Naupara, Rudenica, Veluče, Ljubostinja, and Milentija, the style of decoration displays affinities with Armenia and Georgia, the world of Islam, and even Venice and the West. Its persistence into the fifteenth century, on church facades such as that of Kalenić Monastery (built 1413–17), reveals the vitality of this new medium, which in its later stages began to incorporate human and animal forms, often related to mythological themes presumably drawn from manuscript illuminations (fig. 3.25).

In the waning years of Serbia's independence, the imminent threat of Ottoman forces prompted major efforts in fortification architecture. Nor did this security-related phenomenon bypass religious settings.[55] The Manasija (Resava) Monastery in Serbia, for example, incorporates a system of massive walls, ten towers, and a huge donjon, all built in 1407–18 (fig. 3.1). Endowed by the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević, the strongly defended Manasija became not only his final resting place but also the last major center of cultural activity in Serbia before its fall to the Ottomans in 1459.[56]

Concurrent with the trend toward such heavily fortified religious establishments, a new form of monasticism was on the rise throughout the Balkans. Seeking new, secure places for survival, monks built their monasteries in highly inaccessible places, drawing their inspiration from the oldest forms of monasticism, especially in Palestine, Cappadocia, and elsewhere.[57] Situated within a large natural cave on the south shore of Lake Prespa (Greece), a small monastic establishment of about 1410, with its tiny Church of the Virgin Eleousa (Virgin of Tenderness), is one of dozens of such settlements (fig. 3.26).[58]

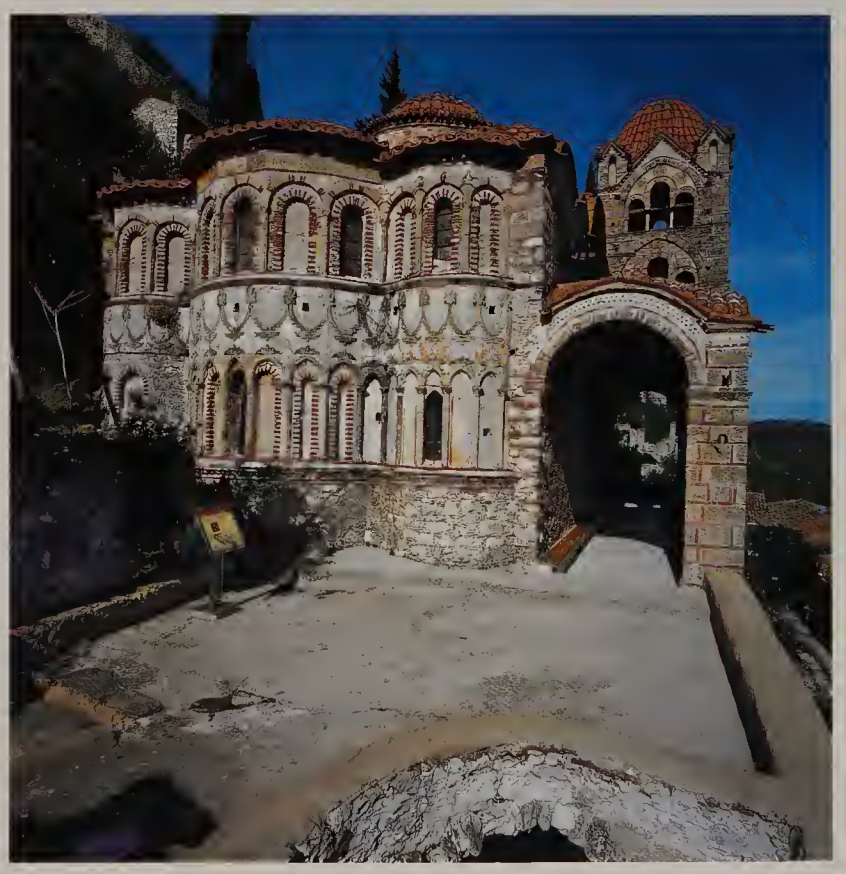


Fig. 3.23. Katholikon of the Pantanassa Monastery, Mistra, Greece, 1428. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 3.24. Katholikon of Ravanica Monastery, Serbia and Montenegro, ca. 1370. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

Its seclusion, modesty, and humility are characteristic of these compounds, which nonetheless maintain the essential aesthetic standards of a "religious setting."

Following the Ottoman conquest, building activity among Christian communities in most areas of the Balkans at first declined sharply or ceased completely. During the second quarter of the sixteenth century, as Ottoman control over the area stabilized and their empire reached the zenith of its power, this began to change. A limited revival of building activity occurred in certain Christian areas, notably monastic enclaves such as those of Mount Athos and Meteora.[59] Thus, the katholikon of Koutloumousiou Monastery, built in 1540, in most respects follows the venerable Athonite tradition that began six centuries earlier (fig. 3.27).[60] Built a few years later, certainly by 1545, the katholikon of Rousanou Monastery in Meteora likewise adopted the Athonite formula featuring a cross-in-square domed naos with symmetrically disposed lateral apses (fig. 1.6). While the architecture reveals relatively modest means, the setting, predicated, like that of several other Meteora monasteries, on security concerns, added a remarkable new dimension to the centuries-old paradigm of the Church as a representation of "Heaven on Earth."[61]

While some fairly impressive architectural and artistic achievements, such as the katholikai of Koutloumousiou and Rousanou monasteries, took place in the Balkans during the first half of the sixteenth century, they were certainly exceptions rather than the rule. By that time, a new Christian empire was forming under the leadership of Moscow. The slow process of liberation from Mongol rule during the second half of the fifteenth century witnessed some critical developments for the future of Russian culture. Among these, one of the more important events was certainly the marriage of Prince Ivan III (r. 1440–1505) to Sophia Palaiologina in 1472. With it, a new wave of Byzantine influence in Russia began, just when Byzantium and the last remnants of its sphere of influence in the Balkans had ceased to exist. The eventual proclamation of the new empire in 1547, by Ivan's grandson Ivan IV, culminated in the political and cultural transformation of Moscow into the "Third Rome."[62] Although the origins of the term itself have been disputed on historical grounds, the physical metamorphosis of the Moscow Kremlin from a timber fort into a mighty brick fortress with multiple large stone churches within its walls bespeaks the essence of this symbolic transformation in no uncertain terms. The rise of Moscow was paralleled by the rise of one of the greatest Russian monasteries—the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra (Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery)—north of Moscow. One of its several churches—the Church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit—sums up the Russian role in the post-Byzantine context (fig. 3.28). Built in 1476, the church was based on the centuries-old Byzantine cross-in-square plan, long since at home in Russia.[63] Rising much higher than would a comparable Byzantine church, the main body of the building is topped by ogee-shaped gables, a motif of disputable origins but certainly known in Late Byzantine architecture, as we have seen. Crowning the structure is a dome, curiously elevated to an enormous height atop an attenuated drum, itself supported by eight massive piers with eight huge arches accommodating a bell within each arcade. The juxtaposition of a belfry with a

Fig. 3.25. Church of Kalenić Monastery, Serbia and Montenegro, 1413–17. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 3.26. Church of the Virgin Eleousa, Lake Prespa, Greece, ca. 1410. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

dome, one of many idiosyncrasies of Russian church architecture, coincided with the disappearance of bells in Christian lands under Ottoman control.[64] By about 1500, the notion of "Byzantine religious settings" acquired new dimensions in Russia within the framework of its own appropriation of Byzantine faith and power.

Fig. 3.27. Katholikon of the Holy Monastery of Koutloumousiou, Mount Athos, Greece, 1540. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

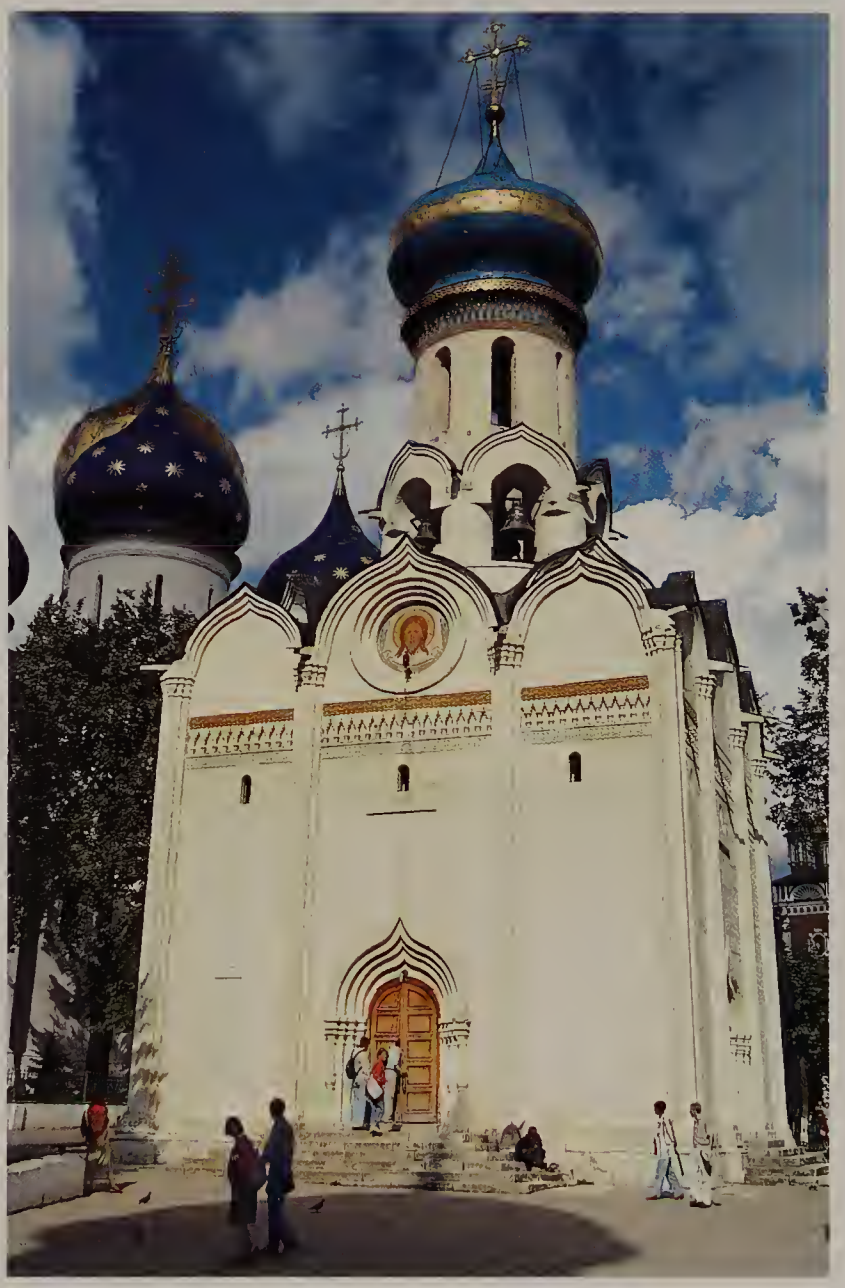


Fig. 3.28. Church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, Moscow, 1476. Photo: Slobodan Ćurčić

34A

34B

34A,B. Ceramic Icons

34A. The Crucifixion
Church of Saint Basil, Arta, end of the 13th century
Glazed earthenware
41 x 38 x 4 cm (16⅛ x 15 x 1⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: Over the cross, in low relief, IC XC. (Jesus Christ). The Virgin and John the Evangelist are identified by inscriptions in low relief in green: MP ΘY and Iω.
PROVENANCE: From the Church of Saint Basil, Arta.
CONDITION: The icon is preserved in relatively good condition. The Crucifixion is missing a small part from its lower border as well as part of the face of Christ.
Archaeological Collection of the Paregoretissa, Arta, Greece (313)

34B. The Three Hierarchs
Church of Saint Basil, Arta, end of the 13th century
Glazed earthenware
42 x 39 x 4 cm (16½ x 15⅜ x 1⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: Across the top, in Greek, the names of the three hierarchs, Saint Gregory, Saint Basil, John Chrysostom.
PROVENANCE: From the Church of Saint Basil, Arta.
CONDITION: Much of the center section of the Three Hierarchs icon is lost, including the head of the central image. Otherwise, the icon is relatively well preserved.
Archaeological Collection of the Paregoretissa, Arta, Greece (314)

The icons once constituted part of the exterior decoration of the Church of Saint Basil in the city of Arta, where they were set into the wall on either side of the window of the eastern pediment of the church (see fig. 34.1).[1] On the right and left sides of the main church there are two parekklesia dedicated to Saint George and Saint John Chrysostom.

The iconography of the Crucifixion (A) shows the influence of Western, mainly Italian, art. The composition occupies a broad frame. The cross stands upon a rock—a summary rendering of the Mount of Golgotha—with a small open cave below in which is shown the large skull of Adam. The crucified Christ and the flanking figures of the Virgin and John the Evangelist are worked in low relief. Christ turns to the right, with his arms extended horizontally and the palms of the hands open. In this schematic rendering, Christ's body is held erect with the thighs together and the feet nailed to the platform of the cross. A grayish loincloth covers Christ's thighs. The haloed heads of the Virgin and John droop in intense grief at the Savior's death.

The icon of the Three Hierarchs (B) shows the Church Fathers in the Byzantine iconographic tradition, in full-length frontal poses and wearing richly decorated vestments. Incised halos, which are colored, enframe their heads.[2] The wide band above them identifies the three popular saints as Gregory, Basil, and John Chrysostom. The figures are set in a raised-relief frame that is thinner on the top and bottom and wider on

Fig. 34.1. Original location of the two ceramic icons, east facade, Church of Saint Basil, Arta, Greece. Photo: Sarah Brooks

the sides. The relief is well made; in particular, the faces of the saints have been rendered with characteristic detail. The garments have loose, thick folds, while the decorative details are indicated with color.

Both icons were made in the majolica technique. The figures, produced independently (perhaps from a cast), were placed before baking upon the background of the icons. In the Crucifixion the frame, the cross, the hill upon which the figures stand, and the garment of the Virgin are in green, while John's cloak is dark red. The background of the icon is white, as are also the skull of Adam and the exposed flesh of the figures. A colorless glaze covers the icon, though it is not uniform over the entire surface. On the Three Hierarchs icon off-white, green, gray, and dark red have been used to color the relief figures, and a colorless glaze seals the icon's surface.

According to one view, these icons are the work either of an Italian craftsperson, one who was familiar with Italian ceramic arts and who must have worked in Arta, or of a Byzantine artisan who spent time in Italy.[3] A recent argument has shown that these earthenware icons were part of a larger group, most of which are now lost, thought to be from a workshop in Arta, and which are the work of either an Italian artist or a Byzantine artist with Western artistic education.[4] Until recently the examples from Arta constituted the only examples of earthenware icons that were set into a Byzantine church. Recently, a third icon was found, in the Church of the Entrance of the Virgin in the village of Palaiokatouna (Aitoloakarnania prefecture), with a representation of the Crucifixion, which nevertheless follows Byzantine iconographic prototypes.[5] The icons must be dated to the end of the thirteenth century, though initially they were dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and had been connected to Orsini and Tocco, western rulers of the despotate of Epiros.[6]

Today the two icons are on display in the Byzantine Museum of Ioannina. Faithful reproductions now fill their original positions on the exterior of the church in Arta.

VNP

1. For the Church of Saint Basil, see Orlandos 1936b, p. 115 *passim*; Velenēs 1984, pp. 187(3), 260; Tsouris 1988, pp. 23–25, 191–93; Papadopoulou 2002, p. 125 *passim*.
2. The head of the figure of Saint John Chrysostom was thought lost since 1929, when the icons of the Church of Saint Basil were first published (see Xenopoulos 1929, p. 393 *passim*). Nevertheless, it was found unexpectedly during my research in the storage facilities of the Archaeological Collection of the Paregoretissa.
3. Orlandos 1936b, p. 125; Tsouris 1988, pp. 76ff.
4. Kissas 1991, pp. 362–65.
5. Ibid.
6. Tsouris 1988, p. 76.

REFERENCES: Xenopoulos 1929, figs. 3–4; Orlandos 1936b, pp. 122–26, figs. 7–8; Athens 1985–86, nos. 303–4, p. 246; Tsouris 1988, pp. 83, 87 *passim*, fig. 67; Kissas 1991, pp. 362–65, pl. 75; Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, p. 254 *passim*; Papadopoulou 2002, p. 128, fig. 148.

35. Panel with Griffin Relief

Byzantine (Greece), end of the 13th century
Marble with red mastic inlay
Height 33 cm (13 in.), length 36 cm (14⅛ in.), maximum width 3 cm (1⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: From Arta, possibly the Church of Saint Theodora or the Church of the Panagia Paregoretissa.
CONDITION: The panel is preserved in good condition, with a break along the length of its upper side and in the bottom left corner. The reverse is roughly worked. There is slight thinning of the bottom part of the panel. The griffin's tail and wings have been restored.
Archaeological Collection of the Paregoretissa, Arta, Greece (60)

The marble panel is decorated with a winged griffin, facing to the right, whose body is articulated by thin incised lines, as are the details of its head. The image is inscribed within a circle, which is itself contained within a square frame; four knots mark the points where the circular and square frames meet. Vegetal motifs decorate the spaces between the circular and square frames, and stylized buds appear near the front feet of the griffin.

The theme of the winged griffo-lion (a mythical creature with a feline body and the head and tail of a bird) was a favorite in Byzantine art. Originally of Eastern provenance, the motif was particularly popular in Middle Byzantine sculpture, especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1] It is also frequently seen in the Byzantine sculpture produced at Arta, most notably on column capitals, parapets, and other architectural elements.

The present work has been rendered in a standard relief technique, involving an abstract image, an irregularly carved background, and a perfectly smooth decorated area. Traces of an inlaid red substance remain in many places on the background of the slab. The inlay technique was common in the eastern Mediterranean by the second and third centuries. Its earliest known appearances in Middle Byzantine architecture are limited to the Monastery of Livos, Constantinople, and the Church of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas, Phokis.[2] That the same technique seems to have been employed in Arta during the Late Byzantine period is indicated by such examples as the surviving turrets from the templon barrier of the Church of Saint Theodora and the arch with the donor's inscription in the Paregoretissa.

The precise site in Arta where the panel comes from is not known. Another panel, with an image of an eagle, presents a close parallel in design and is of relatively similar dimensions. According to

Anastasios Orlandos, the two slabs may have constituted a single rectangular parapet that covered one of the oblong openings, either to the prothesis or to the diakonikon, in the templon barrier at the Church of Saint Theodora. An earlier hypothesis was that the slab originated from the decoration of the Church of the Panagia Paregoretissa.[3]

VNP

1. For this decorative theme, its long iconographic tradition, and its symbolic characteristics, see L. Bouras 1983, Pazaras 1988, pp. 94–95, and Ćurčić 1995, p. 597.
2. L. Bouras 1980, p. 50.
3. Orlandos 1973–74, p. 121.

References: Orlandos 1963, p. 100, fig. 109; Orlandos 1973–74, pls. 45b, 46a; A. Grabar 1976, pl. 128; Athens 1985–86, no. 13, p. 28.

36A

36B

36A,B. Pair of Capitals

Veroia, first quarter of the 14th century
Marble
36A. Height 28 cm (11 in.), entablature 37 x 37 cm (14⅝ x 14⅝ in.), diameter of ring 20 cm (7⅞ in.)
36B. Height 26 cm (10¼ in.), entablature 37 x 37 cm (14⅝ x 14⅝ in.), diameter of ring 20 cm (7⅞ in.)
Provenance: Old Veroia Cathedral pulpit, Veroia, Greece.
Condition: (A) The capital is generally in good condition; the entablature is slightly damaged.
(B) The capital is in very good condition; the edges are slightly damaged.
Turkish Baths' Collection, Veroia, Greece (552 [Γ3] and 553 [Γ4])

The decoration of these two capitals is related yet distinctive. The body of the cauldron-shaped capital (A), with its undecorated entablature and ring, is covered with low-relief decoration consisting of narrow interlaced bands that form lozenge-shaped panels incorporating crosshatched diminutive blossoming vine scrolls or inverted larger buds in heart-shaped frames. The triangular forms on the upper part of the body, underneath the entablature, are decorated with flowers bearing lancelike petals. The cauldron-shaped capital (B) also has an undecorated entablature and ring. The body is covered with low-relief decoration that consists of a narrow interlaced band that forms elliptical pointed panels, which include inverted and fragmented blossoms. Crosshatched buds decorate the space between the panels.

The champlevé technique and the arabesque interlacing that form the floral motifs identify these capitals as part of a group of pieces with Islamic features that are found in Macedonia, Mount Athos, Thessaly, and mainland Greece.[1] The stylistic similarities among those sculptures with regard to technique and ornamentation hint at the possibility of a common origin in the same workshop, which has been dated to the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.[2]

The two capitals belong to a group of four that supported the ciborium of the pulpit of the Old Veroia Cathedral. They date to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, probably between 1300 and 1317, the period to which the construction of the pulpit is attributed.[3] They present many stylistic similarities to the capitals from the pulpit of Saint Sophia at Ohrid,[4] dated to 1317.[5] The construction of the pulpit of Veroia during the years 1300–1317 is connected to the reconstruction of the cathedral and the repainting of the church[6] at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

FK

1. Pieces of sculpture of this group are located in Achris (Church of Saint Sophia); Thessalonike (Vlatadon Monastery); Mount Athos (Hilandar Monastery); Trikkala (Porta Panagia); Mount Pelion (Bishopry of Ano Volos, Nea Petra Monastery, and Aghios Lavrentios Monastery); Chalkis (tombstone from the collection of the Chalkis Mosque); Oropos (Temple of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary); and Athens (Sklavou Mauroeidē 1999, nos. 287–89, pp. 204–5).
2. Thessalonike is considered to be the workshop's location.
3. See Pazaras 1994, pp. 251–54 and tabl. 6δ, where the relevant bibliography is to be found.
4. Pazaras 1985, fig. 3; A. Grabar 1976, no. 156, pp. 149–50, pl. 138.
5. Pazaras 1994, pp. 253–54.
6. Tsigaridas 1984, p. 86.

Reference: Pazaras 1994, p. 251.

Mistra, which was founded and prospered during the last centuries of Byzantium, was the capital of the despotate of the Morea in the Peloponnesos. The city continued to feel the strong political, cultural, and religious influence of Constantinople until the end of the empire.

According to historical sources, Mistra was founded on a hill at the foot of the Taygetos mountain range about 1249, when the Frankish prince William II Villehardouin built a castle there as part of his program to consolidate and extend his acquisitions in the Peloponnesos. In 1262, however, the citadel was relinquished to the Byzantines along with other fortresses at important strategic locations on the peninsula. Soon afterward, the residents of Byzantine Lakedaimon (ancient Sparta) began to move to the area below the citadel. By 1349 the fortified Byzantine settlement of Mistra had become the capital of Morea, ruled by members of two great imperial families, namely the Kantakouzenoi (1349–83) and the Palaiologoi (1383–1460). The infusion of artists and writers from Constantinople gave the city a new, dynamic character that was fostered by the leadership of enlightened rulers, scholars, and churchmen. Among the numerous buildings in this energetic community were beautiful churches with fine paintings and grandiose, heavily fortified palaces.

During the two centuries of its existence, until it surrendered to the Ottomans in 1460, Mistra became an important center of Byzantine art that sustained a direct relationship with Constantinople as well as close connections with western Europe. After the breakdown of the Byzantine world, various scholars from the city found refuge in the West, and their Hellenic training and cultural traditions contributed greatly to the humanist movement in Europe. EMB

37. Fragment of an Epistyle

Byzantine (Mistra), shortly before 1296
Marble
61.2 x 18.6 x 14.7 cm (24⅛ x 7⅜ x 5¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: Ο ΘΕΙΟC ΟΥΤΟC ΑΝΕΓΗΓΕΡΤΑΙ ΔΟΜΟC· ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ·ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΠΑΧΩΜΙΩ· ΕΧΕΙΝ ΜΟΝΑΧ[ΟΙC] (?) (This holy Church of [Saints] Theodores was established by the monks Daniel and Pachomios)
PROVENANCE: From the templon of the Church of the Saints Theodore, Vrontochion Monastery, Mistra; found in a 1935 excavation.
CONDITION: The extant epistyle is in good condition.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (1211)

This fragment made up the left portion of an epistyle that originally decorated the templon of the Church of the Saints Theodore at the Vrontochion Monastery, Mistra. According to its inscription, the church was under the patronage of the monks Daniel and Pachomios, who successively served as the abbots of the monastery. These facts, and the fact that the church was erected

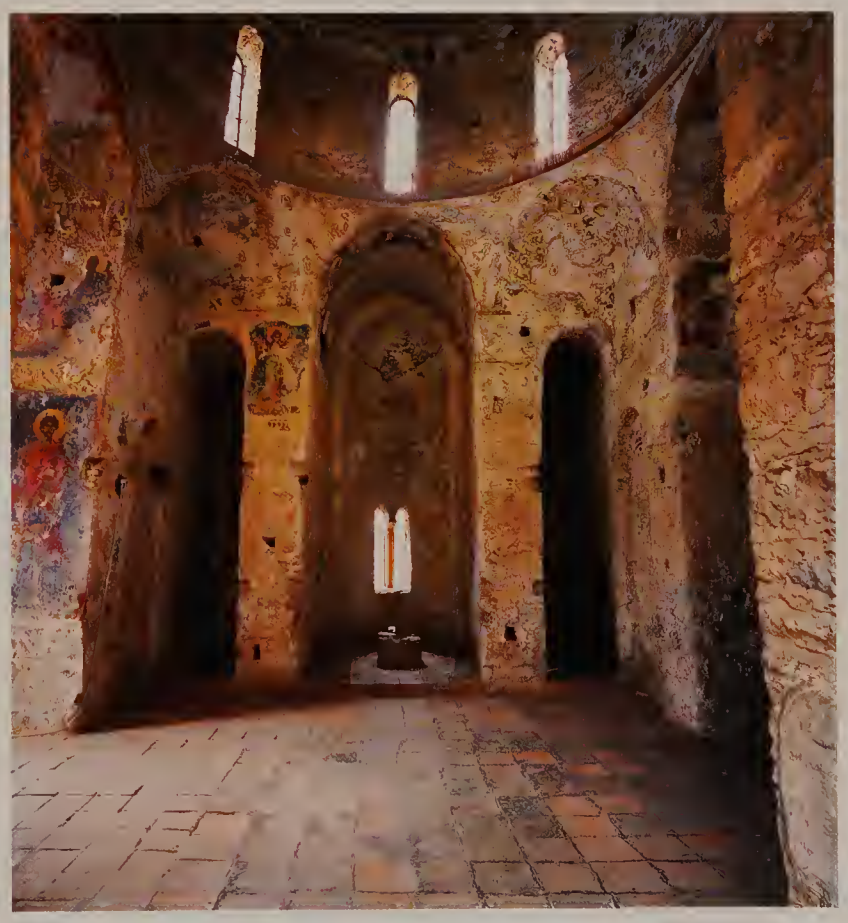


Fig. 37.1. Former site of the inscribed templon beam, sanctuary of the Church of the Saints Theodore, Vrontochion Monastery, Mistra, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

37

just before 1296, are corroborated by other historical sources.[1]

The front side of the epistyle is decorated with carved geometric and floral motifs located under the molding bearing the inscription. On the left, two nearly identical decorative units consist of a two-forked vine motif that forms schematized pseudo-Kufic with flowering ends. To the right of the vine motif is a circle with an intertwined vine-scroll border enclosing a star-shaped design. The four cavities between the rays of the star are arranged in the shape of a cross and must have been filled with some type of material. A rhombus formed of scrolling vines on the far right border most probably defined the center of the epistyle, which in its complete form would have had on its right half a mirror image of the same designs as those surviving on the left.

The carving here is rendered in low relief and additionally worked with a drill, in a technique reminiscent of miniature cloisonné work. It is likely to have been done by a local craftsman, who had a tendency toward asymmetry and a weak sense of compositional organization.

Despite the Eastern origins of such designs, the carving remains well within the spirit of Byzantine motifs introduced into Middle Byzantine sculpture,[2] possibly through a workshop connected to the important monastic center of Hosios Loukas of Steiriotes. Pseudo-Kufic motifs appear in Greek sculptures during the Palaiologan period, such as those in the Taxiarches Church, Lokrida; Saint John Kynegos in Attica; the Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos; and the sarcophagus of Anna Maliasene from Pylio, Thessaly.[3]

The ambitious scholar Pachomios, a major ecclesiastical figure in Mistra, rose to the rank of Great Protosynkelos of the Peloponnesos while maintaining strong ties with imperial circles in Constantinople. With the aid of imperial grants, in 1310/11 he built a second, grander church, that of the Theotokos Hodegetria (Aphendiko) at the same monastery, which became an important religious center and a site of intellectual and artistic flowering.[4] EMB

1. Lambros 1907, pp. 160ff; Zakythinos 1953 (rpt.), pp. 296ff.
2. Ornate pseudo-Kufic elements in Middle Byzantine Greek sculptures include those from Saint Loukas, Aliveri; the Peribleptos at the Politika of Euboia; and the Church of the Panagia of Hosios Loukas, Phokis. Orlandos 1951, pp. 131–35; G. Miles 1964, p. 26, pl. 40; L. Bouras 1980, pp. 112–14, pl. 5a–b.
3. Orlandos 1929, pp. 367–68; G. Miles 1964, pl. 42; Pazaras 1994, pp. 149ff., pls. 2a–b, 6; Pazaras 1988, no. 45.
4. Zakythinos 1953 (rpt.), pp. 295–97; Millet 1899, pp. 100–118; Zēsiou 1909, pp. 453–60, 541–56; Millet 1910, pl. 99.1. In the southwest chapel of the Hodegetria Church in the same monastery, there are paintings of the four chrysobulls of the Palaiologan emperors Andronikos II and Michael IX, with which Pachomios would have ensured the funding of the "royal and patriarchal monastery." In the northwest chapel are the tomb of Pachomios and a portrait showing him offering a model of the church to the Theotokos underneath a Deesis scene. Zakythinos 1953 (rpt.), pp. 295–97.

REFERENCES: Orlandos 1936a, pls. 3–4; M. Chatzidakis 1987, pp. 47–48; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, no. 27, pp. 80–81.

38. Carved Marble Slab

Mistra, late 13th–early 14th century
Gray-veined white marble with traces of pigment on the decorated side
39.6 x 41.5 x 6.4 cm (15⅝ x 16⅜ x 2½ in.)
PROVENANCE: Mistra Archaeological Site.
CONDITION: The slab has been preserved complete, with small losses on the decorated side and chipping along the edges.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (1154)

The frame running along the edges of this richly decorated slab is filled with heart-shaped multileaf palmettes and, between them, stems terminating in two leaves on the outside, and in droplike shapes on the inside. The center is occupied by a geometric pattern composed of an interlocked square and circle, with a second, smaller square inscribed within the first one. Among the circle and the squares are four spindle-shaped figures that jointly form a star-shaped motif. The corners of the inner square are occupied by four small undecorated medallions, arranged in the form of a cross. The composition is completed by vegetal (acanthus) and geometric (small pointed triangles) ornament.

Strongly symmetrical decoration densely fills all available space on the slab. The carver used his drill sparingly: while the geometric figures are rendered in low relief, the carving of the vegetal ornament is even shallower, almost engraved. The graphic quality is thus emphasized at the expense of depth, and the effect is more two-dimensional than sculptural.

The Islamic element of intricate, intertwining geometric figures seen in this slab has been noted and explained as the imitation of Seljuk models.[1] However, the central geometric motif occurs (with small changes) in both Middle and Late Byzantine sculpture and enjoyed a long-standing popularity, as demonstrated by a number of examples from the art of both the East (Armenia) and the West (Italy).

The decoration's organization and execution, as well as certain details in the rendering of the vegetal patterns, are reminiscent of an inscribed chancel beam from the Church of the Saints Theodore in Mistra, dated shortly before 1296. This slab can probably be dated to approximately the same period. Two fragments

38

from a similar slab are in the collection of the Museum of Mistra. On those objects, only part of the central geometric pattern and the frame with vegetal decoration are preserved.

AM

1. T. Talbot Rice, "Analysis of the Decoration in the Seljukid Style," in D. T. Rice 1968b, p. 79, pl. 23. E (by oversight, the Mistra slab is dated there to 1154). Also, a group of Late Byzantine sculptures with intricate geometric interlace and vegetal ornament, betraying Islamic influence, has been published in Pazaras 1994.

REFERENCES: Athens 1964, p. 132, no. 11; Athens 1985–86, p. 29, no. 14.

Fig. 39.1. Former location of the sculpted templon, sanctuary of the Church of the Virgin Pantanassa, Mistra, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

39A,B. Two Fragments of an Epistyle

Byzantine (Mistra), 15th century
Marble
39A: 30.5 x 17 x 23.5 cm (12 x 6¾ x 9¼ in.); 39B: 93.5 x 73.5 x 14 cm (36⅞ x 29 x 5½ in.)
PROVENANCE: Pantanassa Monastery, Mistra.
CONDITION: The fragments are in good condition.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (A: 1165, B: 1168)

In fragment A, an eagle with open wings turns to the left as it balances on an archaic-style anthemion. The closed Gospel book the bird grasps refers to its role as the symbol of Saint John the Evangelist, an iconography developed in the Early Byzantine period. The curving body and wings give a strong plasticity to this deeply carved relief, and the freedom of movement lends grandeur to the figure. Gentle, slightly embossed branches with long flowery ends decorate the background.

In fragment B, a lion with opulent mane and raised tail turns its head to the right, in the opposite direction of its tense body, as it steps on the leaves of a thorny bush. The leaves emerging from the background at a slant have been carved with a drill in the technique of concave sculpting, developed in the Middle Byzantine period. The background is densely covered with a palmlike plant having slightly embossed, winding offshoots that end in long semi-anthemia and trefoils. The lion, like the eagle, is a symbol of one of the evangelists, Saint Mark.

Both parts of this epistyle from the Pantanassa Monastery in Mistra display iconographic elements of the Byzantine tradition. They differ, however, from other examples of indigenous art from Mistra, in their attempt at realistically rendering the animal figures, in their intense plasticity, and in their effort at a naturalistic depiction of the vegetation—all of which are elements from Gothic art of the West. Dated to the fifteenth century, they were found in the area of the Pantanassa Monastery and are attributed to the same place. Yet they can be understood only by taking into consideration the close relations of Mistra's ruling class with western Europe, especially Italy, where groundbreaking stylistic achievements in sculpture took place as early as the thirteenth century.

The Pantanassa Monastery,[1] built about 1428, constitutes the last great undertaking of the Late Byzantine period in Mistra. An inscription in the church names as the founder John Phrangopoulos, who was a high official

39A

39B

in the despotate of the Morea. The monastery church, a masterpiece of architectural composition, copies the grand Church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Mistra. Western influences are also clearly evident, however, especially in the apses of the sanctuary and the bell tower. The remarkable paintings in the gallery (ca. 1430) are defined by a profound eclecticism, drawing inspiration from the great examples of Late Byzantine painting from both the Hodegetria (ca. 1320) and the Peribleptos (third quarter of the fourteenth century) at Mistra.

EMB

1. M. Chatzidakis 1987, pp. 95–107; Sinos 1999, pp. 437, 515; Mouriki 1991b.

References: Millet 1910, pl. 58.9; Xyngopoulos 1919, pp. 43–45, pl. 1; Athens 1964, no. 12, p. 92; Athens 1985–86, no. 19 (pl.), p. 32.

40, before restoration

40. Rosette

Byzantine (Serbia), Church of Saint Stefan, Milentija Monastery, ca. 1400
Stone
Diameter 148 cm (58¼ in.)
Provenance: Church of Saint Stefan, Milentija Monastery.
National Museum, Belgrade

As independent decorative units Morava rosettes had a prominent place in the architectural decoration of Serbian churches in the late Middle Ages. Relief ornamentation is significant both in terms of its extent and in the formation of particular architectural entities, and contributed to the consistency of the Morava architectural style in building construction. Such embellishment remained subordinated to architecture, however, even when it transformed the shapes of details, such as capitals and reveals.[1]

This rosette was part of the architectural decoration of the Church of Saint Stefan, Milentija Monastery. Only the church's walls, measuring between two and two and a half meters (about six and a half to eight feet) in height, have survived to the present day, together with a great number of smaller and larger pieces of relief.[2] A remarkably rich repertoire of geometric, vegetal, and zoomorphic motifs, all of unusually deep relief—they measure more than one centimeter (over one-half inch), while the average depth of relief on Morava-style churches barely reaches half a centimeter (less than one-quarter inch)—as well as an exquisite carving technique assure the special status of these reliefs. This grand and sturdy piece is an exceptional example of the Morava school of medieval sculpture (see the essay by Slobodan Ćurčić in this publication).[3]

The central perforated surface of the rosette from the church is encircled by a rinceau and by an outer frame. The ornamental composition of the central portion includes a patera from which stretch braided bands that initially form the arms of a cross but that then continue to radiate over the surface to form eight intertwined ornaments. A circle in the center "ties" all these loops in place. Between the eight interlaced ornaments are palmettes, a new motif in Morava stone-carving decoration. The outermost frame of the rosette is filled with a relief design composed of an encircling plaided band, suggesting heart shapes. At the center of each is a small rosette.

The sculptor of the rosette demonstrated a skillful mastery of both technique and material: the natural connection of the stone base and the sculpted ornament is undisturbed, while the ornaments are rendered with plasticity and volume. The rhythmical repetition of the same forms suggests movement and inner dynamism; the original coloring of the background of the relief gives a strong impression of depth.

MŠ

1. Korać 1996, pp. 389–91.
2. Tomić 1972, pp. 249–50.
3. Šuput 1989b, pp. 73–74.

References: Maksimović 1972; Tomić 1972, fig. 2; Katanić 1988, pp. 230–36; Šuput 1989b; Korać 1996; Ristić 1996, pp. 178–80, 221.

41. Sculpture of the Virgin and Child

Byzantine (Serbia), 1312–16
Marble
106 x 67.5 cm (41¾ x 26⅝ in.)
Provenance: Church of Saint Stefan, Banjska Monastery.
Sokolica Monastery, Kosovo

This sculpture of the Virgin and Child formed part of the former lavish sculptural decoration of the mausoleum church of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321), which was dedicated to Saint Stefan, the patron saint of the Nemanjid dynasty. It is also known as "the Sokolica Virgin," after the nearby village and the small church to which it was transferred, probably in the sixteenth century. At present, the sculpture is situated in the bema.

Together with two figures of angels lost long ago, this marble sculpture of the Virgin and Child constituted the main theme of the portal linking the narthex with the naos.[1] Like the entire architectural ornamentation of the katholikon of Banjska Monastery, it was modeled after the stone decoration of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica Monastery, the pro-

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totype for King Milutin's mausoleum church. The creator of the Banjska sculpture was consistent in following the theme of the seated Virgin with the Child in the lunette of the main Studenica portal, which was itself widespread in Byzantine art and inspired by older models.[2] In carving and style, however, the frontal figure of the enthroned Virgin and infant Christ, who confers blessings with his right hand and holds a scroll in his left, differs from its Studenica counterpart. This work was executed in high relief, almost as a full sculpture. The two symmetrically arranged figures are strictly frontal, showing no movement, with the heads slightly tilting back and the gazes fixed. Both figures are short and broad. The faulty proportions of some parts of the body are conspicuous: low brows, small protruding eyes, full puffed-up cheeks. The shallow, carved lines of the drapery folds leave the impression of a stiff drawing. The volumes of the heads and hands are modeled softly and with such sculptural skill that they echo works in ivory. The large, broad-backed throne with a round cushion on the seat is embellished with a relief design of entwined and braided geometric and vegetal motifs. The reliefs are shallowly carved, in the characteristic Byzantine stone-carving technique of the late epoch.[3] The sculpture was colored, but only random traces of red and blue survive on the Virgin's cloak, on the throne, and on the arm of the cross on Christ's nimbus, on which the letters IC and X are also visible.

Master masons acquainted with Romanesque architecture and knowledgeable about Byzantine art were engaged for the construction and architectural decoration of the lunette on the church portal. The sculpture of the Virgin with Child from Banjska Monastery clearly points to their aspiration to create a work close in spirit to Byzantine art, that is, to the artistic conceptions of the epoch of its founder, King Milutin.

MŠ

1. Šuput 1970, pp. 41–43.
2. Maksimović 1971, pp. 64–65.
3. Šuput 1976, pp. 48–54.

References: Šuput 1970, pp. 42–43, 44–45, figs. 2–3; Maksimović 1971, pp. 96–98, fig. 164; Šuput 1976, p. 47, fig. 1; Šuput 2003.

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42. Fresco Fragment with Scene of Judas's Betrayal

Voulgareli, Arta, Greece, 1295/96
Fresco
48 x 85 cm (18⅞ x 33½ in.)
PROVENANCE: From the Church of the Holy Virgin, or Red Church, Voulgareli, Arta.
CONDITION: There are extensive losses to the original composition; the fragment is in a moderately good state of preservation.
Byzantine Museum, Ioannina, Greece (488)

Only the heads of the two central figures, Christ and Judas, are well preserved in this fragment from a wall painting that originally depicted the Betrayal of Christ. The cross-nimbed head of Christ, turned in a three-quarter pose, projects an austere calmness; the youthful face of Judas, who kisses Christ, is rendered with a similar tenderness. Framing the two are the faces of members of the crowd present at the arrest of Christ, including a single soldier. Broad green lines model the forms over a pale surface, emphasizing the outlines of the faces and tracing their details.

The fresco fragment comes from the "Red Church" in the village of Voulgareli, Arta,[1] whose wall paintings, although preserved in only a fragmentary state, nonetheless exemplify the artistic tendencies prevalent in the despotate of Epiros at the end of the thirteenth century.[2] The partially preserved inscription above the western door of the church indicates that the painting of the frescoes was paid for by one Theodoros Tsimiskis and his wife, Maria.[3] The work was done during the ninth indiction of the rule of Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas (r. 1266/68–1296/98) and Anna Palaiologina, which is thought to correspond to either 1281 or 1295/96 in the Byzantine imperial calendar. Until recently it was believed that the church was painted in 1281, but because of new evidence that the despot Nikephoros, mentioned in the inscription, died between 1296 and 1298, the wall paintings of the Red Church must now be dated to 1295/96.[4]

VNP

1. For the church, see Orlandos 1927, p. 153; Hallensleben 1975, pp. 304–16; Tsouris 1988, pp. 37–39, 193–94, 197; Papadopoulou 2002, p. 118.
2. For the wall paintings, see Orlandos 1927, p. 160; Vokotopoulos 1997, p. 231.
3. Theodoros Tsimiskis and his wife, Maria, are depicted in the narthex of the church, to the left of the Virgin. On the right side, as named in the inscription, are representations of Theodoros's brother John Tsimiskis and his wife, Anna (see Orlandos 1927, p. 160; Papadopoulou 2002, p. 121, fig. 143). The Tsimiskis family is not mentioned in other sources. According to one interpretation, Theodoros was the protostrator of the army of the despot Nikephoros I and fought with him in the battle of Berat in 1281, when the Byzantine army of Michael VIII Palaiologos defeated Nikephoros and his ally Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples (see Nicol 1957, p. 241).
4. Nicol 1981, p. 251; Tsouris 1988, p. 197; Papadopoulou 2002, p. 125.

REFERENCES: Athens 1976b, no. 45, p. 38; Athens 1985–86, no. 48, p. 52.

43. Fresco Fragment with an Apostle

Byzantine (Serbia), before 1276
Fresco
41.5 x 53 cm (16⅜ x 20⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Gradac Monastery, the main church dedicated to the Annunciation. The figure of the apostle was part of the Pentecost composition, placed on the vault between the area under the dome and the western part of the church. Owing to extensive damage, it was removed from the wall in 1947 and given to the National Museum, Belgrade.
CONDITION: The greater part of the apostle's head and a portion of his left hand are preserved. The paint on the face is well preserved, although three long thin cracks cross the face and forehead; smaller cracks cover the entire fragment, which was conserved in 1948 by Franjo Herman.
National Museum, Belgrade (283)

This fragment of an image of an apostle from Gradac Monastery possesses a classical beauty and three-dimensional plasticity in the rendering of the figure that make the work one of the finest examples of late-thirteenth-century Byzantine art.[1] Stylistically, monumental Serbian art of the thirteenth century was closely related to contemporary developments in Byzantine art, including the preference for volumetric images derived from classicizing models.[2] Serbian rulers and ecclesiastical dignitaries engaged the finest of Byzantine artists and workshops to decorate their churches, as this fragment shows.[3] The new wealth of the state was made visible by the extensive use of gold for the backgrounds and other details of the wall paintings decorating the mausoleums of the Serbian rulers of the thirteenth century and later.[4] It is possible that the ocher ground of the Gradac fresco was originally covered in gold leaf; no traces survive.

The Gradac Monastery was founded by Queen Helena and her husband, King Stefan Uroš I (r. 1243–76), as their mausoleum.[5] Queen Helena was buried in the royal crypt after her death on February 8, 1314.[6] Little is known about her except that she was a member of the Western Anjou family.[7] Her husband, a very skillful ruler, is famous for consolidating the economic and political power of Serbia.[8] She was the mother of his successors, kings Dragutin (r. 1276–82) and Milutin (r. 1282–1321) (see cat. 23). After her husband's death, she governed the autonomous territory in the littoral for almost three decades.[9] The political and cultural life of the country was under her powerful influence, and she was highly esteemed by her contemporaries.[10] She died as a nun.[11] Helena is the only Serbian queen about whom a vita (life) was written but not a service; in it she is called "blessed" and not "saint."[12]

SP

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1. The interior paintings of the church, which was abandoned at the end of the seventeenth century, suffered extensively over the long period the building lacked a roof. Remnants of the original decoration survived only in the sheltered parts of the church, and the humidity caused the color values to change. For the original arrangement of the wall paintings, see Bošković and Nenadović 1951, pp. 5–9; for the fresco drawings, see Živković 1969, pp. 119–27. Conservation and restoration work on the monastery was done from 1962 to 1975 (Kandić 1982, pp. 43–50). For the results of the archaeological excavations at the site, see Jurišić 1989. The monastery again became a convent in 1991. In its interior arrangement, Gradac's church is related to the churches of the so-called Raška school of the first half of the thirteenth century (Kandić 1982, pp. 12–29). Its exterior differs from this group, as it is strongly influenced by the Gothic style, probably a reflection of the Western origins of the founder, Queen Helena (Čanak Medić 1995, pp. 119–21). On the paintings of Gradac, see Đurić 1967b, p. 149; Đurić 1974b, pp. 41–43, 198–99; Kandić 1982, pp. 29–42. The program of the wall paintings is inspired by the traditions of thirteenth-century Serbian art, especially the program of the Studenica Monastery, established by Stefan (Symeon) Nemanja, founder of the Nemanjid dynasty, as a mausoleum for himself and his sons (Đurić 1967b, p. 161; D. Popović 1992, pp. 84–85). Some themes have received particular attention by researchers; see Đurić 1967a; Đurić 1967b, pp. 164–65; Đurić 1974b, no. 42; Babić 1975.
2. Thirteenth-century Serbian art, with the paintings of Sopoćani Monastery representing its summit, has been the subject of numerous studies, among them Đurić 1967b; on the stylistic similarities between Sopoćani and Gradac, see ibid., p. 149; Đurić 1974b, pp. 42–43.
3. Byzantine masters from Constantinople are mentioned by medieval sources that describe the construction and painting of Žiča Monastery about 1220 (the frescoes are now almost completely destroyed); see Đurić 1967b, pp. 154–55; Todić 2000). The exceptional quality of the paintings suggests that masters from Constantinople decorated the Sopoćani Monastery and perhaps Gradac as well; on the origin of the masters working in Serbia during the thirteenth century, see Đurić 1967b, pp. 148–58.
4. Đurić 1967b, p. 152, n. 32; S. Radojčić 1977. On medieval ideas about the symbolism of gold, see Averintsev 1973.
5. The only medieval source for the establishment and building of the monastery is the *Life of Queen Helena* by Archbishop Danilo II (r. 1324–37); see Danilo II 1935, pp. 58–61. In it, only Queen Helena is mentioned as the founder. However, the painted portrait of the founders on the south wall of the church's western bay shows both Uroš I and Helena. As it is obvious that Uroš I participated in the erection of the monastery, it must date to the period before his overthrow and death in 1276 (Bošković and Nenadović 1951, p. 1; Đurić 1974b, pp. 198–99, n. 42). The discrepancy in the identification of the donors can be explained by the discovery during the conservation process that the original work on the church stopped at two meters. It is probable that the royal pair began the building of their future mausoleum together but that it was completed by Queen Helena alone, after the death of her husband (Kandić 1982, pp. 10, 12).
6. A detailed description of her death and funeral was left by a participant in the events, the future archbishop Danilo II (Danilo II 1935, pp. 64–71). On the monastery's mausoleum-like character and the grave sites in it, see D. Popović 1992, pp. 79–88; on the plan to bury Uroš I in Gradac as well, see ibid., p. 81 (he was buried in Sopoćani Monastery).
7. For the origin of Helena Anžujska (Anjou), see Subotić 1958, p. 131, nn. 1, 2. She married King Uroš I about 1250 (Srejović et al. 1994, vol. 1, pp. 347–48, n. 16). The question of whether she converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy when she married remains unresolved (Subotić 1958, p. 132).
8. On economic and political conditions in Serbia during the rule of Uroš I, see Srejović et al. 1994, vol. 1, pp. 341–56, 369–70 (with bibl.).
9. Concerning the territories that Queen Helena was given to govern, it can be no coincidence that the majority of the population was Catholic; see Bešić et al. 1967–, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 46–50.
10. Although the chronicle of her life discusses only her gifts to the Orthodox Church (Danilo II 1935, pp. 51, 53), sufficient documents exist to show clearly that she helped the Catholic Church too (Subotić 1958; Srejović et al. 1994, vol. 1, pp. 402–5). The importance of her reputation among contemporaries is shown by the insistence of Byzantine negotiators that Helena be present at the forthcoming wedding of her son King Milutin and Byzantine princess Simonida (Ostrogorski et al. 1955–86, vol. 6, pp. 54, n. 108, 114, 124, 127, nn. 70, 83–84, 89).
11. She became a nun in the Monastery of Saint Nicholas at Skadar (Danilo II 1935, p. 64), but it is not known whether the monastery was Catholic or Orthodox (Subotić 1958, p. 144).
12. Danilo II left a very detailed description of the illness and death of Queen Helena (Danilo II 1935, pp. 66–71). Three years after her death, her relics were removed and placed in a precious container in the church (ibid., pp. 75–76). It is not known when the relics were taken from the church or where they are now (Pavlović 1965, pp. 85–88).

REFERENCES: Bošković and Nenadović 1951; Đurić 1967b, pp. 149, 161; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969, no. 4, p. 38; Živković 1969; Đurić 1974b, pp. 41–43, 198–99 (with bibl.); Belgrade 1980, no. 6, p. 28.

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44. Fresco Fragment with the Head of a Military Saint

Byzantine (Pyrgos, Euboea, Greece), end of the 13th century
Fresco
48 x 42.3 cm (18⅞ x 16⅝ in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of Saint Nicholas, Pyrgos.
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens

This fragment portraying the head of a military saint was removed from the northern wall of the single-naved Church of Saint Nicholas at Pyrgos. The saint with his adolescent facial features is depicted in vivid contrapposto as he turns his head to the left. He wears elaborate armor with a red cuirass rimmed with pearls and holds a spear; his head is crowned with a pearl diadem that is typical for the iconography of military saints. His beardless face framed by rich curly hair, arched brown-red eyebrows, bulging eyes, and rather elongated aquiline nose all emphasize his youthfulness. The decoration of his halo with the red band patterned with repeated white crosses is reminiscent of the cloisonné enamel technique.

The figure is characterized by its rare beauty and sorrowful glance gazing toward infinity. The saint's expression exudes tenderness, modesty, and nobility. Bare flesh is rendered in warm tones of ocher with broad green strokes. The decoration of the halo, the unusual bulging of the eyes, and the reddish color of the hair reflect the influence of Western art. This fragment's close stylistic relation to the paintings of the well-dated churches of Euboea, such as Aghios Demetrios in Makrychori (1302–3), allows us to date the fragment to the end of the thirteenth century.

AK

REFERENCES: Liapēs 1971, p. 115, pls. 81–84; Emmanuel-Geroussi 1985, pp. 21–22; Athens 1985–86, no. 50; Florence 1986, no. 17.

45. Virgin of the Annunciation

Byzantine (Kastoria), end of the 15th century
Fresco
36 x 32 cm (14⅛ x 12⅝ in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of Saint Spyridon, Kastoria.
Byzantine Museum, Kastoria (P.M. 24/95)

The head is a fragment of a fresco scene of the Annunciation from the Church of Saint Spyridon, Kastoria. This church was demolished before 1938 and, according to Anastasios Orlandos, the frescoes were transferred to the museum of the city.[1]

The depiction of the face and details of the technique connect the fresco directly to the Virgin of a "royal door" of an iconostasis from Kastoria[2] that has been attributed to a local workshop, active at the end of the fifteenth century. Surprisingly for this era, works from this workshop are found throughout not only the area of greater Macedonia and Thessaly, but also the entire Balkan Peninsula. They are characterized by a revival of the painterly tradition of the second half of the fourteenth century, combined with elements of everyday life, the textile traditions of the East, and Italian painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[3]

Besides the frescoes of the Church of Saint Spyridon, frescoes in other churches of the city are attributed to the artists of this workshop, including Saint Nicholas of the Nun of Good Deeds, dated 1485/86; Saint Nicholas of Lady Theologina; and Saint Nicholas of Magaleio, dated 1505. The same workshop is thought to have produced portable icons that are in churches of Kastoria and those of villages in the province of Kastoria.[4]

ENT

1. Orlandos 1938, p. 188.
2. Livieratou 1999, no. 2, pp. 64–65; Tsigaridas 2002, p. 21, fig. 8.
3. Tsigaridas 1992b, pp. 165–72.
4. Tsigaridas 1995, pp. 351–52.

REFERENCES: Orlandos 1938, p. 188, fig. 125; Tsigaridas 1995, pp. 351–52, fig. 5.15.

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identified as the Church of the Protection of the Mother of God, described in the chronicles as having been built in 1352 and reconstructed in 1398. Other scholars identify the building as the Nativity Church, which the chronicles say was built in 1387–88 and decorated soon afterward. However, identification of the church is not yet confirmed.

All of the more than 150 square meters of frescoes found by the Hermitage expedition were dismantled and taken to the museum. Among them are standing figures of four martyrs arranged in pairs. On one panel Saint Barbara appears with her white kerchief and diadem, but the identity of the figure in royal dress is less certain. She was first identified by Beletskii as Czarina Alexandra, and then, more probably, as Saint Catherine of Alexandria. In the Byzantine and Old Russian traditions there are numerous combinations of martyr-saints shown with Saints Barbara and Catherine. In Pskov, however, the local tradition typically showed Saint Barbara with Saint Paraskeva, or else Saint Barbara with Saints Paraskeva and Uliana.[1] Saint Catherine

46. Fragment of a Fresco with Saint Catherine and an Unknown Martyr

Russia (Pskov), second half of the 14th century
Fresco
130 x 189 cm (51⅛ x 74⅜ in.)
PROVENANCE: Found on the west wall of church no. 9 in the Dovmontov gorod in Pskov, 1977; dismantled and transported to the Hermitage for restoration.
CONDITION: First conserved in situ during the excavation, the fresco was thoroughly restored in 1978–79 at the Hermitage studio, headed by L. P. Gagen.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (B2324)

Since 1954 a Hermitage archaeological expedition has been working in Pskov, one of the ancient cities of Russia. The most interesting excavations are at Dovmontov gorod (urban district), an area named after Prince Dovmont (r. 1266–99), in the center of the city near the Pskov kremlin (citadel). A number of stone churches were erected there from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Although most survive only as ruins, three are better preserved because they were covered with earth as part of the construction of a ground fortification built in 1701 at the order of Peter the Great. Their vaults and upper parts were destroyed, but parts of the walls of each church survived, some to five meters in height. Beautiful frescoes were found in the central church, which Vasilii Beletskii, who headed the Hermitage archaeological expedition,

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usually appeared in Pskov icons with Saint Anastasia. Thus, identifying the martyr-saints in the Hermitage frescoes as Saint Barbara and Saint Uliana on one panel and as Saint Catherine and Saint Paraskeva on the present panel is quite possible, though not absolutely certain. With no inscriptions on the frescoes, the identity of the saints remains open.

The frescoes from the Church of the Protection (or Nativity) are outstanding examples of the old style of Pskov painting. At present, because of the continuing debate about the identity of the church, they can only be dated with certainty to the second half of the fourteenth century; I would suggest dating them to the 1350s. The somber, severe colors and individualized images of the saints are most typical of the artistic tradition of the Pskov region. Russian church decorations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including those of Pskov, were strongly influenced by the hesychast movement in Byzantine theology and by the Byzantine practice of using color to express religious ideas; Russian painters used colors to express hesychasm's mystical ideas in both monumental painting and icons. The red-brown and gray-violet colors that dominate here create an atmosphere of strict asceticism, aloneness, and silence.

YP

1. Alpatov and Rodnikova 1991, nos. 14, 17–19, 26, 30, 36, 71–72.

References: Beletskii 1980, p. 237; Sheinina 1980; Beletskii 1986, pp. 123–26, pls. XLIX–LI; Beletskii 1988, pp. 110–12; Sheinina 1988, pp. 114–32, fig. 36; Beletskii 1991, p. 52, no. 113; Gordin 2000, p. 16; Saint Petersburg 2000, no. S-28.

47. Fresco with the Ascension of Christ

Byzantine (Veroia), late 14th–early 15th century
Fresco
91 x 184 cm (35⅞ x 72½ in.)
Inscribed: By Christ's arms, IC XC (Jesus Christ)
Provenance: Removed from the Church of Hagia Photida (Photeine) in Veroia, Greece, when it was torn down in 1939.
Condition: Conservation of the fresco has been carried out by K. Kapetanos.
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens

This image once formed the upper portion of a larger Ascension composition in the Church of Hagia Photida (Photeine) in Veroia. It belongs to the first and oldest phase of frescoes in the church, which for the most part featured scenes from the Great Feasts. The building's form, a three-aisled basilica, explains the triangular shape of the work, which adorned the upper register of the east wall. At the center, the ascending Christ is shown with a nimbed halo and seated in a relaxed pose on a rainbow of concentric circles within a circular mandorla. Clad in a red chiton and a reddish orange himation with off-white highlights, he extends his hands in a gesture of blessing. Two animated angels with outstretched wings support this representation of Christ being carried to heaven in glory. Their youthful faces are framed by curly brown hair. Their red and blue garments fall in linear folds, and their shoes are decorated with pearls.

The iconographic type follows prototypes well established during the Palaiologan period, although here they are executed in a simplified manner. A stylistic analysis of the entire fresco program reveals that two painters worked in the church, although both shared a common anticlassical tendency. In the scene of the Ascension, this is especially notable in the execution of the two angels. The skin shades of the angel on the right are worked in thin rose and white brushstrokes that provide articulation to the flesh; the facial features are painted with strong lines and intense shadows. Palaiologan art's preference for massive figures is well exemplified by the angel's wide face, thick neck, and angular body in dynamic movement. In contrast, the angel on the left has a delicate, melancholy countenance. His flesh, painted in olive green shades with rosy tones, is flatter. The thin oval face possesses a classical beauty that suggests nobility of spirit; the hairstyle is painted in a decorative, almost calligraphic manner. This variety of styles, reflected here in a single scene from one fresco; the range of colors; the monumental, simple, and compact composition; and the anticlassical treatment of the figures characterize Macedonian art at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.

AK

References: Tsigaridas 1992a, pp. 58–59; Papazōtos 1994; Tsigaridas 1997b, pp. 85–86; Tsigaridas 1999, pp. 155–73, figs. 114–17; Athens 2000–2001c, pp. 26–28.

48A–E. Fresco Fragments from Mistra

In addition to large churches, there were a substantial number of smaller, private chapels,[1] most of them single nave and vaulted. Extant inscriptions mention that these were founded by members of eminent or wealthy families,[2] who are sometimes also known from literary sources. It was customary, especially during the Late Byzantine period, to build these structures for private worship and as burial places for members of the founders' families, who gained status as a result.[3] A few paintings have survived in situ from the now-derelict chapels, and fragments of their frescoes are in the collection of the Museum of Mistra.

EMB

1. Drandakis 1952; Drandakis 1955; Sinos 1999, pp. 453–72.
2. Millet 1906, pp. 459–62; Drandakis 1958.
3. Laiou 1991, pp. 289–90.

48A. Fragment of a Fresco from an Anastasis

Byzantine (Mistra), 13th century
Fresco
28.2 x 45.2 x 1 cm (11⅛ x 17¾ x 1/16 in.)
PROVENANCE: Excavated from the chapel in the citadel, Mistra, 1952.
CONDITION: The fragment is in relatively good condition.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (1499)

This fragment of a fresco was found in 1952[1] in the south and oldest aisle of the twin chapel that survives semiruined in the citadel of Mistra.[2] It is from an Anastasis, or Descent of Christ into Hell. The head of a king, who has been identified as David, is to the right, and to the left there is a portion of a pink garment with gold striations worn by the risen Christ; the vertical staff of the Cross is in front of him. Between the figures are parts of a rocky landscape in pink and possibly parts of Christ's aureole in white.

David, looking at the observer although turned to the right, wears an imperial crown with prependoulia and is surrounded by a pink halo. His face and strong neck are rendered with sienna and ocher-yellow highlights, and his features with a chestnut color; his hair and beard are formed by fine white lines. The faces of both figures are immobile and simplified. In particular, the depiction of Christ in a restrained posture and with the Cross before him are links with older iconographic traditions, as well as with other examples from the Peloponnesos area, such as those from the Monastery of the Zoodochos Pege (Samarina) in Messenia (late twelfth–early thirteenth century),[3] from the Evangelistria at Geraki (early thirteenth century),[4] and from the Palaiomonastero at Brondama in Lakonia (1201).[5] Conversely, most Palaiologan monumental examples show Christ in an intensely emotional pose as he retrieves Adam and Eve.

This fresco quite possibly comes from the dome of the south chapel, where the scenes of the dodekaorton would have been placed during the first phase of the twin church's decoration. Its iconographic features also point toward an early date, making this image one of the oldest examples of painting in the area of Mistra.

EMB

1. Drandakis 1952, pp. 517–19, pls. 19, 20; Drandakis 1955, pp. 164–66, pl. 16.
2. Sinos 1999, pp. 453–57, pl. 5.
3. Grigoriadou-Cabagnols 1970, pl. 3, p. 181.
4. Moutsopoulos and Dēmētrokallēs 1981, pl. 200.
5. Drandakis 1988, p. 181.

REFERENCE: Drandakis 1955, pp. 164–66, pl. 16.

48B. Fragment of a Fresco with the Head of an Angel

Byzantine (Mistra), last quarter of the 13th century
Fresco
10.6 x 16.2 x 1.1 cm (4⅛ x 6⅜ x ⅜ in.)
PROVENANCE: Excavated from Chapel 1, Kato Chora, Mistra, 1952.
CONDITION: The fragment is in relatively good condition.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (1556)

In 1952 excavations revealed fragments of wall paintings in a semiruined single-nave chapel[1] located northeast of the Pantanassa in the Kato Chora at Mistra. Of particular interest is the fragmentary head of a youthful angel turned three-quarters to the left, with a halo and a hair ribbon that waves off to the side.

The face has wide cheeks, fleshy nostrils, and round eyes with an intense expression. It is worked in dark tones of sienna on a green ground with a few white highlights. A wide chestnut-red line defines the face, the nose, and the eyes and forms the hair. As a result, the countenance appears realistic, almost commonplace, with no traces of noble beauty, delicacy, or intellectuality. It is similar in style to eighteen figures of angels painted in the vestry of the cathedral of Mistra and dated between 1272 and 1285, early in the decoration of the cathedral.[2] This style, characterized as an "anticlassical current" with Western "romantic influences,"[3] has been associated with similar works from Constantinople (Saint Euphemia),[4] from Greek areas, and from the greater Balkan region.[5]

EMB

1. Drandakis 1952, pp. 504–6, pls. 7–9.
2. M. Chatzidakis 1977–79, pp. 158–62, pls. 47, 48.
3. Lazarev 1967, p. 380.
4. Naumann and Belting 1966.
5. M. Chatzidakis 1977–79, pp. 166ff.

48C. Fragment of a Fresco with the Head of an Angel

Byzantine (Mistra), first half of the 14th century
Fresco
11.6 x 9.8 x 2 cm (4⅝ x 3⅞ x ¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Excavated from Chapel 2, Kato Chora, Mistra, 1952.
CONDITION: The fragment is in good condition.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (154)

During the 1952 excavations at Mistra, this fragment of a fresco with a youthful figure in profile was found in Chapel 2 of the Kato Chora,[1] adjacent to the previously mentioned Chapel 1 (see cat. 48B). This figure with a gentle, comely face is identified as an angel by his appearance and by the ribbon in his hair. The face is composed of ocher colored with peach tones at the cheeks and green at the side. A chestnut line defines the face, as well as the lips, eyes, and hair. Highlights applied to the forehead, nose, lips, and the eye give the face a distinctive radiance. The harmonious colors, the calligraphic contours, and the intense gaze all combine to render a figure of exceptional beauty.

The present work has great stylistic similarities with one of the angels depicted in the Chapel of the Chrysobulls in the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria in Mistra (1312/13–22).[2] The latter bears a direct resemblance to Constantinopolitan art, for the abbot Pachomios had it decorated by a group of craftsmen from the capital, who brought to Mistra the classicizing tradition that distinguished art in their city during the first decades of the fourteenth century.[3]

EMB

1. Drandakis 1952, pp. 506–8, pls. 11–12.
2. M. Chatzidakis 1987, pl. 40; Kalamara and Mexia 2001, pl. 170.
3. Underwood 1966–75, vol. 3, pp. 380, 452.

REFERENCE: Athens 1964, p. 182, no. 153.

48D. Fragment of a Fresco with the Virgin from a Nativity

Byzantine (Mistra), first half of the 14th century
Fresco
15 x 25.1 x 1.8 cm (5⅞ x 9⅞ x ¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Excavated from the Chapel of Saint Paraskeue, Epano Chora, Mistra, 1952.
CONDITION: The fragment is in relatively good condition.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (1497)

The Chapel of Saint Paraskeue at the Epano Chora dates from the fourteenth century, and evidence indicates that it was built in more than one stage. In 1952, during the cleaning of works at the semiruined chapel, graves were found both inside and outside of the structure. Detached fragments of its frescoes were also retrieved, including this one with a youthful female figure, of which only the upper part of the body survives.[1] The soft face has been rendered in pale ocher with a green shadow at its side and few white highlights, while its features are drawn with a chestnut line. The eyes are big and almond-shaped, the lips are small, the nose thin and well proportioned, and the chin rounded. The figure is turned to the right, and the head slightly bent, surrounded by a halo. She wears a purple maphorion, a headdress, and a deep blue tunic, the latter garment commonly associated with the Virgin.

This fragment has been seen as a representation of the Nativity: the rose-colored background, for instance, is obviously part of the bedding on which the Virgin lies in more Palaiologan depictions. In addition, the figure's tranquil and tender look is typical of portrayals of the Virgin at the Nativity. Her turning toward the cradle of the Infant follows the iconographic style of the Middle Byzantine years and is also seen in Late Byzantine examples such as that in Saint Nicholas, near Platsa, in the Messeniac Mani (second quarter of the fourteenth century).[2] The same style is characteristic of Constantinopolitan paintings from the first half of the fourteenth century.

EMB

1. Millet 1910, pl. 6.2; Drandakis 1952, pp. 515–16; Sinos 1999, pp. 469–70, pl. 5.
2. Mouriki 1975, pl. 30.

REFERENCE: Drandakis 1955, p. 167, pl. 17a.

48E. Fragment of a Fresco with Heads of the Apostles

Byzantine (Mistra), after 1366
Fresco
26.6 x 26.6 x 2.8 cm (10½ x 10½ x 1⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Probably from the Chapel of Ai-Giannakes, Mistra.
CONDITION: The fragment is in good condition.
Museum of Mistra, Fifth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Mistras, Greece (1363)

This fresco depicts the heads of three male figures with halos, two of whom are tonsured; next to them survive traces of other halos and possibly two more figures. Behind them in the dark sky-blue background is the letter M, which also contributes to their identification as apostles. Higher up, there are traces of a possible building in greenish colors. The manner in which perspective is used in depicting the apostles is characteristic of paintings of the Palaiologan period. The face on the left has been painted with free brushstrokes in dark-colored ocher flesh tones with green shadows; the features and the hair are in chestnut-red, with white highlights as well as thin chestnut-yellow and white lines. The face with its white spot in the eyes, pointed nose, and protruding upper lip represents an anticlassical tradition that aims at realism. The figure on the right has more dramatic features. An intense frown creates circular shapes on the cheeks, and there are dark circles around the eyes. Again, the artist's goal is not beauty but intense emotionality. The same is true of the forehead and the hair of the apostle who is distinguished by the letter M.

Iconographically, the fragment bears direct parallels to the depiction of the apostles in the scene of the Doubting of Thomas from the Chapel of Ai-Giannakes in Mistra. The similarities include the presence of halos, the letter M (the initial of the name of one of the apostles), and the manner in which the tonsures are depicted.[1] Stylistically, the fragment reflects the general trend emanating from Constantinople throughout the fourteenth century and dominating the areas under imperial influence.[2] Notable examples include works in the church at Ivanovo, Bulgaria (ca. 1363)[3] and the *Transfiguration* in Novgorod (1378), a work of Theophanes the Greek from Constantinople.[4] In Mistra, as previously noted, this style can be found in the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria, in the frescoes of the main church and in those of the south chapel of a bit later,[5] as well as in those of the Chapel of Ai-Giannakes (after 1366), which are more severe in manner than the paintings in the Hodegetria.[6]

That the apostles in this fragment are so similar to those in the Doubting of Thomas at Ai-Giannakes indisputably supports their attribution to the painter of that scene.

EMB

1. Drandakis 1987–88, pl. 20.
2. Otto Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Paleologan Art," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 154–56.
3. For the iconographic program of the church, see A. Grabar 1928b, pp. 233–46; A. Grabar 1968, vol. 2, pp. 841–46; Velmans 1965. See also Piguet-Panayotova 1987, pls. 151, 153.
4. Lazarev 1968, pls. 36, 38.
5. Mouriki 1978, p. 73; M. Chatzidakis 1980, pp. 441ff; M. Chatzidakis 1987, p. 67.
6. Drandakis 1987–88, p. 81, pl. 20.

48A

48C

48B

48E

48D

Sculpture and the Late Byzantine Tomb

SARAH BROOKS

In the Late Byzantine period, as during the empire's earlier years, a central concern of the faithful was commemoration of the dead. While the traditions of commemoration were age-old, the impact of observances surrounding death on the arts of the church increased dramatically in the empire's final centuries. More and more of the church interior, and frequently of its exterior as well,[1] was given over to the building of tomb monuments (figs. 4.2, 4.3). Around these commemorative tombs, themselves highly decorated, monumental cycles focusing on themes of salvation and the Last Judgment were executed in fresco and mosaic (figs. 3.18, 4.4).

While the spirituality of this era surely favored the active sponsoring of tomb monuments, so did the economic situation of the empire. What might be called the "burial economy" of Late Byzantium closely mirrored economic conditions in these centuries. Church foundations—including urban cathedrals and monasteries in both the city and the countryside—struggled to meet their fiscal obligations with ever-shrinking revenues. The situation was the result of many factors, including the seizure of income-generating landholdings by Crusader and Turkish armies and a dwindling of the number of wealthy donors. In the face of such difficulties, patrons desiring tombs offered the church an essential means of sustenance. These donors were required to contribute cash as well as property in exchange for the right to such observances as burial within the church, the building of a decorated tomb, or the offering of commemorative prayers for the deceased.

The details of exchanges arranged between tomb patron and church administration were recorded and can be read in surviving texts—principally monastic foundation documents, or typika. One of our richest sources is the typikon for the Constantinopolitan Convent of the Virgin of Certain Hope (Panagia Bebaia Elpis), of which the buildings are no longer extant. Among the exchanges the typikon records are ones relating to Theodore Doukas Mouzakios, a relative of the convent's foundress. In exchange for his burial at the convent, Theodore donated an icon of the fifth-century hermit Saint Onouphrios and 100 hyperpyra, or gold coins (see cat. 12A, B). To endow commemorative services in Theodore's memory, his daughter donated 200 hyperpyra earmarked for repair of the nuns' cells.[2] A different patron, John Palaiologos, paid for a lamp to be continually lit at his tomb by giving the convent a vineyard and a house, both revenue-generating properties.[3] In such arrangements, money and properties were exchanged for funerary rights, to the benefit of both tomb patron and church.

The most elaborate type of tomb sponsored by Late Byzantine patrons was principally a sarcophagus, or stone casket, set within a wall niche framed by sculpture. The niche frequently bore a fresco or mosaic depiction of the deceased with his or her family, often shown in conversation with the saints, Christ, and the Virgin. A niche tomb at the Chora Monastery in Constantinople contains a fresco and mosaic composition within the niche representing Michael Tornikes and his wife flanking the Virgin and Child; the area above the niche was faced with sculptures representing Christ and the archangels; and a now-lost sarcophagus stood inside the niche (figs. 4.2, 4.3).[4]

In addition to presenting permanent, monumental installations of sculpture and wall decoration, tombs also harbored a range of portable artworks that could be moved in and out throughout the church year. Among them were icons on wood panels rendered in miniature mosaic or tempera and often further adorned with silver or silver-gilt revetments.[5] Surviving epigrams indicate that these reveted icons placed at the tomb sometimes contained portraits of the deceased. (On reveted icons, see the essay by Jannic Durand in this publication; for a revetment with donor portraits, see cat. 4.)[6]

Funeral orations were composed to be recited at the graveside during the funeral or on the anniversary of a death (fig. 4.4). One such text survives in a deluxe manuscript with a portrait of the author (cat. 1). The oration was composed by the emperor

Fig. 4.1. Detail of the marble sarcophagus representing the despotissa of Epiros, Theodora (d. 1270), and her son Nikephoros (fig. 4.7). Narthex of the Church of Saint Theodora, Arta, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

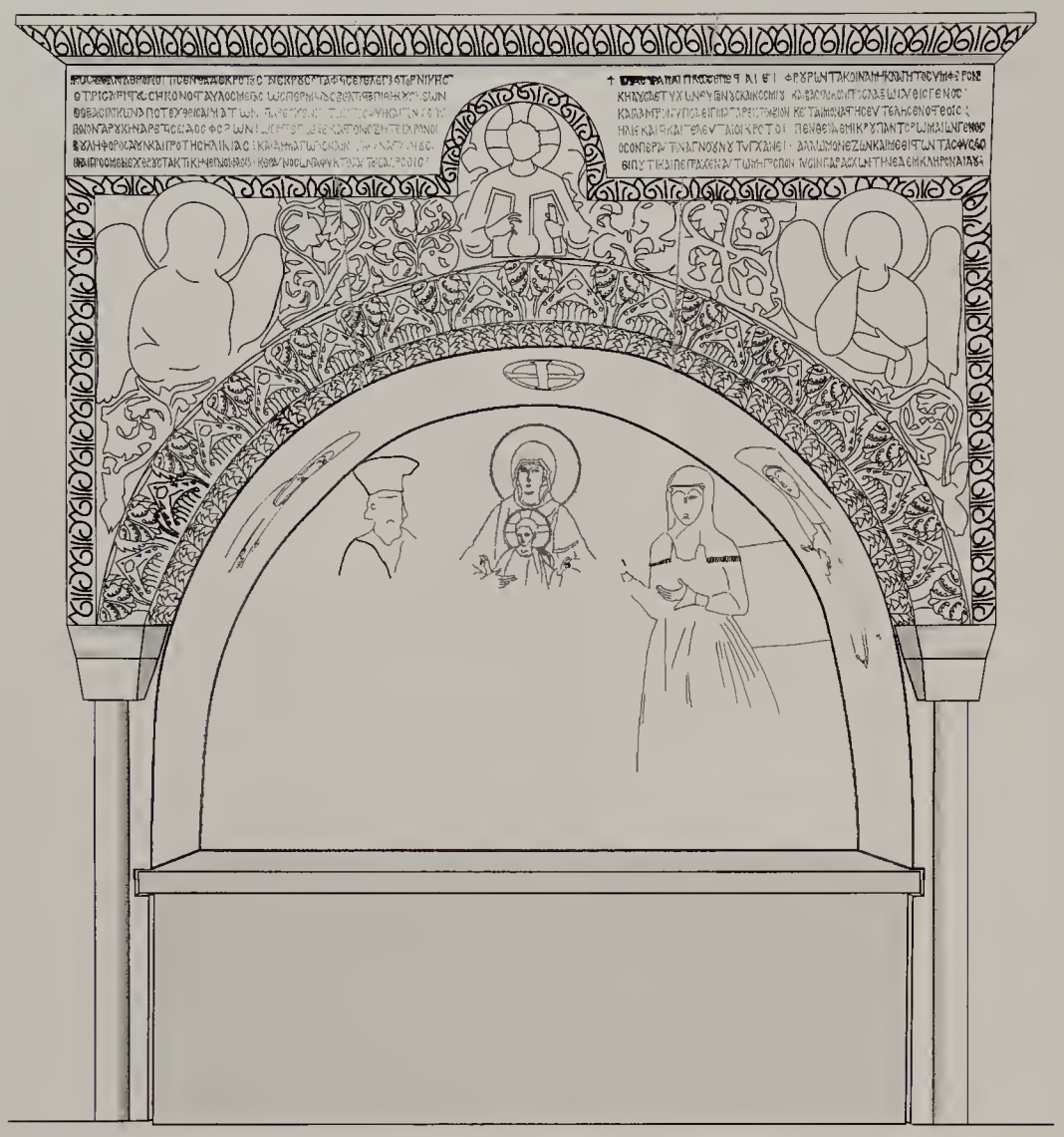


Fig 4.2. Reconstruction drawing of the tomb of Michael Tornikes (d. ca. 1328) and his wife. South Parekklesion, Chora Monastery, Constantinople. Drawing by Archeographics.com

Fig 4.3. Tomb of Michael Tornikes (d. ca. 1328) and his wife. South Parekklesion, Chora Monastery, Constantinople. Photo: Sarah Brooks

Fig 4.4. View to the west, south funerary chapel, ca. 1322–ca. 1366. Church of the Virgin Hodegetria, Vrontochion Monastery, Mistra, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425) to commemorate his brother, the despot Theodore I of Morea (d. June 24, 1407), whose niche tomb still stands in the intimate funerary chapel established by the local abbot, Pachomios, in the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Mistra (fig. 4.5). It is before this painted and sculpted tomb that the emperor planned to recite his brother's eulogy on the anniversary of Theodore's death.[7]

To draw attention to the tomb and highlight its decoration, oil lamps were suspended over the sarcophagus and tall candlestands were set on the floor before the tomb. How such lamps and candles were maintained is described in the typikon, mentioned above, that records John Palaiologos's offer of gifts of property to assure the lighting of his tomb. Since the burning of incense was an important part of the funeral rite and of ongoing commemorations for the dead, incense burners also played a role in the tomb's decoration (cats. 64, 65). In northern territories neighboring Byzantium, evidence has been found for the use of embroidered silk textiles to decorate the tomb as well, including silks bearing portraits of the deceased (cat. 29). Many of these diverse types of portable artworks—icons, manuscripts, censers, and candlestands with burning tapers—are represented in an icon depicting the funeral and open-air burial of Saint Ephraim of Syros (fig. 4.6). The same rites observed for Ephraim would have taken place at the tombs of emperors, members of the court and clergy, monastics, and everyday men and women of Late Byzantium.

For the present exhibition, a number of sculptures used in the decoration of Late Byzantine tombs have been brought together. Sarcophagi, the most prevalent objects of sculpture

Fig 4.5. Tomb of Theodore I Palaiologos (d. June 24, 1407), despot of Mistra. Northwest chapel, Church of the Virgin Hodegetria, Vrontochion Monastery, Mistra, Greece

Fig 4.6. Icon with the Dormition of Saint Ephraim the Syrian (cat. 80, detail).
Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

associated with the tombs, were placed against the interior walls of the church[8] or set in niches either protruding from or built into the church's interior or exterior walls (figs. 4.2, 4.3).

The form of most Late Byzantine sarcophagi departs significantly from the traditional, monolithic type of casket having a solid stone body and a separate lid. Common in pagan antiquity and the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire, that older, thick-walled type could be used to contain the corpse above ground. Its airtight seal protected the surrounding environment from the body's decomposition. However, the sarcophagus type most common from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century was assembled from separate stone panels, some taken from earlier monuments and recarved, some newly quarried. It can be hypothesized that the reasons for this abandonment of the monolithic sarcophagus were largely economic. Less stone was required for a composite sarcophagus, and a great deal of older building material was available for reworking and reuse. But the change to a multipaneled casket necessitated a new burial practice: now the body had to be placed in a sealed space beneath the church floor, where

Fig 4.7. Marble sarcophagus representing the despotissa of Epiros, Theodora (d. 1270), and her son Nikephoros below the hand of God, flanked by angels. Narthex of the Church of Saint Theodora, Arta, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

decomposition could safely occur. Thus, the function of Late Byzantine pseudosarcophagi was entirely symbolic. The casket alluded to the body that rested beneath the building's paving stones.[9]

The iconography of Late Byzantine sarcophagi covers a wide range of motifs. Decorative elements carved on casket walls and lids, along with funerary inscriptions, include the cross; floral and geometric forms such as interlaced medallions, scrolling vines, and trees; and animals, among them mythical griffins (cat. 58), lions, and birds (including single- and double-headed eagles), shown standing in profile or locked in combat.[10] But a new subject appears in addition to these traditional themes: the human figure, not seen on sarcophagi since the Early Byzantine period, so far as is known from extant examples (fig. 4.7).[11] Representations of humans, including portraits of the deceased and of the saints, Christ, and the Virgin, reappear at this time in a range of sculpture types, especially ones associated with the tomb.[12]

The prominence of the human figure in Byzantine sculpture of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century has been variously explained. Certainly Byzantium's enduring interest in ancient forms and styles, inspired by the Greco-Roman sculptures preserved within Byzantine territories, is a factor.[13] In addition, Hans Belting has suggested that Byzantine sculptors who after the 1261 reconquest participated in the rebuilding and restoration of much earlier churches and monuments in Constantinople drew their inspiration from the classicizing, figural sculptures of Byzantium's first golden age (for example, the carved base made circa 390 for Emperor Theodosius I to adorn the obelisk of Thutmose III brought from Egypt to Constantinople and still displayed in its Hippodrome).[14]

A third influence came from the Romanesque and Gothic sculptural traditions, new styles developed in the Latin West that were brought by Crusaders to territories around the eastern Mediterranean during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.[15] Thus, a grounding in the empire's long-standing artistic traditions, specific references to the Byzantine past, and contact with the artistic developments of western Europe can all be said to have contributed to the revival of figural imagery in Late Byzantine sculpture, especially for tomb monuments.

Important examples of Late Byzantine figural sarcophagus sculpture survive from Constantinople, Veroia (Greece), and Arta (Greece). Most of these are horizontal panels that formed the front of the sarcophagus. A sarcophagus frontal from Constantinople represents two angels holding a central wreath that encircles a chrismon; a lower register carries decorative carving of crosses and scrollwork (fig. 4.8). Angels, the heavenly guardians of Christ and the Virgin, are a common subject in Late Byzantine tomb sculpture. This carving emulates with remarkable success the composition and carving style of fourth-century sarcophagi, confirming that Early Byzantine models could serve as important sources for Late Byzantine sculptors.[16]

Narrative scenes associated with Christ's death and salvation were a further source of inspiration to the carvers of Late Byzantine sarcophagi. Fragments surviving in Veroia originally formed a pyramidal sarcophagus lid depicting the Anastasis, in which Christ breaks the gates of Hades and descends to resurrect from their own tombs all those who believed in Christ before his Incarnation (see cat. 8).[17] The fragmentary reliefs found in the Stoudios Monastery, Constantinople, one of the Byzantine churches restored under the Palaiologoi, depict the Virgin's Lamentation over the dead body of Christ as it lies arrayed before burial, a subject inspired by the Gospels.[18] These two christological scenes were no doubt selected because of the typological connections each establishes between Christ's death or resurrection and the hope for salvation of the individual

Fig 4.8. Marble sarcophagus with two angels flanking a chrismon. Istanbul Archaeological Museum (5798). Photo: Thomas F. Mathews, Dumbarton Oaks Photo and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.

Fig 4.9. Detail of the sculpted marble frontal for the tomb of Theodore Metochites (d. 1332). South Parekklesion, Chora Monastery, Constantinople. Photo: Sarah Brooks

commemorated by the sarcophagus. Parallel subjects, among them the Last Judgment, are frequently depicted in the frescoes and mosaics surrounding Late Byzantine tombs; these mural images would have reinforced and mirrored the imagery decorating the sarcophagus.

A portrait of the deceased was another subject that decorated sarcophagi. A fragmentary panel from the Lips Monastery in Constantinople (see fig. 3.2) preserves the remnants of a funerary portrait of the nun Maria Palaiologina (cat. 49). On what remains, the figure of Maria is visible from the waist down; she wears the monastic schema, or mantle, over a long tunic. Titos Papamastorakēs' convincing reconstruction of the complete panel has the central inscription flanked on the left by Maria and on the right by the Virgin and Christ Child, to whom Maria's prayer, phrased as if spoken in her own voice, is addressed. Composed in poetic meter and finely carved in elegant Palaiologan script, the prayer expresses hope for the Virgin's intercession, sought by the Christian faithful, and the mercy of Christ at the soul's judgment. Such inscriptions, attesting to the secular and spiritual accomplishments of the deceased and offering prayers on his or her behalf, were an important component of the decorative program and often appeared on sarcophagi or on sculptures framing a tomb.[19]

In Arta, the capital of the independent Byzantine despotate of Epiros (ca. 1205–1338) situated in western Greece, is the only surviving Late Byzantine sarcophagus with portraits of the Byzantine ruling family (fig. 4.7). Beneath a central arch the hand of God reaches down from heaven to bless the despotissa Theodora (d. 1270), wife of the despot Michael II Komnenos Doukas, and a young boy, probably her son, Nikephoros. Each wears traditional imperial garments, including a Byzantine-style crown, a long divetesion (tunic), and a gemmed loros, or stole, over the caftan, and each carries the royal scepter. Flanking the despotissa and her son are two portrait busts of angels also carrying scepters. Similarly placed angels appear in other tomb monuments (cat. 51A, B), often identified by inscriptions as the archangels Gabriel and Michael.[20] The archangels are present at the tomb because of their status in the

Fig 4.10. Fragmentary marble archivolt with bust figures from the Lips Monastery (Fenarı Isa Camii), Constantinople, late 13th or early 14th century. Istanbul Archaeological Museum (4570). Photo: Bruce White

celestial hierarchy and especially because of Michael's role as the soul's guide during its gradual separation from the body after death and at the Last Judgment.[21]

While the sculpted sarcophagus might be displayed independently against the flat wall of the church, in the most elaborate Late Byzantine burials it served as the centerpiece of a much larger decorative program. In such funerary ensembles, sculptural reliefs framed the three-dimensional space of the rounded niche, or arcosolium, containing the sarcophagus (figs. 4.2, 4.3). Arcosolia are found in churches throughout the Late Byzantine sphere, including those in Trebizond, Nicaea, Ephesus, Constantinople, Mistra, Mount Athos, Thessalonike, Veroia, and Gračanica.[22]

A pagan burial form adopted for Christian use in the Early Byzantine period, the arcosolium had its greatest impact on "built" (masonry) church architecture during the Late Byzantine centuries.[23] It provided an organized visual focus within the architecturally complex and richly painted spaces of the Late Byzantine church. Late Byzantine builders and the church communities they served were willing to incorporate new chapels outfitted with arcosolia into the church; alternatively, existing church narthexes (vestibules) and open-air porches attached to the church were converted to incorporate new burial niches. Through these two means, new building and conversion, additional tombs and the much-needed funds provided by their patrons were realized.[24]

Sculpture was the single most important element setting off the arcosolium from its surroundings. Against the church's smooth expanse of wall covered in colorful fresco or mosaic, three-dimensional relief sculpture provided an important visual break. Typically, a sculpted facade surmounted the tomb arch. It included the archivolt, a narrow molding that framed the niche's rounded opening; the two spandrels, near-triangular corner areas above the arch; and the cornice, a horizontal molding across the top of the protruding niche block. Below the spandrels, slender colonnettes resting on the church floor flanked the niche opening; they were topped by capitals carrying figural and decorative sculpture and often above them, impost blocks supporting the arch. Sheltered at the heart of this elaborate three-dimensional frame was the sarcophagus, which rested beneath a painted composition often representing the deceased with saints or scenes associated with the life and death of Christ.

Two of the most impressive carved facades of the Late Byzantine period still frame the early-fourteenth-century tomb niches for which they were designed in the south funerary chapel of the Chora Monastery. One of these crisp and densely carved marble facings, on the north wall, decorates the niche tomb of Theodore Metochites (d. 1332), who restored the monastery in the Late Byzantine period (fig. 4.9). The arcosolium on the opposite wall commemorates the megas konostaulos, or imperial grand constable, Michael Tornikes (d. ca. 1328), a political ally of Metochites (figs. 4.2, 4.3).[25] Tornikes' tomb is the only arcosolium to preserve a carved funerary epigram in situ; it has been attributed by Ihor Ševčenko to the famed court poet Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–1345).[26]

The facade designs of the two niches are similar: in each, a central bust portrait of Christ, blessing with his right hand and bearing a scroll in his left, is flanked by busts of the archangels Michael and Gabriel in the spandrels. Lush scrolling vines that emerge from cornucopias in the spandrels surround these figures. The solitary image of Christ at the highest point of the arcosolium suggests Christ's role as the celestial judge of humankind. In the arcosolium for Metochites, as in many such tombs, the image of Christ is employed repeatedly, appearing in the sculpted facade, on the sarcophagus, and painted on the niche's back wall, emphasizing the manifold aspects of Christ and especially his roles as the judge and savior of humanity.

These two tomb facades are also significant for the traces of polychrome pigments they preserve; Tornikes' tomb also retains significant gilding on its carved surfaces. From this evidence, and the paint that survives on other examples of Late Byzantine sculpture including nave capitals, relief icons, and architectural sculptures (cat. 40), it can be hypothesized that coloration and even gilding of marble carvings were widespread practices in the Late Byzantine period.[27] The use of color in Byzantine sculpture is a subject that has not yet been thoroughly explored. Carolyn Connor has found that small-scale carvings in ivory and steatite (soapstone) dating to the Middle Byzantine period also appear to preserve traces of medieval paint and gilding.[28] Thus in both the Middle and Late Byzantine centuries we find evidence for the blending of the arts of painting and sculpture, suggesting a closer alliance between the two than may have been understood before.

The Chora tomb facades offer an opportune starting point for a discussion of the stylistic characteristics of Late Byzantine sculpture, particularly tomb sculpture. Relief sculpture, ranging from very shallow to extremely high relief, is common, while stone sculpture in the round is extremely rare.[29] Strains of abstraction and naturalism coexist: although overall compositions of animal, floral, vegetal, and geometric motifs are characterized by a greater intricacy and a sense of pattern in the overall composition, the details can be fairly naturalistic (cats. 37, 38, 39A, B, 58). Reliefs representing the human figure tend to resemble parallel images in monumental and miniature painting. While compared with Middle Byzantine sculptures there is also a strong impulse toward a naturalistic, three-dimensional rendering of the human body, Constantinopolitan figural sculpture of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries tends toward elements of abstraction—elongated faces; round, full brows; emphatic eyes; and heavy eyelids (cats. 54, 55). The same stylistic features appear in contemporary fresco paintings in Constantinople and provincial centers influenced by Constantinople, such as Mistra (cat. 48). Thus a common artistic taste is often evidenced in the sculptural and the painted arts.

Fig 4.11. Reconstruction drawing of the tomb of the despot Demetrios Palaiologos (d. after 1340) and his wife. Inner narthex, Chora Monastery, Constantinople. Drawing by Archeographics.com

Fig 4.12. Detail of sculpted capital and reused impost block, tomb of the despot Demetrios Palaiologos (d. after 1340) and his wife. Inner narthex, Chora Monastery, Constantinople. Photo: Robert Ousterhout, Dumbarton Oaks Photo and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, D.C.

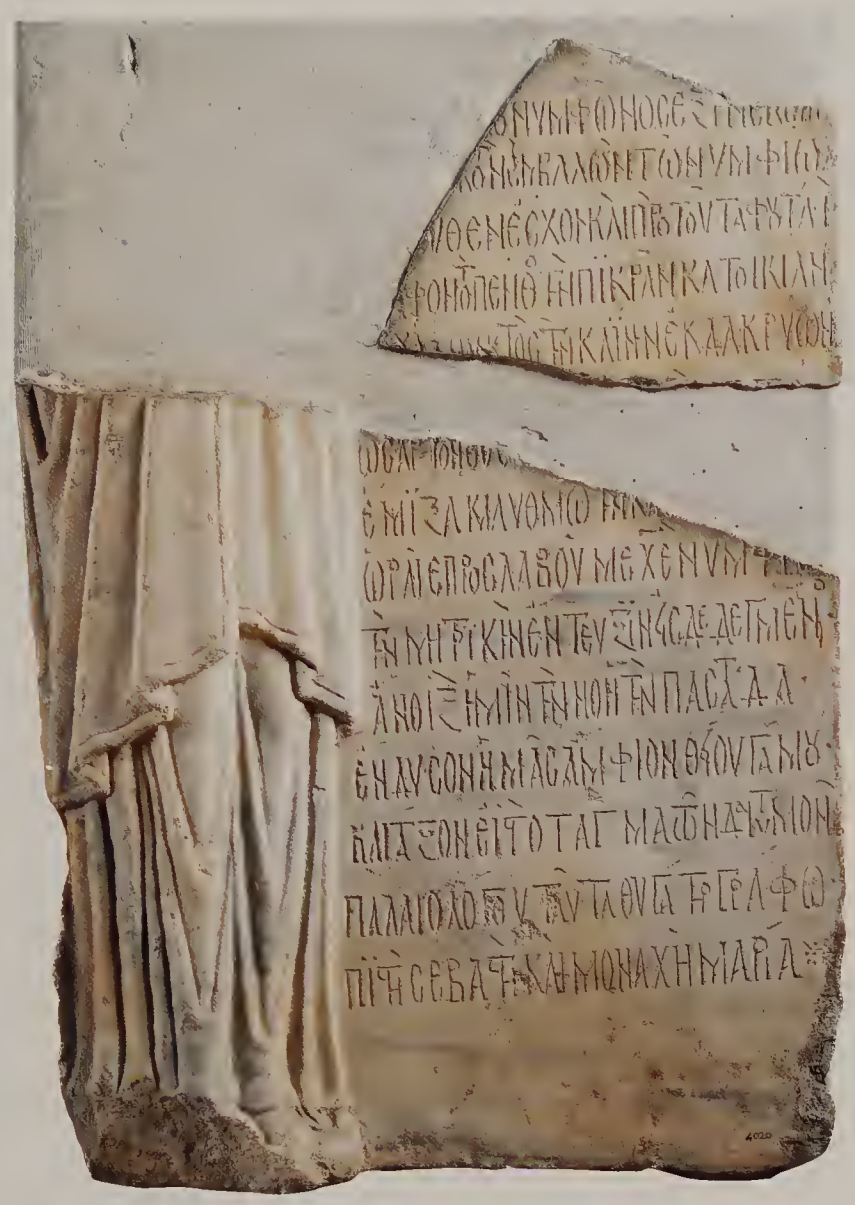
The two Chora tomb facades provide the artistic context for a large group of fragmentary reliefs now in museum collections that, judging from their relative scale, design, and shared iconography, were once part of similar arcosolium facades. Spandrel reliefs are perhaps the most common surviving Constantinopolitan sculptures that can be associated with now-lost tomb facades; two such examples are spandrel figures of archangels wearing the loros, set in circular medallions surrounded by vine scrolls, that were discovered in Istanbul and are preserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (cat. 51A, B). An exceptional group of reliefs forming a single archivolt and presenting busts of the Twelve Apóstles flanking a bust of Christ was excavated in the Lips Monastery, the Constantinopolitan convent of the empress Theodora (fig. 4.10), where a number of niche tombs are attested; the dimensions of the reconstructed archivolt would have been compatible with its incorporation in a tomb for a Palaiologos family member buried there.[30]

The carved tomb facade above the arch opening was complemented below by two paired colonnettes placed on the left and right sides of the niche. Each colonnette was topped by a carved capital, and sometimes an impost block was added above the capital to make the transition between it and the arch. While no colonnettes survive in an existing tomb, the Chora Monastery again provides our best examples of capitals still in situ. In the Chora Monastery, an arcosolium commemorating the despot Demetrios Palaiologos (d. after 1340) and his wife was inserted into the north end of the church's inner narthex, representing a conversion of this space for burial use (fig. 4.11).[31] The opening of the tomb niche was framed by colonnettes (now lost) supporting capitals, each sculpted with a bust on three sides. Represented are an Old Testament prophet, Saint John Prodromos (Saint John the Baptist), and four military saints. The only saint identified by carved inscription is the military saint Demetrios (fig. 4.12), the name-saint of the deceased.

These figural capitals in situ in the niche tomb of the despot Demetrios and his wife provide a context for similar sculpted capitals that survive as isolated fragments. Examples are capitals with busts of military saints in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (cat. 55) and the Cluny Museum, Paris (cat. 54), as well as The Metropolitan Museum of Art's capital with a bust of the archangel Michael (cat. 50). Bust figures such as these would have occupied the same zone as the painted images of saints that commonly adorned the lowest wall surfaces of a church. The decorative scheme of a church interior called for images of saints at the level of the church visitor, narrative scenes in the vaulting above, and a crowning figure of Christ or of the Virgin and Child in the highest area, the church dome.

Above the carved capitals of Demetrios's tomb are two reused impost blocks decorated with spiky acanthus. Øystein Hjort has dated them to the tenth or early eleventh century, along with two architrave panels set directly above the impost blocks and extending into the niche interior that were also reused in the decoration of the tomb.[32] Here is one example of the wholesale reuse of earlier Byzantine carvings in a Late Byzantine tomb.

This tomb's combination of older reused reliefs with newly carved sculpture and a contemporary mosaic composition illustrates the diverse range of artistic sources and materials employed in Late Byzantine tomb decoration and underlines the difficult economic conditions influencing their design. The funds, properties, and art objects contributed to church institutions by tomb patrons during the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century allowed these communities not only to endure but in many cases to flourish. Late Byzantine tomb sculptures that have survived offer important testimony to these sustaining endowments.



49

49. Two Fragments from a Tomb Monument for the Nun Maria Palaiologina

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 13th–early 14th century
Marble
47 x 45.5 x 3.3 cm (18½ x 17⅞ x 1¼ in.); 21 x 27.5 x 3.3 cm (8¼ x 10⅞ x 1¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: . . . ς νυμφῶνος ἔξιν ἐκσπ / . . . κτὸν ἐμβαλὼν τῶ νυμφίῳ . . . / (ἐντε)ῦθεν ἔσχον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τάφου τάφ(ον), / (τ)άφον, τὸ πένθο(ς), τὴν πικρὰν κατοικίαν / (βρέ) χ (ου) σα νυκτὸς τὴν κλίνην ἐκ δακρύων, / ὡς ἄρτον ἐσθ(ίουσα) . . . / ἔμιξα κλαυθμῷ τὴν κα . . . / Ὡραῖε προσλαβοῦ με Χ(ριστ)ὲ νυμφίε, / τὴν μητρικὴν ἔντευξιν εἰσδεδεγμένο(ς), / ἄνοιξ(ον) ἡμῖν τὴν νοητὴν παστάδα, / ἔνδυσον ἡμᾶς ἄμφιον θείου γάμου / καὶ τάξον εἰς τὸ τάγμα τῶν δαιτυμόν(ων). / Παλαιολόγου ταῦτα θυγάτηρ γράφω / πιστὴ σεβαστὴ καὶ μοναχὴ Μαρία.[1]
(. . . Receive me, Christ, [my] handsome bridegroom; / heeding the intercession of Thy mother, / open for us the spiritual bridal chamber. / Clothe us in the garment of divine marriage, / and place us in the ranks of your [fellow] banqueters. / I, the nun Maria, faithful *sebaste* / and daughter of a Palaiologos, write these words.)[2]
PROVENANCE: A stray find in 1917 in the environs of the Column of Arcadius, Istanbul, and commonly attributed to the Monastery of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii), Istanbul.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (4020)

This sculpted relief portrait survives only in two fragments, representing the lower part of the figure of the deceased, the nun Maria Palaiologina, who is identified by the elegantly carved epigram. While scholars have disagreed as to whether the surviving figure should be identified as the deceased or the Virgin, most favor the opinion that it represents the nun. Titos Papamastorakēs has offered a convincing reconstruction for the complete composition: a central inscription is flanked on the left by Maria, her arms likely raised in a gesture of entreaty, or deesis, and on the right the Virgin and Christ Child, to whom her prayer is addressed (fig. 49.1).[3]

This inscribed funerary panel remains one of the most important sculptural finds associated with the imperial tombs in the Constantinopolitan convent restored about 1281 by the Palaiologan empress Theodora Palaiologina, widow of Michael VIII Palaiologos (see fig. 3.2). The convent was known in the Late Byzantine period as the Monastery of Constantine Lips, the name of the first structure on the site, which dated to the tenth century.[4] Theodora envisioned it as a spiritual home for her female family members and built a second church, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, to join another, dedicated to the Virgin. Maria, it can be assumed, was a relative of the empress who lived in the convent, where her tomb was erected and she was laid to rest. The remarkable survival not only of such sculptures from the convent's tomb monuments but also of its two churches and its foundation document (typikon), drawn up by Theodora,[5] adds significant historical context to this stray sculptural find. STB

1. Greek transcription from Fıratlı 1990, no. 115, p. 67.
2. English translation in Talbot 1999, pp. 80–81.

Fig. 49.1. Reconstruction drawing after Papamastorakēs 1996–97, fig. 14 (by Archeographics.com)

3. Papamastorakēs 1996–97, fig. 14.
4. For the monastery's history and recent bibliography, see Kidonopoulos 1994, pp. 86–87 (n.1.1.38); see also the forthcoming architectural study on the monastery by Vasileios Marinis, "The Monastery *tou Libos*: Architecture, Sculpture, and Liturgical Planning in Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
5. Alice-Mary Talbot, "*Lips: Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of *Lips* in Constantinople," in Thomas and Hero 2000, pp. 1254–86 (analysis and English translation); Delehaye 1921, pp. 106–36 (Greek text).

REFERENCES: Delehaye 1921, pp. 106–36; Buckler 1924; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 127–39, no. 128; Trapp 1976–96, vol. 9, p. 74, no. 21392; Fıratlı 1990, no. 115, p. 67; Papamastorakēs 1996–97, fig. 14; Talbot 1999, pp. 80–81; Yalçin 1999, p. 364, fig. 23; Thomas and Hero 2000, pp. 1254–86.

50. Capital with Bust of the Archangel Michael

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 13th–early 14th century
Marble
25.4 x 17.1 x 10.6 cm (10 x 6¾ x 4⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the capital's abacus, MHX/AH(Λ) (Michael)
PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in the vicinity of the Constantinopolitan Monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos (now the Sulumanastir).
CONDITION: There are losses in the acanthus leaves, which serve as the capital's base. The archangel's face has suffered minor abrasions and losses, particularly on its left side, in the nose, lips, and chin.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gifts of J. Pierpont Morgan, George Blumenthal and Messrs. Duveen Brothers, by exchange; Bequests of George Blumenthal and Anne D. Thompson, The Collection of Michael Dreicer, Bequest of Michael Dreicer, and Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, by exchange; Rogers Fund and Mr. and Mrs. Maxime L. Hermanos Gift, 1983 (1983.167)

50, front

50, side

Carved capitals such as this, representing the archangel Michael, could be seen in a number of contexts in the interior of Late Byzantine churches: as decoration of the templon barrier (cat. 39A,B) or the ciborium over the altar (cat. 36A,B); as part of the sculpted frame for an icon; or on the carved facades of niche tombs (figs. 4.11, 4.12). The archangel's three-quarter pose, turning to the viewer's right, coupled with the capital's narrow proportions and beveled, undecorated reverse, suggests that it most likely adorned the left border of an icon's sculpted frame or the carved facade for a niche tomb, the latter a context in which angels commonly appear (cat. 51; figs. 4.2, 4.3, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9).

Michael is arrayed with the traditional attributes and dress of the archangels, the guardians of heaven. He wears a fillet in his hair and a broad, gemmed loros (or stole) over a wide-sleeved divetesion, with a mantle draped over his shoulders that falls down his left front side. He carries a trilobed scepter in his right hand, while in his left hand he holds an orb with cross, symbolizing the divine cosmos. The Metropolitan's capital is notable for the sensitive handling of Michael's features as well as the unusually deep carving of the archangel's nimbus and wings, the latter sculpted nearly in the round as they arch behind the torso. Helen Evans has made stylistic comparisons between this capital and Constantinopolitan sculptures from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, including works from the Pammakaristos Monastery (Fethiye Camii), thus establishing its connection to workshops serving the most important aristocratic foundations of the period.[1] Said to have been found in the environs of the Peribleptos Monastery, the capital may have been sculpted to decorate this Middle Byzantine foundation, restored in the late 1200s by the first Palaiologan emperor, Michael VIII (r. 1259–82), after his reconquest of Constantinople.[2] STB

1. New York 1999, no. 108, pp. 92–93. On the Pammakaristos Monastery, see Belting et al. 1978; Kidonopoulos 1994, pp. 80–86.
2. On the Peribleptos Monastery during the Palaiologan period, see Kidonopoulos 1994, no. 1.1.41, pp. 91–93.

REFERENCES: Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions*, 1983–84 (New York, 1984), pp. 13–14; New York 1999, no. 108, pp. 92–93; Evans et al. 2001, p. 58.

51A, B. Fragmentary Arch Spandrels from Two Tomb Facades

51A. The Archangel Michael
Constantinople, 1300–50
Marble
45 x 45 x 9 cm (17¾ x 17¾ x 3⁹⁄₁₆ in.)
INSCRIBED: Ο ΑΡ(ΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) ΜΗ(ΧΗΛ) (the archangel Michael)
PROVENANCE: Found in Istanbul's Unkapanı region (which includes the Pantokrator Monastery and extends north of the Aqueduct of Valens); entered the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1928.
CONDITION: There are losses to the bottom and right borders, and damage to the highest areas of relief, including the face and right hand of the archangel.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (4268)

51B. An Angel
Constantinople, late 13th or early 14th century
Marble
65 x 78 x 10.5 cm (25⅝ x 30¾ x 4⅛ in.)
CONDITION: The archangel's head appears to have been purposefully damaged; areas of loss are also found in the decorative border of the archivolt.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (84.26a,b)

51A

Sculpted facades were added to the most elaborate tomb niches of the Late Byzantine period, framing the frescoed or mosaic tomb composition with its carved sarcophagus. Such sculpted facades included spandrel carvings such as these, located in the corners of the arch. Bust figures of paired angels set within scrolling vines, sometimes framed by medallions, are among the most common figures to appear in spandrel carvings, as in the two sculpted facades surviving in the Church of Christ in Chora, Constantinople (see figs. 4.2, 4.3, 4.9).

Of these two winged angels, one (A), found in Istanbul, is identified by carved inscription as the archangel Michael. He is nimbed and his hairlocks are tied by a fillet with streaming ends. Michael wears a divetesion and over it the loros, the gemmed stole worn by both Byzantine emperors and archangels, symbolizing their parallel status in the heavenly and earthly courts. In Michael's left hand is an orb with cross symbolizing the divine cosmos. In its original context, the archangel Michael in the left spandrel would have been seen gesturing with his left hand toward the arch's center, where most likely a figure of Christ would have been set; he would have been complemented in the right spandrel by a figure of the archangel Gabriel, in reverse gestures. The remains of the deeply cut acanthus border once framing the arch opening are characteristic of Palaiologan carving in Istanbul and can be found in similar monuments, including those from the Church of Christ in Chora (figs. 4.2, 4.3, 4.9) and Hagia Euphemia in the Hippodrome.[1]

One particularly notable feature of the relief is the fleur-de-lys decorating the spandrel's upper left corner, a design element that is found in Constantinopolitan painted depictions of textile patterns but that is less common in sculpture, as compared with sculptures found in the Frankish-influenced Peloponnesos (Greece).[2] Fıratlı has suggested that the fleur-de-lys as well as the design of the angel's nimbus and the handling of the acanthus border relate the spandrel to a panel found in the Constantinopolitan Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa, suggesting a possible workshop connection or origin for this carving.[3]

It is likely that the second relief carving (B) was also incorporated within a sculpted tomb facade. It is very close in its overall design to the previous spandrel, found in Constantinople's Unkapanı region (cat. 51A), as well as to other carvings today in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum[4] and to the surviving Chora reliefs

51B

of archangels. Represented in very high relief is the bust figure of an angel (now defaced) wearing a voluminous himation (mantle) over a tunic. The angel is nimbed, and his two wings twist behind his torso, conforming to the triangular space of the spandrel. The angel's left hand is raised, with the palm held vertical, a sign of address, while the right hand grasps the hem of his himation. The high level of carving evident in both spandrels suggests an attribution to one of the leading sculpture workshops of the Palaiologan capital. STB

1. For the Chora examples, see Hjort 1979, pp. 249–55. On the Palaiologan archivolt from the Church of Hagia Euphemia in the Hippodrome, see Naumann and Belting 1966, p. 85, fig. 28.
2. See, for example, carvings decorating the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos and the Virgin Pantanassa Monastery in Mistra (Greece): Kalamara and Mexia 2001, figs. 174–175 (Peribleptos), 176 (Pantanassa).
3. Fıratlı 1990, no. 276, p. 139. On the Mouchliotissa Church, see Mathews 1976, no. 37, pp. 366–75.
4. Yalçin 1999, pp. 362–63, figs. 11–13. For the Chora examples, see Hjort 1979, pp. 249–55.

References: Fıratlı 1990, no. 276, p. 139, pl. 86/276; Yalçin 1999, pp. 362–63, fig. 14.

52

52. Relief Depicting the Archangel Michael

Byzantine (Nicaea?), 13th or 14th century
Marble
41 x 34 x 6 cm (16⅛ x 13⅜ x 2⅜ in.)
Inscribed: Ο ΑΡ(ΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) ΜΗ(ΧΗΛ) (the archangel Michael)
Provenance: Found in Iznik (Byzantine Nicaea); entered the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1927.
Condition: There are losses to the lower left corner and to part of the lower right corner of the panel; surface abrasion has damaged the angel's face and the upper portion of the scepter he carries.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (4208)

This fragmentary relief represents the archangel Michael in three-quarter pose, turned to the right, framed by slender colonnettes topped by capitals. Wearing a tunic and himation, Michael carries a cross-tipped scepter in his right hand. He supports an orb surmounted by a cross and inscribed with the monogram of Christ, Χ(ριστὸς) in his left hand, which is wrapped in the end of his mantle. A labeling inscription above the figure's head confirms his identity as Michael, the leader of the heavenly host. Judging from the figure's three-quarter pose and the framing colonnettes, André Grabar has proposed that the sculpture may have been part of a larger composition such as a Deesis program, with each figure framed by colonnettes. At the center of the Deesis arrangement would be seen the frontal image of Christ, flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist; the archangel Michael would appear next on the left, and the archangel Gabriel on the right.[1]

The style of carving differs from that characteristic of Late Byzantine sculptures attributed to nearby Constantinople. Instead of a naturalistic, plastic rendering of the figure, typical of Constantinople (cats. 50, 51A,B), this panel found in Iznik is carved with a great emphasis on line and pattern, as seen for example in the parallel locks of Michael's hair and the thick folds of his garments. Such stylistic features have lead Grabar to suggest that Late Byzantine icon painting had a strong influence on the sculptor of this relief.[2] STB

1. A. Grabar 1976, pp. 127–29, no. 163, p. 154, pl. 141.
2. The relief's style has also produced divergent datings for the piece. Fıratlı 1990, no. 135, p. 80, and Lange 1964, no. 35, p. 103, fig. 35, have argued for a Middle Byzantine dating, while A. Grabar 1976, pp. 127–29, no. 163, p. 154, pl. 141, assigns it to the Late Byzantine period.

References: Lange 1964, no. 35, p. 103, fig. 35; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 127–29, no. 163, p. 154, pl. 141; Fıratlı 1990, no. 135, p. 80.

53. Fragment of a Marble Sculpture of an Apostle

Constantinople, early 14th century
Marble
Height 17.7 cm (7 in.)
Provenance: Found in 1934 in Istanbul's Laleli region, near the Monastery of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii).
Condition: The surviving fragment is in good condition with the exception of small losses, including damage to the figure's nose.
Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin (10020)

This head of a bearded male figure is all that remains of what was most likely a bust image of a mature saint, possibly an apostle. In its complete form, such a bust would have

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54. Capital with Three Military Saints and the Living Cross

Byzantine, Constantinople (?), 14th century
Marble
41 x 26 cm (16⅛ x 10¼ in.)
PROVENANCE: Gift to the Cluny from Baron Taylor in 1844; recorded in a Cluny inventory as originating in an unidentified church in the vicinity of the Monument of Lysicrates, Athens.
CONDITION: The cross design on the low-relief face of the capital has been purposefully defaced; there are abrasions to the figures' faces and other high-relief areas.
Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes et Hôtel de Cluny, Paris (Cl. 1456)

measured conservatively 30 to 40 centimeters in height, suggesting its placement in a sculpted templon program (cat. 52) or as one figure decorating a carved capital (cats. 54, 55). The discovery of the piece in the environs of the Constantinopolitan Church of the Myrelaion, an imperial monastery of the tenth century restored in the Palaiologan period by at least 1315, suggests its possible association with this foundation.[1]

The Berlin relief, carved in unusually high relief, is one of three marble carvings in the exhibition (see also cats. 54, 55) stylistically connected with a Constantinopolitan sculptural atelier working at major Palaiologan buildings, including the Pammakaristos Monastery (the Fethiye Camii) (see fig. 3.3). The stylistic features common to these three associated carvings include the face's elongated form, the exaggerated shape of the eyes, the often summary execution of the figure's hair and beard, and the presence of unfinished surfaces, where the sculptor's toolmarks still remain.[2] This association with a sculptural workshop connected to the Pammakaristos, a foundation restored by the artistocratic patrons Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife, Maria, provides a tentative dating for the Berlin sculpture in the early 1300s and also connects it with the highest levels of patronage in the Palaiologan capital.[3] STB

1. Hunger and Kresten 1981, p. 172, n. 10; on the history of the Myrelaion during the Late Byzantine period, see Striker 1981; Kidonopoulos 1994, pp. 55–56 (n. 1.1.24).
2. Effenberger and Severin 1992, no. 149, p. 249.
3. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. 71.148 (Pammakaristos epistyle panel depicting a beardless saint) and 71.147 (Pammakaristos capital with military saints); Yalçin 1999, pp. 360–61. On the Pammakaristos Monastery, see Belting et al. 1978; Kidonopoulos 1994, pp. 80–86. The Late Byzantine dating for the Berlin piece, first suggested by Effenberger, conflicts with an earlier assignment of the piece to the fifth century; this debate is not surprising in light of the Palaiologan emulation of Early Byzantine carving styles, seen in other sculpted works of the period. See Effenberger and Severin 1992, no. 149, p. 249; Berlin 1977, no. 4, p. 29, fig. 3 (fifth-century dating). On the Palaiologan emulation of Early Byzantine sculptural styles, see Belting 1972b, pp. 89–93; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 18–20.

REFERENCES: Berlin 1977, no. 4, p. 29, fig. 3; Effenberger and Severin 1992, no. 149, p. 249.

Although noted in an early museum inventory as originating in Athens, style and iconography suggest that the Cluny capital was sculpted in Constantinople by a workshop producing early-fourteenth-century carvings (including cats. 53, 55) for major imperial and aristocratic foundations of the Palaiologan capital. The Cluny work has been directly related to sculptures found in the Pammakaristos complex (see fig. 3.2), including an early-fourteenth-century epistyle panel and a carved capital with busts of military saints, which share such common characteristics as the figures' round, chubby faces and the overall strong contrast between light and shadow.[1]

While the carving has been proposed as an iconostasis or ciborium element,[2] the capital's large dimensions, the deep carving of three of its sides, and the low-relief sculpting of its fourth face suggest that this capital and its supporting column were most likely set close to the wall of a tomb niche, resembling two extant capitals in the Chora Monastery (see figs. 4.11, 4.12). In such a context the three saints' busts would have been highly visible, while the fourth side with flowering cross would have been viewed either obliquely or not at all. STB

1. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. 71.148 (Pammakaristos epistyle panel depicting a beardless saint) and 71.147 (Pammakaristos capital with military saints); Yalçin 1999, pp. 360–61. On the Pammakaristos Monastery, see Belting et al. 1978; Kidonopoulos 1994, pp. 80–86.
2. Paris 1992–93, no. 322, p. 433.

REFERENCES: A. Grabar 1976, no. 135, p. 136; Brussels 1982, no. Sc. 14, p. 88; Fıratlı 1990; Paris 1992–93, no. 322, p. 433; Yalçin 1999, p. 361, fig. 6.

54

54

54

55. Four-Sided Capital Decorated with Busts of Military Saints

Constantinople, early 1300s
Proconnesian marble
34.5 x 16 cm (13⅝ x 6¼ in.)
PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in 1905 during construction on the grounds of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.
CONDITION: Besides loss of one upper corner, there is some abrasion or mutilation of the figures' faces.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (1573)

Four unidentified military saints—three youthful and one mature—are represented in bust form on the faces of the capital, below its flat listel. Depicted frontally with nimbus, each soldier saint wears the chlamys, or military cloak, fastened by round fibulae over the military cuirass. Armed with either a sword grasped at the hilt or a spear, each saint raises a hand with palm open as if to address the viewer. In iconography and style, the Istanbul capital is closely related to a capital in the Cluny museum (cat. 54) and to a group of early-fourteenth-century sculptures produced in Constantinople, including those once decorating the Pammakaristos Monastery (Fethiye Camii).[1] The high-relief carving of all four sides of the capital suggests its use in a ciborium, or another context where all of its faces would have been extremely visible.

STB

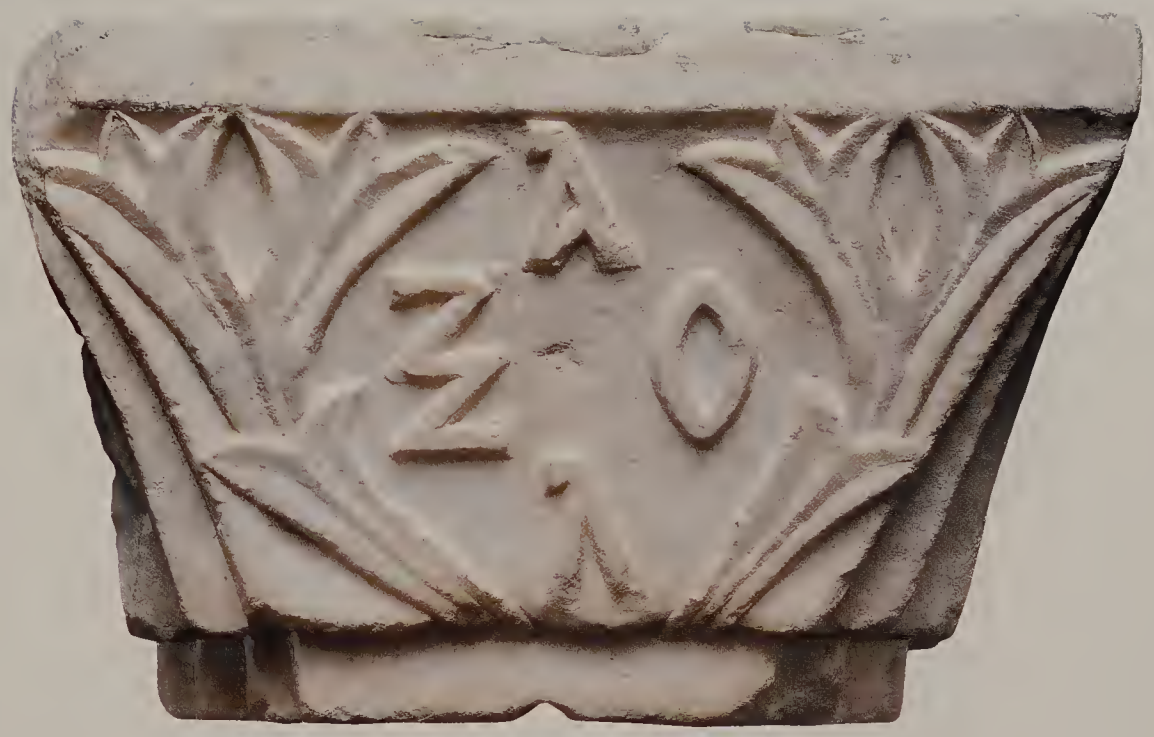
1. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. 71.148 (Pammakaristos epistyle panel depicting a beardless saint) and 71.147 (Pammakaristos capital with military saints); Yalçin 1999, pp. 360–61. On the Pammakaristos Monastery, see Belting et al. 1978; Kidonopoulos 1994, pp. 80–86.

55

References: A. Grabar 1976, pp. 127–39, no. 140, pp. 137–38, pl. 109c–d; Fıratlı 1990, no. 238, p. 125; Yalçin 1999, pp. 360–61, fig. 5.

56A, B. Capitals with Monograms of Alexios Apokaukos

Constantinople, 1321–28
Marble
56A: 17 x 32.5 x 22 cm (6¾ x 12¾ x 8⅝ in.)
56B: 28 x 21 x 21.5 cm (11 x 8¼ x 8½ in.)
Inscribed: On 56A, ΑΛ(E)Ξ(I)O(C); on 56B, ΑΠ(O)K(ΑΥ)X(OC); Π(A)P(A)K(OI)M(ω)M(E)N(OC) (Alexios Apokaukos, parakoimomenos)
Provenance: Discovered in the church in Selymbria (Silivri), west of Istanbul, founded by Alexios Apokaukos.
Condition: The capitals are overall in good condition, with slight surface abrasions and small losses.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (1235e,h)



56A

56B

Decorating these capitals are foliate medallions enframing the monograms of Alexios Apokaukos, parakoimomenos (officer of the imperial bedchamber) under the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328). Apokaukos distinguished himself as a successful politician who survived several tumultuous regime changes in the Palaiologan capital and, at the same time, managed to amass considerable personal wealth despite the empire's financial difficulties. From 1321 to 1328 Apokaukos held the imperial office of parakoimomenos; in 1328 he assumed the new title of mesazon ("prime minister") under the succeeding emperor, Andronikos III Palaiologos. Thus the titles of office recorded in these monograms confirm the capital's dating to this earlier period of Apokaukos's career. A manuscript in the exhibition, with a portrait of Apokaukos wearing his court attire (cat. 2), represents a second work commissioned by this official, dating from his later career as megas doux, from 1341 to his death in 1345.[1]

While these two capitals identify Apokaukos by his personal and family name, as well as his court title, carved monograms on two additional capitals from the same group (also from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum) make clear that Apokaukos served as ktetor, or restorer, of the monument for which they were commissioned. Semavi Eyice has convincingly argued that this monument is to be identified as the church in Selymbria founded by Alexios Apokaukos (later known as the Mosque of Mehmed II) where the capitals may have been incorporated in an iconostasis.[2]

STB

1. Trapp 1976–96, vol. 1, pp. 109–10, no. 1180; "Alexios Apokaukos," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 134–35.
2. Eyice 1964, 86–91, fig. 2; Eyice 1978, figs. 9–12.

References: Mendel 1912–14, pp. 560–63, nos. 761–68; A. Grabar 1976, no. 136, p. 136, pl. 114; Yalçin 1999, p. 363, fig. 17.

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57. Capital with Monogram

Constantinople, late 13th or 14th century
Marble
23 x 19 x 17 cm (9 x 7½ x 6¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: TEHCAN (?)
PROVENANCE: Gift of Monsignor Gabriel, grand vicar of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul, in 1886.
Musée du Louvre, Départment des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Paris, M.N.C. 1159 (MA 3055)

The capital's narrow trapezoidal design suggests the form of an abstracted Corinthian capital, with volutes at its corners, flowering acanthus foliage on its reverse and two short sides, and the addition of two classicizing flower buds at the center of the capital's listel, or top molding. A cruciform monogram framed by a medallion, which is sculpted on the capital's primary face, remains to be convincingly understood. The decoration of architectural sculpture with a patron's name and titles, abbreviated in the form of such monograms, is a tradition that dates to the Early Byzantine centuries and that continued into the Late Byzantine period (cat. 56).

Given the absence of religious iconography in the decoration, it is impossible to confirm whether the capital was displayed in a secular or an ecclesiastical building. It may have been used in the decoration of an aristocratic palace or other domestic structure, or it may have decorated a wide range of church spaces. The slender proportions, low-relief carving, and limited decoration of the Louvre capital suggest several church contexts outside the sanctuary: in the decoration of the iconostasis facing west (for a patron's inscription on the templon beam, see cat. 37); in a window or portico opening, with the monogram facing the church interior or exterior;[1] or in the sculpted frame for a niche tomb.[2] Less likely is the capital's incorporation in decorating a ciborium, given that monograms appear less frequently within the church sanctuary. STB

1. Parallels can be found in the nave of the Church of the Chora Monastery (Constantinople), in the painted monograms of Theodore Metochites (1270–1332) that adorn sculpted window capitals, as well as in the nave and exterior window capitals of Mistra's Pantanassa Church, which also bear the name and titles of the church's founder: John Phrangopoulos, the protostrator (1428/29–1443) and katholikos mesazon under Mistra's despot Theodore II Palaiologos (r. 1407–43). See Ousterhout 1987, figs. 54, 55; Millet 1899, pp. 137–38; Millet 1906, pp. 462–66.
2. For the display of monograms in Late Byzantine tomb decoration, see for example the painted monograms of Manuel Laskaris Chatzikis, framed by medallions, adorning his tomb in Mistra's Pantanassa Church; Millet 1899, pp. 138–39; Brooks 2002, pp. 353–54.

REFERENCES: Louvre 1896, no. 3055; Paris 1992–93, no. 321, p. 432.

58. Relief Depicting a Griffin

Central Greece or the Balkans (?), ca. 1250–1300
Marble
59.5 x 51.5 x 6.5 cm (23⅜ x 20¼ x 2½ in.)
PROVENANCE: From a private collection.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Rogers Fund and Jeannette and Jonathan Rosen Gift, 2000 (2000.81)

The face of the marble panel is completely covered with crisply executed, low-relief decorative motifs centered on a winged griffin enclosed in a medallion set within a square. The details of the griffin's body are incised onto the relatively flat relief carving of the body. Holding a small disk in its beak—possibly a pearl, or an eyeball from its prey[1]—the griffin turns its maned head back over its shoulder, while its long tail curls under the legs and across the body to merge into the background's foliate design. The griffin's wings are defined as tiers of abstract, feather-like motifs. Surrounding the image within the roundel is a variety of foliate patterns. Each interstice outside the medallion repeats a symmetrical leaf pattern flanking an ovoid form, possibly meant to be a pomegranate. The square frame for the central medallion is formed from a basket-weave pattern likely inspired by textile designs, and at the center of each side is a cross set within a small medallion. The sides and reverse of the panel are roughly carved and are not meant to be displayed.[2]

The griffin, a mythical beast of ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman antiquity, was represented throughout the history of Byzantine art down to its final centuries. Formed from a lion's body, an eagle's head and wings, and often with a serpent's tail, the composite figure of the griffin appeared in both Byzantine secular and religious contexts. In scenes drawn from the Alexander Romance (for the only illustrated Byzantine version of this popular secular narrative, see cat. 32), pairs of griffins support the chariot in which the Hellenistic-Greek king Alexander the Great makes his ascent to the heavens to survey his vast kingdom.[3] Griffins, as single figures or in pairs, are found commonly in Middle and Late Byzantine church contexts, in panels forming sculpted door frames or the templon barrier (cat. 35),[4] in facade decoration,[5] and in the carved walls of burial sarcophagi. Three sarcophagus panels from Thessaly (Greece) offer the closest comparisons to the Metropolitan's griffin in terms of style, iconography, and scale: the front and back panels from the inscribed sarcophagus of Anna Maliasenos (d. before 1276), preserved in

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Ano Volos and Portaria Peliou; and a second, fragmentary sarcophagus panel, also found today in Portaria Peliou, likely sculpted about the same time. These comparative carvings represent like figures of the rampant griffin framed by a medallion, executed in a similar, crisp carving style; they suggest that the Metropolitan griffin was possibly sculpted for a tomb context in the region of Thessaly during the late thirteenth century. In a tomb setting, the griffin evoked the longtime Christian theme of the triumph of good over evil, specifically Christianity's triumph over the devil; this struggle was long cast in the symbolic form of animal contests between a dominant animal (here the griffin) and a weaker prey.[6] STB

1. For Middle and Late Byzantine representations of the griffin in combat, holding the eye of its prey or removing it, see New York 1997, no. 185, p. 263; Pazaras 1988, p. 44, no. 52, pls. 40–41.
2. I wish to thank Dr. Helen Evans for her generous discussion of this piece with me.
3. On sculpted representations of griffins drawing the chariot of Alexander, see for example A. Grabar 1976, no. 72, pl. 52; Millet 1910, pl. 49.2.
4. See, for example, New York 1997, no. 2A, pp. 36–37; A. Grabar 1976, nos. 44, 46, pls. 20, 24.
5. Ćurčić 1995, figs. 1–6.
6. Pazaras 1988, pp. 38–40, no. 45a–b (the sarcophagus of Anna Maliasenos), p. 40, no. 46a (anonymous sarcophagus in Portaria Peliou), and pp. 94–95, on the meaning of griffins in funerary contexts.

References: A. Grabar 1976; Pazaras 1988; Evans et al. 2001, pp. 58–59.

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59. Shrine of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski

Serbia, Dečani Monastery, ca. 1343
Wood, pigment, leather, silver
193 x 63 x 43 cm (76 x 24¾ x 16⅞ in.)
CONDITION: The shrine is well preserved, though the colored layer has partially vanished. Only scant fragments have survived of the leather foundation, wood carving, and silver fittings. It was restored in 1984–85 at the National Museum in Belgrade.
Treasury of Dečani Monastery, Kosovo (D 2)

This unique example of a surviving reliquary of a Serbian medieval ruler takes the shape of a rectangular coffin, with a cover featuring slanting sides. It is carved in wood, and applied ornamentation covers all visible sides. The decorations are arranged in fields filled with designs in shallow relief. In addition to the dominant vegetal and ornamental interlace, stylized representations of lions and panthers are also present. The whole shrine was originally radiantly colored, and the background areas were lined with leather and sheathed with silver sheets.[1] As with other Byzantine funerary monuments, the motifs and the opulent execution are meant to suggest the paradise in which the deceased abides.

The shrine, the most representative type of medieval reliquary, represents a cult object of the highest rank. Placed next to the iconostasis, of monumental dimensions and constantly exposed to the veneration of the faithful, it played a key role in the formation of the sacral topography of the church interior. After King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (r. 1322–31) was pronounced a saint, about 1343, his body was transferred from the tomb in the southwest part of the church to the shrine.[2] The new, saintly status of Dečanski was emphasized by a commemorative fresco portrait, which was painted on a pilaster above the shrine. The iconography of the

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portrait and the accompanying inscription allude not only to the king's status as founder of this church—he is portrayed holding a model of the church—but also to his capacity as a sanctified ruler of the Serbian dynasty.[3] This combination—as saint and king—is unique in the Orthodox world. The Dečani shrine continues to be venerated to the present day. DP

1. Ćorović-Ljubinković 1965, pp. 54–58; Šakota 1984, pp. 296–97, figs. 19, 20; Čanak Medić 1985, p. 4, fig. 3.
2. D. Popović 1992, pp. 104–8, fig. 39.
3. Đorđević 1983, pp. 35–42; Subotić 1997, pp. 193–95.

References: Ćorović-Ljubinković 1965, pp. 54–58; Đorđević 1983; Šakota 1984, pp. 296–97; Čanak Medić 1985, p. 14; D. Popović 1992, pp. 103–8; Subotić 1997, pp. 193–95.

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Liturgical Implements

ANNA BALLIAN

The requirements of the liturgy did not change materially in the Late Byzantine period; accordingly, sacred implements retained the basic forms demanded by liturgical practices and by the symbolic and ideological content of the Divine Eucharist. Whereas a fair number of silver objects survive from the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, derived mainly from sixth- and seventh-century Syrian hoards and the treasuries of churches in the West,[1] examples of precious church silver from the late period are strictly limited in quantity. The scarcity of silver and gold objects, both religious and secular, may be attributed to the shortage of raw materials at the time—silver was not mined in the Late Byzantine empire—and to the constant political and economic crises, a consequence of civil wars, the shrinkage of the empire, and the Ottoman conquests. The imperial coinage may be regarded as the true mirror of the age—devalued, lacking in artistic merit, and made from alloys with a low precious-metal content (cat. 12).[2] But all this does not mean that Late Byzantine society had no silver objects at its disposal. Many were melted down and recycled to meet the demands of the state for cash. In the first half of the fourteenth century the Palaiologan emperors repeatedly had recourse to these measures and, once the imperial treasury was bare, John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54) was forced to appeal to the finer feelings of the entire population of Constantinople, including the merchants, artisans, and lower classes.[3] The disappearance of precious vessels is a phenomenon also found in Serbia, where remarkable advances in mining were made beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, when Saxons were invited to work in the mines (cat. 26). Silver was widely used in the royal household and the religious foundations, and although relatively few examples survive to reflect this wealth of precious metal, they are sufficient to indicate the common background of Byzantine and Serbian silverwork.[4] The frontiers between Serbia and Byzantium were fluid and flexible, and their religious and artistic affinities outweighed their differences. We know that Serbian silver was exported by way of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) to Venice and western Europe, and there are indications that it spread farther south; for example, gifts of silver were made to Athonite monasteries by Serbian rulers, and a Serbian bowl is mentioned in a will made by Theodore Sarantenos in 1326.[5]

Fig. 5.1. Munich Choros (cat. 60, detail). Cast copper alloy, 13th–14th century. Archäologische Staatssammlung München–Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Munich

The few examples of Late Byzantine *vasa sacra* known to us date from the mid-fourteenth century and later, when the civil war had come to an end and the empire was fragmented among local rulers. Nothing that survives corresponds to the high-level commissions known to have been made by members of the imperial court and aristocratic families in Constantinople during the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) and, especially, that of Andronikos II (1282–1328). Historical sources tell us that the aristocrats of Late Byzantine society amassed their wealth in the form of gold and silver objects and endowed monastic and ecclesiastical foundations with costly liturgical vessels.[6] Of these patrons John VI Kantakouzenos is the best known. He mentions that before the civil war his property included a large quantity of silver and gold that he was forced to sell. This was presumably in the form of ingots, since he subsequently says that he also had to dispose of his household table service, amounting to more than two hundred silver articles.[7] Indeed, in 1347, after the civil war, he was reduced to dining off tin and ceramic ware; shortly afterward, at his second coronation in Constantinople, the regalia was made from gilded leather and glass stones.[8]

The loss of all but a few Late Byzantine liturgical implements is partly compensated by painted representations of the rites of the liturgy in the sanctuary and on the domes of churches, which at this period overflow with liturgical themes. Depictions of the Communion of the Apostles, the Celestial Liturgy, and the Melismos (Breaking of the Bread) give a leading role to the chalice and the paten, and on occasion the asteriskos and the Gospel lectionary, thus linking the symbolic rituals in heaven with those taking place in the sanctuary of the church. In the

Fig. 5.2A. Chalice of Manuel Kantakouzenos Palaiologos. Silver gilt and jasper, mid- to late 14th century. The Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 5.2B. Detail of the inscription on the foot of the chalice of Manuel Kantakouzenos Palaiologos. Photo after *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopedi,* Mount Athos, 1988, p. 477

Celestial Liturgy the procession of the holy gifts of wine and bread is depicted theatrically, with the parade of angel deacons and priests bearing the sacred vessels in strict hierarchical order: the censer, the candlesticks, and the rhipidia (liturgical fans) open and close the procession, escorting the chalice and the paten with its asteriskos, both covered by their protecting veils.[9]

Late Byzantine liturgical vessels are mainly to be found in monastic treasuries, and the surviving examples fall into two main categories: those that retain and develop Middle Byzantine forms and those with an obviously Western appearance. The latter group includes the only surviving Late Byzantine *vasa sacra,* the chalices of Manuel Kantakouzenos (figs. 5.2A, 5.2B), son of the emperor John Kantakouzenos and despot of Morea (r. 1349–80), and of Thomas Preljubović, Serbian despot of Ioannina (r. 1366/67–84), and two patens associated with the latter, now in the Vatopedi and Great Lavra monasteries on Mount Athos (fig. 5.3).[10] The presence of Western and Western-style objects in Late Byzantine society is attested in both written sources and wall paintings. Typical Gothic forms make their appearance in painting before the mid-fourteenth century in objects such as censers with Gothic turrets and footed oval vessels with openwork circles in their base.[11] The 1396 inventory of the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople registers four pairs of candelabra, one of which is Venetian and made of silver gilt.[12] As early as 1300, in the Church of Saint John Chrysostom in Geraki, Greece, the rhipidia in the representation of the Melismos are depicted with a disk apparently bordered with Gothic crockets,[13] while among the objects bequeathed in 1326 by Theodore Sarantenos was a "large chelantion with shields," that is, a container in the form of a ship, which may have resembled the precious Gothic *nefs* and *navettes* belonging to the rulers of France and Burgundy, or perhaps simpler objects such as the navicella incense-holder in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice.[14] And we can obtain some idea of the Serbian bowl that also formed part of Sarantenos's estate from several published examples that display Western forms and the Gothic practice of attaching to the base a separate disk—

known as a print—which is often enameled and ornamented with depictions of real and fantastic animals.[15]

The direct appropriation and adoption of Italian artistic forms was only to be expected in the second half of the fourteenth century, a period when in other areas, such as the economy, Byzantium served as the hinterland for the Italian market and as a consumer of Western, and especially Venetian, products. Venice had now overtaken Constantinople in the exportation of prestige luxury artifacts as well as in artistic innovation.[16] The Byzantine or byzantinizing character of the iconography of Venetian works obviously facilitated the adoption of new trends. The dominance of Italian models was a process in which the network of Italian colonies and merchants played a part. Liturgical objects were undoubtedly imported for use in Latin churches and were also produced in the silversmiths' workshops of Venetian colonies, such as those which must have existed in Constantinople, and are attested in Scutari (modern Üsküdar), Ragusa, and Candia (Iráklion), the native city of the Cretan goldsmiths who are recorded in Ragusan archives in the 1360s.[17] Yet the offerings of Manuel Kantakouzenos and Thomas Preljubović are not merely examples of the luxury mercantile products that circulated in the eastern Mediterranean but are also indicative of the tastes and orientations of the ruling classes in Byzantine society. These had repercussions transcending the conventional boundaries of historical eras: after the Ottoman conquest church silver is also characterized by the appropriation of Western forms and by a parallel adherence to Byzantine or byzantinizing iconography.

An examination of the chalice of Manuel Kantakouzenos (fig. 5.2A) thus reveals many features that originated in Western art: a Gothic polygonal stem with a knop, an octagonal foot, a hatched background on the inscription and the knop,[18] and dragon-shaped handles almost identical to those in a group of Venetian works, one of which is housed in the same treasury in Vatopedi Monastery.[19] The practice of setting a hard-stone bowl in silver is found equally in the West and the East, but the shape is Western, though not common in a chalice.[20] Byzantine characteristics include the iconography of the hierarchs on the foot of the chalice and the foliate ornamentation with delicate, fleshy palmettes and fabulous beasts. Yet such animals, placed within foliate decoration, are an exceptionally common motif in both East and West: the Veneto-Byzantine version can be seen on the base of a pair of early-fourteenth-century Venetian candlesticks that are modeled on Byzantine examples such as those in the basilica of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.[21]

The Veneto-Byzantine style of the chalice immediately suggests a provenance in Venice, but the Venetian community in Constantinople must also have contained highly qualified artisans specializing in luxury products, whether Greeks, Latins, or naturalized Venetians.[22] Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos himself could even have played an intermediary role when in 1361, having taken orders as the monk Ioasaph, he left Constantinople to visit his son Manuel in Morea.[23] There is also a third possibility. At a more local level, in the Peloponnesos, the architectural decoration of the Monastery of the Peribleptos at Mistra displays Western influences linked with the figure of Isabelle de Lusignan, wife of Manuel and daughter of the first Cypriot Lusignan king of Armenian Cilicia. The visit of her cousin Peter I of Cyprus to the Peloponnesos in 1368 and her own journey to Cyprus in 1372–73 must have brought Isabelle into contact with the appropriate models and with craftsmen competent to execute her husband's commission.[24] Indeed, the only other chalice we know of with Venetian-type dragon-shaped handles, a considerably later work dating from 1501, actually comes from Cyprus.[25]

Fig. 5.3. Paten of Thomas Preljubović. Silver gilt, enamel, pearls, and semiprecious stones, second half of the 14th century. The Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

The jeweled chalice and patens offered by Thomas Preljubović (fig. 5.3) are dominated by Western features, of which the three-dimensional statuette of Christ and the *basse-taille* enamel are totally foreign to Byzantine art. Yet translucent enamel with its characteristic mauve coloring, introduced to Venice by Sienese enamelers shortly before 1325,[26] is here used to reproduce Byzantine iconographic material. The enameled Lamentation on the Vatopedi paten has all the features of the Byzantine threnos (lament), including the relic of the stone of unction[27]—even though the inscription describes it as a Deposition—while the engraved Man of Sorrows on the paten in the Great Lavra is a Byzantine subject (see cat. 131), though also widely popular in the West.[28] Particularly revealing is the chalice, which has a typically Italian shape: a six-lobed foot with star points between the lobes, a knop with projecting bosses, a ring with donor's inscription, a leaf-shaped calyx, and a bell-shaped bowl.[29] The

plaquettes on the foot displaying identical angels with delicate Italian facial features appear oddly out of keeping and seem better suited as ornaments for a processional cross.[30] Venetian art—and especially the works of 1342–45 in the Pala d'Oro—is responsible for the technique of setting the stones in projecting bases, the piercing of the pearls with a pin,[31] and the foliate ornamentation *en réserve* on the enamel.[32] The striking use of pearls to frame the enameled medallions, even on the foot, is taken from precious Venetian rock-crystal objects, in which miniatures are similarly framed with pearls.[33] On the Cuenca Diptych (cat. 24), a gift by the same despot and his wife, Maria Angelina, the pearls frame the figures of Christ and the Virgin in the same manner, although the style of the metalwork revetment and the sparse use of champlevé enamel indicate an entirely different workshop from that of the Preljubović chalice and patens.

The medallions on the foot of the chalice epitomize the liturgical themes found on the walls of the sanctuary in Late Byzantine churches and the areas adjoining it: Christ the High Priest, with the inscription "OΩN" on his halo, is surrounded by the hierarchs who officiate with him, Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great,[34] while the Virgin, with her hands in a gesture of supplication, as in apse murals, is flanked by Saints Cyril and Athanasios. Next come the portrait heads of the Twelve Apostles on the stem, as on Italian chalices, and the pairs of angels facing each other on the bowl, as in the Celestial Liturgy. But the most unusual feature of the chalice is the cover, which is decorated with enameled angels, edged by a jeweled crown with fleur-de-lys,[35] and surmounted by a statuette of Christ enthroned. The full-length figure of the enthroned Christ making a gesture of blessing with both hands, as here, instead of holding the Gospel, is not common in Byzantine art, while the throne is the only example in fourteenth-century Byzantine or Italian iconography in which the back is visible.[36] Inside the cover, the image of the supplicating Virgin is enameled on a square plaquette, as found on the inside covers of secular Western goblets.[37] We know of no other Byzantine chalice with a cover, and the statuette on top gives the impression of being more suited to the lid of a monstrance-reliquary.[38] The iconography of the cover may recall representations found in the Byzantine dome, but the crown has a triumphalist character, which is probably linked with the personality of the donor. It certainly fits the image of Preljubović as an autocratic, all-powerful despot that emerges from the Chronicle of Ioannina, justified at the time by the lack of centralized authority in both Serbia and Byzantium. We may therefore speculate that the chalice was made before 1382, when, albeit only formally, Preljubović was compelled to recognize Manuel II as his overlord.[39] The place of manufacture, however, remains conjectural, as at this time Thessalonike, which was the nearest large artistic center, had no major Venetian colony and represented an outpost of Byzantine art rather than a channel for Venetian influences.[40] The unique use of the so-called *maniera greca* in enamels of Western technique points rather to Venice or alternatively to a Venetian colony on the periphery, such as Ragusa. Indeed, the traditional areas of contact between Venice and the Serbian rulers were the cities of the Dalmatian coast, in particular Ragusa, which housed artisans of differing artistic backgrounds working in the mainstream of Venetian art.[41]

No contemporary texts mention a link between Preljubović and Vatopedi or his gift to this Athonite monastery of the chalice and the paten, but we know that he had associations with the Great Lavra monastery, where the second paten is housed, and to which in 1375 he presented the Church of the Gavaliotissa in Vodena (Edessa), together with its icons and sacred vessels.[42] On the other hand, John Uroš Doukas Palaiologos, the brother of Maria Angelina, Preljubović's wife, and emperor of Thessaly (who subsequently became a monk), did have connections with Vatopedi, where, after fleeing from Ottoman-occupied Thessaly and Meteora in 1394, he took refuge until 1401, acquiring adelphata (fellowships) in exchange for money and a gold cross.[43] In a document dated 1386 Maria Angelina had formally entrusted to the custody and protection of her brother certain church vessels—a cross and a krateter together with two patens—which she had originally deposited with him immediately after Preljubović's murder in 1384.[44] The word "krateter" is found again in Athonite documents of the first half of the eighteenth century, where it is used to describe the Venetian chalice-reliquary with the dragon-shaped handles at Vatopedi.[45] The suggestion that John Uroš Palaiologos presented to Vatopedi this Venetian work and possibly Preljubović's other gifts as well would accord with the regular practice among contemporary rulers and aristocrats of making endowments to a specific monastic foundation to which they eventually planned to withdraw. Indeed, a sixteenth-century text confirms that the sacred artifacts which Maria Angelina gave to her brother had previously been presented by Preljubović to the Ioannina Monastery.[46]

In the document of 1386 mentioned above, Maria Angelina interestingly describes the two patens as the "sacred dish" *(agios diskos)* and the "dish of sacred offering" *(diskos agias anaphoras).*[47] The "sacred dish" is the main liturgical vessel on which the bread of the Eucharist is placed, while the "dish of sacred offering" is presumably the paten for the antidoron, similar to one mentioned in the 1396 register of Hagia Sophia.[48] From this dish the faithful receive a particle of blessed bread that has not been used in the Divine Eucharist. No antidoron patens survive from Byzantine times, but the distinction between these two patens, common in the post-Byzantine period, seems to have already existed in the fourteenth century.[49]

The Vatopedi Monastery also houses an inscribed asteriskos (fig. 5.4) surmounted by a dove,[50] possibly intended for use with Preljubović's paten, although if so, its feet would, curiously, have had to stand on the paten's delicate enamel plaquettes.[51] The sixth-century asteriskos from the Sion Treasure is the only other example that survives from Byzantine times.[52] The name

"asteriskos" (little star) derives from the star of Bethlehem, which hovered over the newborn Christ according to the Gospel passage that is inscribed on the feet of this example (Matthew 2:9–10). The priest reads this passage during the prothesis as he places the asteriskos on a paten with the particles of consecrated bread, so that they do not come into contact with the protecting veil when carried in procession from the prothesis table to the altar.

The other surviving examples of Late Byzantine liturgical objects are Gospel book covers, processional crosses, rhipidia or flabella, and lighting devices and censers. In these, a strong Western influence is either absent or assimilated into the Byzantine tradition, which is apparent not only in their iconography but also in their form.

The Gospel lectionary is the basic text for the reading of the Divine Liturgy, but its processional role when carried from the prothesis table to the altar and the regular practice of providing it with a silver-gilt cover places it in a category of its own among sacred objects. These covers either are made from a single sheet of metal or consist of variously shaped metal fittings whose terminology we know from Middle Byzantine monastic inventories (see cat. 156 and fig. 5.5).[53] The fittings were nailed to the leather or fabric binding, as in the case of the red and gold woven textile on the Gospel presented by Maria Komnene Palaiologina to the Virgin of Chora and described in a poem attributed to Manuel Philes.[54] Gammata or gammatia (corner pieces in the shape of the Greek letter gamma) were a favorite form of ornamentation for quadrilateral surfaces,[55] while boulai (roundels) and amygdalia (bosses) had a practical use in protecting the leather bindings since the books were shelved horizontally. The iconography of book covers is closely connected with that of the frontispiece of manuscripts, following a tradition that began in late antiquity. But Late Byzantine single-sheet covers, such as those in Venice (cat. 157), in Sofia (originating from the Church of Saint Clement in Ohrid), and the Protaton Monastery on Mount Athos, are strikingly reminiscent of portable icons whose silver revetments contain medallions with busts of saints and/or plaquettes with dodekaorton (Great Feasts) scenes, placed in a hierarchical order related to the iconography of the sanctuary and the neighboring areas of the church.[56] Thus, Manuel Philes' poem on the silver-gilt book cover in the Monastery of Philokala mentions hammered images of feasts popular in painting, that is, the dodekaorton cycle.[57] The shift toward models taken from wall painting accompanied the decline of manuscript miniatures from the twelfth century onward and the growth in importance of painting in the formulation of liturgical themes, which were employed in church decoration with ever-increasing emphasis (for a related cover with feast scenes, see cat. 158).[58]

Typical Middle Byzantine processional crosses with a heavy metal core and trapezoidal arms terminating in finials survived in Georgia[59] and in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands until the seventeenth century, though the latter have crude stamped decoration and clearly represent the end of a tradition.[60] The earliest known processional crosses of Italian type date from

Fig. 5.4. Asteriskos. Silver gilt, second half of the 14th century. The Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 5.5. Silver-gilt Gospel cover. The Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 5.6. Cross of Helena Palaiologina Dragaš. Silver and wood, 15th century. The Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

the fifteenth to the sixteenth century and have arms terminating in trilobes or quadrilobes and a wood instead of a metal core.[61] But in Late Byzantine wall paintings, crosses of the Golgotha type predominate, with two or three horizontal arms. This type is represented in depictions of the Resurrection and is associated with the crosses containing wood from the True Cross that were enclosed in box-shaped staurotheke-reliquaries.[62] A wall painting (ca. 1376–81) in the Monastery of Saint Demetrios at Markov near Skopje contains a representation of the Little Entrance with the high priest at the front of the procession holding a jeweled processional cross with three arms.[63] The upper arm represents an extension of the titulus (inscription nailed above Christ's head), while, increasingly in this later period, there is a third arm underneath, straight or slanting,[64] which has its origins in the footrest. The crosses at the Vatopedi, Protaton, and Dionysiou monasteries on Mount Athos and at Lefkara on Cyprus conform to this shape, but they appear to have had differing functions. The first two are respectively 106 centimeters (41¾ inches) and 146 centimeters (57½ inches) tall, while the height of the last two is 36.2 centimeters (14¼ inches). The size and weight of those at Vatopedi and Lefkara suggest that they were not intended for processional use, and indeed they are recorded as being placed, respectively, on the altar and on a proskynetarion stand incorporated in the templon.[65] The inscription on the Protaton cross links it with the ceremonies of the Elevation and the Veneration of the Cross on September 14 and on the third Sunday in Lent; it appears that a group of twelfth- to fourteenth-century Russian crosses had a similar function.[66] The cross of Helena Palaiologina Dragaš (d. 1450), wife of Manuel II, at Dionysiou (fig. 5.6) contains on one side a

Fig. 5.7. Cast-bronze polykandelon. Metsovo Museum, Metsovo, Greece; Evanelos Averoff-Tossizza Foundation. Photo: E. Georgouleas

Fig. 5.8. Detail of fig. 5.7. Photo: E. Georgouleas

representation of the Crucifixion and on the other the Baptism of Christ.[67] We know of no other Byzantine crosses with the Baptism, though from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century onward the Baptism became a standard central subject for carved wooden eulogia crosses, used for the benediction rituals of the Church.[68] The small plaquettes depicting christological scenes on Palaiologina's cross prefigure the densely populated miniature representations on these wood crosses, which continue the Palaiologan tradition of small-scale carving.

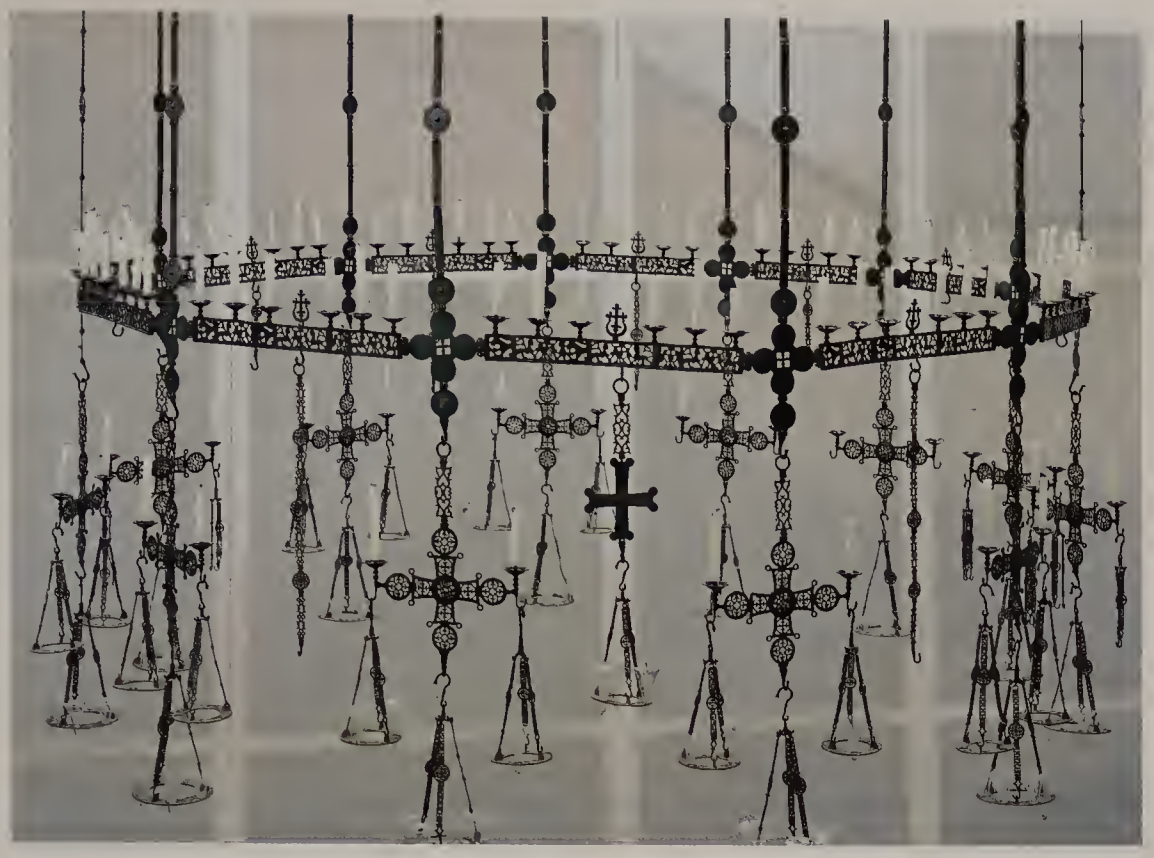
Rhipidia are the liturgical fans symbolic of the tetramorph (four-faced) cherubim who fly around God's throne; in Late Byzantine painting they are shown containing depictions either of cherubim or of six-winged seraphim.[69] This tradition is followed in the filigree rhipidia associated with Stephan the Great, ruler of Moldavia between 1457 and 1504 (cat. 69), and in the later rhipidia in Banja Monastery (cat. 70), which are made from heavy metal disks. The filigree technique provided a solution to the problem of supporting the weight of the disks on a hollow cylindrical handle, but comparable devices were probably in use earlier: the depiction of the Celestial Liturgy (1345–49) in the Church of Christ Pantokrator at Dečani Monastery shows the rhipidia as dotted and pierced, with a cross in the center, which may be indicative of some special technique.[70] The problem of supporting the disks is implied in Silvester Syropoulos's account of how three Byzantine rhipidia with damaged supports were recycled as a patriarchal divamboulon (candlestick with two holders), with which the Byzantine delegation could impress the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39).[71] Rhipidia made from metal disks allowed for more complex iconography. A pair of fourteenth-century Russian

examples depict Christ surrounded, in one case, by the supplicating Virgin and Saint John, together with angels, and, in the other, by the Four Evangelists.[72] Sixteenth-century Georgian rhipidia show angels and the heavenly hosts in a representation of the Celestial Liturgy, while in others from the metropolitan church at Serres and the nearby Prodromos Monastery the disposition of the angels and the seraphim around the enthroned Christ and the Christ Emmanuel resembles that on the dome.[73]

Other liturgical implements essential to the functioning of the Church were censers and lighting devices, which survive from the Late Byzantine period in the form of objects made from copper alloys (cats. 64, 65). The most common type are cast katzia (standing censers) with an openwork handle decorated with stylized foliate motifs and birds or animals. These are known from several examples, one unearthed in a tomb in Mistra and another in Kosovo, as well as others now housed in museums and monastic treasuries.[74] The cast-openwork technique and the bird and animal decoration link these katzia with Byzantine lighting devices such as chandeliers (see cat. 60), a candelabrum in the Dečani Monastery, and a polykandelon (a hanging holder for oil lamps) in the Metsovo Museum (figs. 5.7, 5.8).[75] Workshops making cast-metal objects for the market must have existed in the metal-producing areas of Serbia and large centers such as Constantinople and Thessalonike—and possibly in Serres as well, where there are indications that metalworking was carried on.[76] The production of openwork polykandela and lamps is, of course, a much older tradition,[77] but the animal themes are probably associated with thirteenth-century Islamic art. The animals in openwork circles on the polykandelon in the museum at Metsovo and on a katzion in the British Museum are strikingly reminiscent of the moving animals in so-called arrested position found on Islamic pottery from Rakka, in northern Syria.[78] Two thirteenth-century objects from the Mevlevi Convent in Ikonion, a lighting device and a spherical censer, have similar ornamentation with openwork animals.[79] These artistic exchanges occurred against a background of the recently Islamicized Seljuk Anatolia and the small states of northern Syria and Mesopotamia where Byzantine and Islamic culture still coexisted.

Similarities and reciprocal influences have also been noted in the foliate background of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Islamic and Georgian metalwork,[80] though this observation would appear to be applicable to Byzantine metalwork generally. Typical Byzantine foliate scrolls with comma-shaped leaves enclosing rounded multipetaled Byzantine palmettes[81] are also found in Islamic metalwork.[82] In some cases the arabesque quality of Byzantine foliate decoration betrays its Islamic provenance or its awareness of Islamic design. A Gospel cover in Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos consists of openwork plaquettes, probably in second use, with genuinely Islamic spiral arabesques, comma-shaped leaves, and small rings linking the strips of foliage.[83] These rings recall the similarly decorated metalwork made for Badr al-Din Lu'lu, lord of Mosul in the first half of the thirteenth century, and they continue to be employed in Islamic art throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[84] They can also be found on two icons in the monastery at Vatopedi: on the frame of a fourteenth-century mosaic icon of the Crucifixion and on the lower half of the revetment of an icon of Peter and Paul (1417).[85]

Fifteenth-century Byzantine works, such as the icon revetment at Vatopedi and the cross at Dionysiou Monastery, clearly demonstrate the transition to a new form of background decoration and foreshadow the adoption of Ottoman ornamentation in church silver. This transition need not have been a difficult one. Typical examples of the conversion to the Ottoman decorative style are the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century small bowls produced in the Balkans; they are adorned with animals or saints amid Ottoman foliate design and have an attached print in the center, as found on earlier Serbian bowls.[86] By the late sixteenth century, vessels such as the chalice of Patriarch Theoleptos (cat. 271), though retaining a Late Gothic shape, had adopted the full repertoire of Ottoman ornamentation.



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60. Choros

Byzantine, 13th–14th century
Cast copper alloy
Height (without hangings) approx. 465 cm (183 in.); diameter 350 cm (138 in.)
CONDITION: This lamp was assembled from a collection of 1,105 pieces that are believed to have constituted the components of the lighting equipment in a particular church.
Archäologische Staatssammlung München–Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Munich

The term "choros" refers to the circular space below the dome and, by extension, the circular lighting devices of Middle and Late Byzantine churches that hang from the cornice of the dome (figs. 60.1, 60.2).[1] The suspension chains of this chandelier are metal straps linked together by disks, and they terminate in a cross composed of four disks. To these crosses are attached twelve horizontal openwork strips—some shorter, some longer—decorated with strikingly stylized fabulous beasts, each with its front leg raised. In each large strip two sphinxes, face-to-face, flank a double-headed eagle and a quadruped of which the head and part of the body are visible. Attached to the top of the strips are four or six pricket candleholders, placed symmetrically on either side of a foliate cross. From the lower part of the disks hang, successively, an openwork chain, a cross whose horizontal arms terminate in small hands holding candlesticks, and a polykandelon, or small chandelier with multiple lampholders. The various sections are held together by single or double dragon-headed hooks.

The stylized beasts in this lamp recall those on a polykandelon in the Metsovo Museum and on a katzion (standing censer) in the British Museum, both groups of which display affiliations with the animals of thirteenth-century Islamic art.[2] Further examples of choroi, some intact and some fragmentary, can be found in churches in Serbia; dated examples are no earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century.[3] A choros in the Dečani Monastery (cat. 61), extensively restored in 1397 but still in its original location, has horizontal openwork strips decorated with stylized fabulous beasts wedged between passages of foliate ornament, like those found in later, Ottoman-ornamented examples on Mount Athos.[4] The summary detail and rough workmanship of the pieces that constitute the present example suggest a standardized product, unlike the above-mentioned Serbian choroi, at least two of which—from Dečani Monastery (Kosovo) and Markov Monastery near Skopje—were commissioned by royal patrons. AB

1. L. Bouras 1982, pp. 480–81.
2. Athens 2000–2001b, pp. 90–93, no. 153; for the latter, see Buckton 1994b, p. 201, no. 217. For Islamic parallels, see my essay on liturgical implements in this publication.
3. Todorović 1978.
4. Subotić 1998b, pp. 79, 238, pls. 79, 101. For choroi on Mount Athos, see Thessalonike 1997, pp. 372–73, no. 9.67; examples similar to this one may be found in the Koutloumousiou and Dionysiou monasteries.

REFERENCES: Munich 1998–99, pp. 97–100, no. 98; Paderborn 2001–2, p. 59, fig. 7.

Fig. 60.1. Detail, openwork strip, the Munich Choros

Fig. 60.2. Choros installed in the church nave of the Monastery of Xeropotamou, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Father Daniel

61A

61B

61A, B. Medallions from a Hanging Lamp (Choros)

Serbia, 1365–71
Cast bronze
20 x 16.3 cm (7⅞ x 6⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: From top to bottom, in Slavonic, вь Х(рист)а Б(ог)а бл(а)го/вѣрни краль/Вукьашинь (King Vukašin, Faithful in Christ God)
PROVENANCE: Marko's Monastery.
CONDITION: The medallion with the king's name is not damaged.
National Museum, Belgrade (2194)

These cast-bronze medallions were part of the choros in the Church of Saint Demetrios (finished 1371), Marko's Monastery, near Skopje. Its three-line inscription contains the abbreviated name of the church's founder, King Vukašin Mrnjavčević, rendered in an appliqué, or pierced, technique in the Old Church Slavonic alphabet. Vukašin, who was proclaimed king in 1365, was killed on September 26, 1371, together with his brother, Despot Jovan Uglješa, at the Battle of the Marica. These dates allow an approximate determination of the time of the production of the lamp.

The medallion bearing the king's name was brought to the National Museum in Belgrade in 1871, while the other parts of the monumental chandelier were transferred to Sofia in 1908. An identical medallion is treasured at the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. The lamp of which such medallions formed a part hung under the central dome of the church. For a reconstructed example of the original symmetrical arrangement of such a hanging lamp, with chains, medallions, and horizontal linking bars, see the previous entry (cat. 60). DrT

62. The Baptism of Christ

Old Riazan' (?), 13th century
Hammered and mercury-gilded copper, varnish, gold amalgam
32.7 x 25.9 cm (max.) (12⅞ x 10¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, Кр(е)щ(е)ние Г(оспод)а нашего, Іѡ(анн), І(исоу)с Х(ристо)съ (The Baptism of Our Lord, John, Jesus Christ)
PROVENANCE: This chance find from the vicinity of the Old Riazan' ruins entered the museum in 1909.
CONDITION: There are losses and cracks along the edges of the plaque; of the thirty-four pierced holes for attaching the plaque to its base (the door), fifteen have damaged the drawing.
State Historical Museum, Moscow (45547, 2137/1)

The plaque depicts Christ's baptism by Saint John. In the center of the composition is the figure of Jesus, standing in the River Jordan. The river's waves are depicted schematically, with zigzagging lines. John the Baptist stands on the shore and stretches his right hand over Christ's head. Venerating angels approach from the opposite shore. Above Christ is a small half-circle, representing heaven, whence the Holy Spirit, in the shape of a dove, descends upon him along a thick shaft of light. Rocky mountains rise in the background on either side. Beside Christ's legs are fish and the Cross of Calvary.

In early Russian churches, plaques like this one would cover either the front doors or the so-called royal doors on the iconostasis in front of the altar. Nails with decorated heads fastened the plaques to the wood, while the joints between the plaques were hidden with ornamented strips of copper. The images were executed by means of a mercury gilding. The copper was first covered with a composite varnish that became black upon heating. The design was scratched upon the surface and washed with an acidic solvent, for example cranberry solution, to remove oxides. The scratches were then filled with a specially prepared amalgam, a mixture of gold and mercury, and the plaque was heated. At this point the mercury would evaporate, while the gold would stick firmly to the copper surface and form shining outlines against the surrounding mat black background.[1]

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This gilding technique was known in the West as well as among the Byzantines. From Byzantium it came to Rus',[2] where it became widespread, especially for making copper church doors. The tradition of covering church doors with images and ornament was also brought to Rus' from Byzantium. Structurally, early Russian cathedral doors go back to Byzantine prototypes: they consist of two wooden wings, upon which the plaques are lined in several registers.[3]

The present plaque bears an unmistakable stylistic similarity to the Baptism plaque from the so-called Basil doors, which were made in Novgorod in 1336.[4] An attribution of this plaque to a fourteenth-century Novgorodian workshop is precluded, however, by its archaic iconography and by differences in composition (for example, the figures here are not as strongly elongated, and the three angels are more closely grouped together). An earlier, thirteenth-century date, the work of a local Riazan' workshop, is more likely.[5] The paleography of the inscription also confirms the plaque's thirteenth-century dating.[6] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Old Riazan' was known as a large center of crafts and commerce, and its jewelers produced highly refined works that count as masterpieces of early Russian decorative art.[7] In 1237 the city was sacked and burned by the Mongols, never again to regain its former prosperity. While in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the art of mercury gilding was evidently known in all the major towns of Rus', such as Kiev, Novgorod, Riazan', and Suzdal', in the fourteenth century it continued only in Novgorod, which had escaped destruction in the Mongol invasion.[8] IrS

1. Mishukov 1945, pp. 113–14.
2. Nikolaeva 1997, p. 172.
3. Sterligova 1996a, p. 254.
4. Lazarev 2000.
5. Porfiridov in Sterligova 1996a, p. 289 and n. 27.
6. *Otchet Rossiiskogo Istoricheskogo muzeia za 1909* (Moscow, 1910), p. 17.
7. Mongaĭt 1967, pp. 11–15.
8. Rybakov 1948, p. 330.

References: *Otchet Rossiiskogo Istoricheskogo muzeia za 1909* (Moscow, 1910), p. 17, fig. 4; Mishukov 1945; Rybakov 1948, pp. 325–30; Lazarev 1953; Mongaĭt 1967, pp. 11, 21, fig. 7; Schleswig–Wiesbaden 1988–89, pp. 208, 389, no. 287; Sterligova 1996a, pp. 254, 284–90; Nikolaeva 1997, pp. 172–73.

63. Iconostasis Doors with the Annunciation and the Four Evangelists

Rus' (Novgorod), 1330s–50s
Wood, red copper, gilding
136 x 93 cm (53½ x 36⅝ in.)
Inscribed: In the panel with the related image, in Slavonic, Ѝ(ит)ир Ѳ(е)ѻ, Ѧрх(аггелъ) Гавриилъ (Mother of God, Archangel Gabriel), [а]гно(с) [Іѡ](анн) о ѳеологосъ; in the book, in Greek, ο εν αρχι ην ω λογος κ(αι) ο λογος ην προς τον (Saint John the Theologian, In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with . . . [John 1:1]), in Slavonic, агносъ Лѹкаѕ (Saint Luke), Матѳѣи, on the scroll, Рече Г(оспод)ь: Просящюмоу оу тебе дан и хотящаго отъвѣзати не обрати, ако речено ѥсть: Възлю[би] (Matthew, The Lord said: "Give to everyone who begs from you, and do not refuse anyone who wants to borrow from you. For it is said: 'You shall love. . .'" [Matthew 5:42–43], Марко ѡ агнѡсъ (Saint Mark)
Provenance: Originally may have formed part of the central iconostasis of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod; removed in the course of its later refurbishing;[1] the gates subsequently discovered in a village near Novgorod, probably Kresttsy; acquired by Nikolai P. Likhachev, Saint Petersburg, for his collection in 1898; entered the State Russian Museum in 1913.
Condition: The two lowermost plaques and the insert struts at the base are lost; the background on all plaques is markedly worn; there is partial loss of gilding, especially on the frame.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (3383)

The two doors bear an image of the Annunciation in the top two panels, with the Four Evangelists below, depicted on plaques

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of gold on copper, placed on a wood base. When the doors are closed, the opening is concealed by a rounded vertical lip attached to the doors' right wing.

The "Likhachev doors" are a rare monument of early Russian culture. Fire gilding (using gold amalgamated with mercury), the technique in which they were executed, was known in western Europe, Byzantium, and, even before the Mongol conquest, in Rus'. The shape goes back to Byzantine altar doors with a semicircular top. In terms of structure, they belong to the Byzantino-Romanesque tradition, with the figural plaques being set within a densely ornamented framework. The ornament's patterns combine the Byzantine tradition of plant ornament with animal imagery—here, griffins and leopards—that is characteristic of western European Romanesque art.[2] The palmette-based vine-scroll pattern that runs along the doors' upper edge is indigenously Russian and known since pre-Mongol times. In their symbolic aspect, the images relate to the conception of altar doors as "gates to paradise." The griffins and leopards have an apotropaic significance. The griffin, moreover, symbolically stood for Christ, while in pre-Mongol Rus' leopards were a favorite heraldic device.

The figure style, with its full modeling and complex, sometimes dynamically tense poses, is related to Palaiologan art. Similar peculiarities are found in the evangelist portraits of a mid-fourteenth-century Novgorodian Gospel book (State Historical Museum, Moscow, Ms. Хлуд. 30) that obviously served as a model for the masters of the Likhachev doors.[3] The Byzantine origins of the doors' imagery are also indicated by the inscriptions, which present a mixture of Russian and Greek.[4] In terms of architectural background, treatment of drapery, and composition, the doors are close to the so-called Basil doors commissioned in 1335–36 by the Novgorod archbishop Basil for the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod. The Likhachev doors were evidently made in the same archiepiscopal workshop soon after the Basil ones, in the 1330s–50s. Textual sources point to the Cathedral of Saint Sophia as their original location.

SB

1. Sterligova 1996a, pp. 325–26.
2. See Uvarov 1910, pt. 1, pp. 58–61, pls. 117, 119, 121.
3. Popova 1980, pp. 211, 218, 248, 249.
4. On the paleography of the inscriptions, see Sobolevskii in Makovskii 1914, pp. 58–61.

REFERENCES: A. I. Sobolevskii, "Mednye vrata," in Makovskii 1914, pp. 58–61; Gal'nbek 1928; Mishukov 1945; Popova 1980, pp. 211, 218, 248, 249; Pleshanova and Likhacheva 1985, pp. 15, 196, figs. 19–21, no. 33 (with bibl.); Klimanov 1993, pp. 193–94, no. 434; Sterligova 1996a, pp. 321–26 (with bibl.); Aosta 1997, pp. 98–99.

64. Handle of a Standing Censer (Katzion)

Constantinople (Therapeia?), early 14th century
Cast bronze with engraved decorative detail
28.6 x 21 cm (11¼ x 8¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: In background to left and right of the Virgin and Child, ΜΗΡ ΘΕΟΥ Η ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΤΗCA and ΙC XC (Mother of God the Healer, Jesus Christ)
CONDITION: Conservation of the object was conducted by M. Lykiardopoulou in 1981.
Benaki Museum, Athens (11402)

All that survives of this bronze standing censer is the ogee-shaped handle with a depiction of the Virgin Hodegetria (holding the Christ Child on her left arm). The background is decorated with incised foliate scrolls terminating in three- or five-lobed palmettes and half-palmettes. Enclosed by these vegetal motifs are undecorated areas engraved with the inscriptions. The image has affiliations with late-thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century metalwork and sculpted objects.[1]

The handle belongs to a type of standing censer known as a katzion or katsion, which is mentioned in monastic typika from as early as the eleventh century.[2] Such censers are often depicted in representations of the Dormition of the Virgin or the death of saints. For this reason they have been associated with funeral rites,[3] and indeed an openwork katzion was found in a tomb in Mistra.[4] But standing censers also appear in scenes of processions involving icons, which may imply a wider ritual usage.[5]

Until the late post-Byzantine era, the broad area of the handle as a rule contained a representation of the patron saint of the church in which the vessel was to be used.[6] Accordingly, the image and the inscription on the present work suggest a provenance of a church dedicated to the Virgin Therapiotissa. A text of 1394 in the *Acta Patriarcharum* mentions the theft of silver—presumably the revetment—from the venerable icon of the Virgin Therapiotissa.[7] This confirms the existence of a devotional icon of that name which is reproduced in the katzion, but the locations of this icon and of the church in which it was housed remain to be established.

In the first publication of the censer, G. P. Veglery mentioned that the handle was found "a few years ago" at Therapeia, a northern suburb of Constantinople.[8] However, according to a reliable source—the Russian pilgrim Stephen of Novgorod, writing in 1348/49[9]—there was a Church of the Virgin Therapiotissa, presumably a pilgrimage shrine, in the first *regio* of Constantinople, close to the Church of Saint Irene and the Hodegon Monastery, an area where a large number of small churches and monasteries are recorded from 1261 onward.[10]

AD

1. Athens 2000–2001a, no. 42.
2. Gautier 1981, p. 91, col. 1222.
3. Xyngopoulos 1930, pp. 129–30.
4. Drandakis 1952, p. 504, fig. 10.
5. See, for example, the fresco illustrating the twenty-third strophe of the Akathistos Hymn in the Markov Monastery, near Skopje, ca. 1375 (N. Ševčenko 1995, fig. 6).
6. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1980, p. 20.
7. Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 2, p. 203; Oikonomidès 1991, p. 39.
8. Veglery 1909–10, p. 327.
9. I. Ševčenko 1953, pp. 168–72; Majeska 1984, p. 17.
10. Majeska 1981; Majeska 2002, p. 104.

REFERENCES: Veglery 1909–10; L. Bouras 1981, pp. 68–69; Brussels 1982, no. Br. 29; Athens 1994, no. 89; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, pl. 427; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 362–63, no. 42.

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65. Standing Censer with Military Saints

Byzantine, second half of the 13th century
Copper sheet with traces of zinc and silver,[1] originally gilt, champlevé enamel
5 x 32 cm (2 x 12⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: Α(γιος) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ, Α(γιος) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Theodore, Saint Demetrios)
CONDITION: The lid and a hollow tube once inserted in the handle are lost; the green and blue opaque enamel was randomly applied and is now damaged in places.
Benaki Museum, Athens (11469)

This standing censer, or katzion, has a shallow bowl with enameled almond-shaped recessions on the rim and a low conical base attached by a screw. The broad handle is

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made of two sheets of copper, which are held together by thirteen round-headed pins; it terminates in a small stylized leaf pierced with a hole to which a hollow tube—an extension of the handle—was once attached.[2] A raised band incised with a rope pattern surrounds part of the bowl and the medallion in which stand the military saints Theodore and Demetrios. The same technique of incision was used for the details of the saints' figures, which are reserved against the enameled background. The iconography of the military saints follows the conventions of Middle Byzantine portrayals, which continued into the Late Byzantine period.[3] We know of two other similarly shaped katzia (both now lost), which suggest that censers of this type were a specific form of luxury church vessel.[4]

The copper alloy has been described as brass, but this appears to be incorrect as the zinc content is small and accidental, arising from the copper ore. A similar use of almost pure copper occurred in the Limoges enamel workshops; it was described by Theophilus in his treatises on artists' techniques as necessary when the metal was to be embossed and gilded.[5] The Benaki Museum katzion has many technical features in common with Limoges champlevé products that are similarly gilt and made from a copper sheet in which shallow areas are dug out and filled with enamel.[6] The foliate scrolls on the enameled background are reminiscent stylistically of Limoges medallions made after the 1220s, which display similar simple foliage, including a suggestion of the ground for the figures to stand on.[7]

The champlevé technique was used in Middle Byzantine enameled inscriptions, but beginning in the thirteenth century it seems to be more widely found on silver icon revetments and Gospel covers[8] and on copper-alloy objects such as a pair of candlesticks in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland; a candlestick in the Transfiguration Monastery at Meteora; and the icon of Saint Theodore of Bathysryax in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.[9] It is probably no coincidence that Byzantine enameled copper artifacts began to appear in the thirteenth century at the same time as Limoges enamels spread to the Crusader East: examples of the latter are still to be found in monasteries in Sinai and Mount Athos and have also been located in Novgorod and Prizren.[10]

AB

1. According to Iatridis 1981, pp. 73–74, the percentages of zinc and silver are 1.0 and 0.36, respectively.
2. On the use of katzia, see cat. 64.
3. New York 1997, no. 111; Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al. 2001, nos. 32, 36–38; Parani 2003, pp. 101–58.
4. Otavsky 1994, vol. 1, pp. 239–40, vol. 2, pls. 128/10–129/11. See also Zalesskaya 1995, pp. 672–73, figs. 8–9.
5. Theophilus 1963, pp. 144–46; Forbes 1971, vol. 3, pp. 272–73.
6. Paris–New York 1995–96, pp. 49–50.
7. Ibid., p. 38, nos. 89, 116, 124–25.
8. New York 1984, pp. 176–78, no. 20; New York 1997, no. 40; Vatopedi 1998, vol. 2, fig. 433; Paris 1999b, pp. 76–79, nos. 26–27. See also the frame of the mosaic diptych in Florence (cat. 129).
9. Buckton 1994a, vol. 1, pp. 47–49, vol. 2, pls. 5, 20–21; Otavsky 1994, vol. 1, pp. 239–40, vol. 2, pls. 125–130.
10. Radojković 1966, fig. 6; Paris–New York 1995–96, pp. 45–47; Thessalonike 1997, no. 9.32. The so-called shield of Saint Merkourios in the Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos, is probably a Mosan enamel (I owe this information to Dr. Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye).

REFERENCES: L. Bouras 1981, pp. 67–68; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, pls. 426, 428.

66. Panagiarion by Master Ivan

Rus' (Novgorod), 1435
Gilt and enameled silver and copper
Height 30 cm (11⅞ in.), diameter (of plates) 22.5 cm (8⅞ in.), diameter (of base) 25 cm (9⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, on the outside of the upper plate, в лѣт(е) ѕ-ное ѳ-готное мд-е, индик(та) аі, м(е)с(е)ца семт(я)бря аі д(е)нь, на вздвиженье у(е)стного кр(е)ста створена быс(т) понагиа сн(я) повелѣньемъ прев(я)щ(е)н(а)го архиеп(и)ск(о)па великого Новагород(а) вл(ады)ци Боуѳимиа при великомъ ки(я)зѣ Васильѣ Васильевичу(е) всеиа Роусн, при ки(я)зѣ Юрьѣ Лоугвеньевичу(е), при посадникѣ великог(о) Новагород(а) Борисѣ Юрьевичу(е), при тысѧцком Дмитреѣ Васильевичу(е), а мастеръ Иванъ. Ѧрипъ [cryptography for Аминъ] (In the year 6 thousand 9 hundred and 45, the 14th of the indiction, on the 14th day of the month of September, the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, the present *panagiarion* was made at the behest of the right reverend archbishop of Novgorod the Great, the lord Euthymius, at the time of Grand Prince Vasilii Vasil'evich of All Rus', of Prince Iurii Lugven'evich, of the *posadnik* of Novgorod the Great Boris Iur'evich, [and] of the *tysiatskii* Dmitrii Vasil'evich, by Master Ivan. Amen.); on the inside of the upper plate, Бл(аго)с(ло)вень ес(и), Х(ри)с(т)е Б(о)же нашь нже премѫдрыѧ ловца кавивь низпославъ [имъ] д(у)хь С(вя)тын и тѣм вселенѫѧ ѵловивъ. У(е)л(ове)колюбуе слава тобѣ (Blessed art Thou, O Christ our God, Who hast shown forth the fishermen as supremely wise by sending down upon them the Holy Spirit, and through them didst draw the world into Thy net. O Befriender of man, glory be to Thee); on the inside of the lower plate, Ѵеснѣишꙋ херꙋви(м) і славнѣишꙋю во істинꙋ серафим, безо істлѣнна Б(о)га Слова рожъшꙋю сꙋщꙋю Б(огороди)цꙋ тѧ величаем (More honourable than the Cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the Seraphim, thee who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, the very Theotokos, thee do we magnify)
PROVENANCE: Sacristy of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia, Novgorod.
CONDITION: The lower plate is partly separated from the body of the vessel. The rim of the upper plate shows insignificant loss of the filigree ornament. Besides breaks in the angels' wings and insignificant deformation of the base, there are traces of nail punctures on the petals of the base. The piece was restored in 1977 at the State Research Institute for Restoration, Moscow. Cracks were soldered, angels' wings restored, separated details reattached, angels' halos reconstructed, and figures from the Ascension scene secured.
Novgorod Integrated Museum-Reservation, Russian Federation (268)

This silver-gilt panagiarion is a unique example of a special type of liturgical vessel. It was used at the Cathedral of Saint Sophia, Novgorod, when carrying the bread consecrated to the Virgin to the chambers of the higher orders of clergy, where the ritual of Panagia, or the Elevation of the Virgin's Bread, took place. This ritual, known in Rus' from the twelfth century, was accompanied by special psalms at the meals of archbishops, czars, and patriarchs.

The iconographic program of the panagiarion is directly related to the contents of the prayers delivered at the Panagia ritual. A scene of the Ascension made from cast figures decorates the top plate. The two-line surrounding inscription, chiseled in uncial letters, records that the vessel was created in 1435 by master silversmith Ivan and provides the name of the donor, Archbishop Evfimii.[1] Stylized vegetal filigree decorates the rim of the plate. Chiseled images of the Trinity and the Virgin Orans, with identifying inscrip-

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tions, are represented on the inner surfaces of the brightly gilded plates, and liturgical inscriptions on the hatching background frame the compositions.

Two silver plates forming the panagiarion rest on an unusually high tubular foot supported by an eight-lobed base. The foot is embellished with the cast figures of four caryatid-like angels standing on the backs of lions, whose raised arms appear to support the plates. The angels' wings are chased, and their halos are adorned by filigree corresponding to the filigree ornament on the plate. Their diamond-shaped breast ornaments, waistbands, eyes, and brows preserve traces of dark green enamel. The folds of their clothes are highly stylized. Many of these elements represent specific characteristics of the art of Novgorod, while the whole is infused with profound liturgical meaning as the heavenly angels hold aloft this symbol of the Virgin.

The copper-plated foot consists of three parts: at the bottom a rosette of eight petals or lobes, in the middle an octagonal band decorated with chiseled circles arranged in diamond-shaped patterns, and at the top a surrounding band of cast fleurs-de-lys, resembling the crowns of western European monarchs. The panagiarion from the Cathedral of Saint Sophia is the oldest object of this type[2] showing such Western influence. It represents the skill of Master Ivan of Novgorod, who created a style that blended Byzantine and local traditions with Late Romanesque and Gothic motifs. NG

1. Evfimii II, archbishop of Novgorod (1429–58), was well known for his opposition to the growing power of Moscow. Works from the so-called Evfimii workshops are among the finest examples of Novgorod's artistic production.
2. In the seventeenth century, the panagiarion was copied by a Moscow silversmith, possibly by order of the czar. The copy is now in the Oruzheinaia Palata (Arsenal) in the Moscow Kremlin.

References: Stroganov et al. 1849–53, pt. 1, pp. 84–87; P. Solov'ev 1858, pp. 207–9; Makarii 1860, pp. 208–10; I. Tolstoi and Kondakov 1889–91, vol. 6, pp. 160–62; Anisimov 1911; Pokrovskii 1912, pp. 70–82; Nekrasov 1924, pp. 80–81; Rybakov 1948, pp. 629, 654; Nikolaeva 1971, pp. 39–41; Ryndina 1978, p. 201; Sterligova 1996a, pp. 171–77.

67. Liudogoshch Cross

Iakov Fedosov
Rus' (Novgorod), 1359
Carved pine, tempera
216 x 149 cm (85 x 58⅜ in.)

Inscribed: Carved on the foot of the cross, in Slavnoic, в лѣт(е) ѕ҃ѿ҃ѯ҃ѕ҃ ниик(т) в҃і҃/поставленъ бы(с) кр(е)стъ си(и).//Г(оспод)и І(и)с(усе) Х(рист)е поми(у)и всѣ хр(и)стьяны / на всякомъ мѣстѣ молѧщасѧ тобѣ/вѣрою, у(ис)тымь с(е)рдцемь и рабомъ [sc. (ст)рахомъ] б(о)/[ж]имъ. Помози поставившимъ кр(е)стъ си(и)/людгощичамъ и мнѣ написавшемъ/ф [...]мл [...] сс ррлксст [...] ввѵмлррмл/сс+[...] ррθ (This cross was erected in the year 6867, the 12th year of the indiction. Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon all Christians who pray to you in all places with faith, good heart, and [fear] of God. Help the Liudgoshchians who erected this cross and me who wrote [this], f...ml...ss rrlksst...vvvmlrrml ss+ ...rrth); carved next to the saints' images, +С(вя)тыи Семеонъ столпьникъ плѣстоѧш[.]а [.]с[..]е (Saint Symeon the Stylite standing...); +С(вя)тыи безмѣздника и чюдотворца К[озь]ма и Дамьянъ вр(а)ца (The holy anargyroi and miracle-workers Kosmas and Damianos, physicians); +С(вя)тыи Герасимъ емлеть трость от льва из ногъ, а придъ в пѹстыню (Saint Gerasimus, having come to the desert, takes the thorn out of the lion's foot); +С(вя)тыи Федоръ Тиронъ шедъ въ кладязь побѣди змиа, а бл(агосло)вилъ Михаилъ и орѫжье далъ (Saint Theodore, having been blessed and given arms by [the Archangel] Michael, goes into the well and defeats the dragon); +С(вя)тыи θ[е]дора ведетъ м(а)т(е)рь изъ кладѧ[з]а шт змиа (Saint Theodore delivers [his] mother from the dragon in the well). Painted, Флор, Лавр (Florus, Laurus). Scratched, Іс Хс (Jesus Christ)

Provenance: Commissioned in 1359 by the inhabitants of Liudgoshch Street in Novgorod for the Church of Saints Florus and Laurus in that street.

Condition: Some of the small Greek crosses are lost; the added piece with the painted figure of the archangel in the upper part of the cross is late eighteenth century (?). The cross was restored in 1947–49.

Novgorod Integrated Museum-Reservation, Russian Federation (144)

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The Liudogoshch Cross is one of the oldest surviving monumental commemorative crosses in Russia. This unique example of Old Russian wood carving has a complex ornamental shape formed as if by bending branches around four circular spaces. The shape has analogies in the fourteenth-century stone crosses in Novgorod (for example, the Cross of Archbishop Alekseev from the Sofiiskii [Saint Sophia] Cathedral in Novgorod, dating to the 1380s). The shape, ornamentation, and choice of images decorating the cross are meant to associate it with the Old Testament tree of life, the sacrifice of Christ, and the triumph of life over death.

The front of the cross is decorated with eighteen medallions with figurative compositions and images of saints. Some of them, such as the centrally placed Crucifixion and the Deesis, are traditional for these crosses. In the upper part of the cross the image of Christ rising from the tomb embodies the concept of the Resurrection. In other medallions there are scenes from the apocryphal vitae of Samson, Saint Theodore of Tyre, and Saint Gerasimus. Among the images of the saints are a number of those particularly venerated in Novgorod, including Saints Florus and Laurus, for whose church the cross was made. Other saints represented include the prophet Elijah, Symeon the Stylite, the patron saints of soldiers George, Theodore Stratelates, and the archangel Michael, and the healing saints Kosmas and Damianos. Around the medallions, the background is filled with heart-shaped and spiral scrolls and braiding in the complex shape of the Golgotha cross.

The contents of the scenes and the style of the carved images of the Liudogoshch Cross are somewhat archaic for their time, and they more closely resemble the sculpture of Novgorod from the first half of the fourteenth century. According to the inscription on the lower part of the Liudogoshch Cross, it was commissioned in 1359 by the residents of Liudgoshch Street in Novgorod for the Church of Saints Florus and Laurus. Boris Rybakov interpreted the last two lines of the inscription as the enciphered name of the carver, Iakov, son of Fedos.[1] Anna Ryndina, following I. A. Shliapkin, believes, however, that they are an acronym of a prayer to the Holy Cross.[2] JK

1. Rybakov 1964, pp. 43–44.
2. Shliapkin 1906, p. 36; Ryndina 2000, p. 242.

REFERENCES: Makarii 1860, pp. 129–30; Shliapkin 1906, pp. 12, 24–25, 36; Alpatov and Brunov 1932, vol. 1, pp. 281–82; Sobolev 1934b, p. 138; Nekrasov 1937, p. 208; Lazarev 1947, p. 98; Rybakov 1948, p. 676; Rybakov 1964, pl. 51, pp. 43–44; Lazarev and Mneva 1989; Ryndina 2000.

67, detail of center

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68. Processional Cross

Ethiopian (Tigray region), 16th century
Wood, tin
45.7 x 21.6 cm (18 x 8½ in.)
PROVENANCE: Robert McCarthy, New York; private collection, France.
CONDITION: The cross is in excellent condition.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1999 (1999.103)

This cross was created in the region that is now the modern province of Tigray, near the Red Sea, the birthplace of Ethiopia's earliest kingdom and of Christianity in Africa. Works in wood are especially rare within the relatively small corpus of Ethiopian Christian art that predates the seventeenth century. Most of the earliest surviving Ethiopian processional crosses are cast in bronze or silver. A hollow shaft at their base allows them to be mounted on a tall staff and raised when carried in liturgical processions. In that context the work's negative space is accented against a celestial backdrop. Commissioned by Ethiopian royalty in the hope of securing salvation, such works were presented to important monasteries.

Underlying this exceptional object's aesthetic is a technically accomplished fusion of wood sculpture and metalwork inspired by Byzantine and Islamic design. The highly unusual interplay of materials affords rich tonal contrasts, and the solidly carved wood structure is skillfully integrated with the finely inscribed inlays. The French scholar Jacques Mercier has suggested this work may relate to the Gunda Gunde Monastery, near the Red Sea in the Tigray region, and has attributed it to the monk Ezana.[1] According to Mercier, Ezana belonged to the Stephanites, an order that was excommunicated from Ethiopia for refusing to recognize royal authority. While in exile in Egypt, Ezana is said to have completed training as a craftsman and to have developed skills necessary to carve wood crosses in ebony and enhance them with marquetry techniques. In light of his talent, about 1480 Ezana was summoned to the court by the Ethiopian king Naod and his order's excommunication was revoked.

In the Ethiopian Church, wood crosses are perceived as having been sanctified by Christ's blood, which has conferred upon them infinite power to heal and to bless.[2] They are ultimately emblematic of triumph, in light of their association with resurrection. Foliate and organic interlace designs, as seen here, visually reinforce this idea of the cross as a life-giving force. It has been suggested that such interlace patterns were adapted in this medium from those used in manuscript illumination. AL

1. Mercier in Walters 2001, pp. 56–57.
2. Mercier 1997, p. 71.

REFERENCES: Mercier 1997, p. 69, no. 31, fig. 63; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1998–1999* (New York, 1999), p. 70; Walters 2001, p. 57, fig. 20.

69. Rhipidion

Transylvania (Sibiu-Hermannstadt), 1468
Gilt silver
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, "John Stephen the Voivode, by the grace of God ruler of the land of Moldavia, made this rhipidion. To the church of Saint [and] great among martyrs George, in the monastery of Zographou, in Mount Athos. 7976 July 30, in that year"[1]
PROVENANCE: From the Monastery of Zographou, Mount Athos.
CONDITION: Some of the twisted wire has been lost.
The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece

This luxurious rhipidion, or liturgical fan, is one of a pair now housed at Patmos.[2] According to their inscriptions, both were given originally by Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia (r. 1457–1504), to the Athonite Zographou Monastery in 1468. Prince Stephen donated a similar pair to the Putna Monastery in Romania.[3]

The use of a rhipidion in the liturgy is attested as early as the fourth century, in the *Apostolic Constitutions,* which provides for

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deacons to stand on each side of the altar table carrying rhipidia made of fine skin, peacock feathers, or linen in order to keep insects from falling into the chalice.[4] As in other instances, a purely practical action promptly acquired symbolic meaning in the liturgy, and the rhipidia came to be identified with seraphim or cherubim.[5] Interestingly, the earliest surviving metal rhipidia, from the Kaper Koraon Treasure (577), have a border decorated with peacock feathers, while a cherub occupies the central space.[6] That the term *hexapteryga* (six-winged), a common epithet for seraphim, was also later applied to rhipidia underlines their symbolic function.[7] In a similar fashion the present work bears five circular repoussé plaques decorated with seraphim. The central one, which is the largest, also includes symbols of the evangelists.

This rhipidion is an impressive example of superb metalwork. Its intricate decorative patterns, created with the use of twisted wire set in panels of flat wire, testify to the ability and creativity of the artists. The rhipidia from Putna, and therefore those from Patmos, have been attributed to a workshop in Sibiu-Hermannstadt, Transylvania.[8]

VNM

1. S. Papadopoulos 1966, p. 93, no. 250, with amendments by Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver," in Kominis 1988, p. 371 n. 5.
2. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos in Kominis 1988, p. 224, fig. 1; see also Pallas 1954.
3. Tafrali 1925, pp. 14–15, no. 33, pl. 9; Nicolescu 1973, p. 55, no. 86, fig. 106.
4. Metzger 1985–87, Book VIII.12.11–15. See also the amusing story related by John Moschos, in *PG*, vol. 87c, cols. 3079–84.
5. "The rhipidia lead the way [during the Great Entrance] in the place of cherubs and seraphims" (Patriarch Sophronios, in *PG*, vol. 87, III, col. 4001). "[T]he representation in the rhipidia, which are in the likeness of the seraphims"; "The rhipidia and the deacons signify the six-winged seraphims and the many-eyed cherubs" (both quotes from the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Patriarch Germanos, in *PG*, vol. 98, cols. 420A, 432D; for an English translation of this work, see Germanos 1984). See also Nikolaos of Andida, in *PG*, vol. 145, col. 441B. It therefore appears that rhipidia were used early on in the Great Entrance procession. The theologian Theodore of Mopsuestia interprets symbolically the action of the deacons but not that of the rhipidia themselves, while also citing the practical reason, namely the keeping away of birds; see Tonneau and Devreesse 1949, pp. 507–9: Homily XV.27.
6. Baltimore 1986, pp. 147–54, nos. 31–32.
7. Ibid., p. 154.
8. Frolow 1947, pp. 134–35.

70. Rhipidion

Serbia, 1559–60
Silver gilt and enamel
46.4 x 35.5 cm (18¼ x 14 in.)
INSCRIBED: On the disk of the rhipidion are Old Serbian inscriptions in the Cyrillic alphabet, "It is permitted to venerate the Virgin as truth, always blessed and the absolutely blameless mother of our God, more honorable than the cherubim, and incomparably more glorious than the seraphim; We sing to Thee, we bless Thee, we thank Thee the Lord of the seraphim; We pray to Thee, our Lord. Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth are filled with His glory. Praise the Lord in the heavens. Blessed [is he who comes in the name of the Lord]; Only is holy, you alone are holy one, you alone are the Lord Jesus Christ in the glory of God the Father. On the enamel rosettes are abbreviations for The light of Christ illuminates all. On the handle of the rhipidion, These rhipidia are supplication of Makarije, the Archbishop of Peć and all Serbian lands, to the church of Saint Nicholas in Banja, in the years 1559/60"
PROVENANCE: This rhipidion was discovered in 1974 in the church of Banja Monastery during excavations conducted by the Republic Institute for Monument Protection, Belgrade. It was part of the collection of minor art objects, dating from the fifteenth to seventeenth century, that belonged to the monastery treasury, buried beneath the church floor 280 years earlier.
CONDITION: Before being buried, the rhipidion had begun to crack and was fastened by silver rivets; a tassel was missing. After excavation, it was restored, along with other finds, in 1975.
Banja Monastery near Priboj, Serbia, on temporary loan to the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade (39a)

The rhipidion consists of a disk with a hollow cylindrical handle. The latter serves as a socket for a long pole. In addition to calligraphic inscriptions containing texts from the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, both sides

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of the disk are embellished with five round medallions, which form a crosslike arrangement, and three enamel rosettes. Six-winged seraphim are engraved on four of the medallions, while the central medallion includes floral motifs. Two snakes, with wide-open jaws, grasp the handle of the rhipidion, while a frieze with leafy tendrils and buds runs parallel to the encircling lines of the inscriptions. Placed over the entire front surface of the object are tassles that create gentle sound and light effects when the rhipidion is moved.

The artistic power of the rhipidion is achieved by the skillful arrangement of its diverse elements: the organic relationship of the calligraphic inscriptions, the seraphs in the spirit of Orthodox iconography, the floral band, and the central medallion showing the influence of Turkish-Persian motifs, all have been welded into a harmonious entity. Such a stylistic symbiosis is characteristic of Serbian decorative art, especially of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Initially, rhipidia were in the shape of a fan made of peacock's feathers, parchment, or fabrics and were used for keeping insects and dirt away from sacramental elements (communion bread and wine) on the occasion of the Eucharist. Later, rhipidia, always in a pair, were manufactured of precious metals, primarily with images of seraphim and cherubim. They thus symbolize the wings of celestial powers circulating around the holy offering and are carried in solemn processions and in liturgical services.

The archbishop Makarije Sokolović, the donor of the rhipidia, was a significant sixteenth-century ecclesiastic dignitary. His renewal of the autonomy of the Serbian Church in 1557 led to the flourishing of art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He was a generous benefactor, and the rhipidia are his earliest dated gift to a church. The rhipidia from Banja, besides being among the oldest surviving examples of their kind in Serbia and Montenegro, belong to the most exquisitely executed ones.

MiŠ

REFERENCES: Madrid 1981, p. 48, no. 72, fig. 72; Šakota 1981, pp. 39–46, figs. 7–10, pl. 1.

71. Reliquary Triptych of the Skevra Monastery

Armenian Cilicia (Skevra Monastery), 1293
Silver gilt on wood
Closed 65 x 35 x 7.5 cm (25⅝ x 13¾ x 3 in.); open 65 x 69.5 x 7.5 cm (25⅝ x 27⅜ x 3 in.)
INSCRIBED: The inscription in verse says that the reliquary was made in 1293 to the order of Kostandin Katholikos, the abbot of the Skevra Monastery, who enclosed in it the relics kept by him and who dedicated it to the monastery's Church of the Holy Savior.
PROVENANCE: In 1882 in the Dominican Monastery of Santa Croce, Piemonte, Italy; Alexander Bazilevsky, Paris; in 1885 entered the imperial Hermitage, Saint Petersburg.
CONDITION: The silver plaques have been attached to a new wood frame. The wings do not close tightly; they overlap. Many plaques have been lost. There are fragments of later additions on the upper part of the central piece (the busts of Peter and Paul) and in the figure of Saint Gregory the Illuminator.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (AR-1572)

Armenian reliquaries are most commonly in triptych form. Attached to the wood base of this example are gilt-silver plaques with repoussé images of biblical figures, New Testament saints, and historical personages. Depicted full-length on the exterior, on the closed wings, are figures of the principal saints of the Armenian Church: Saint Gregory the Illuminator and Saint Thaddeus, the apostle of Armenia; medallions contain the images of Apostles Paul and Peter, Saint Eustratios and Saint Vardan, general at the Battle of Avarayr in 451. Represented inside, in the center and on the open wings, is the Crucifixion, surrounded by four medallions with the images of Saint John the Baptist,

Saint Stephen, King David, and the Armenian king Het'um II. Hammered on each of the narrow sides are ten medallions with half-length images of apostles, prophets, and fathers of the Church.

Certain techniques of the reliquary's decoration bring it close to a number of Byzantine works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as well as to earlier Cilician monuments, such as a gilt-silver Gospel cover made in the year 1255 for Katholikos Kostandin.[1] These techniques include contrasting the fully modeled figures against the smooth gold background, allowing them room within a relatively free space that is not overloaded with details, and treating the large raised inscriptions as part of the general composition. Though in its composition and repoussé technique, the Cilician Gospel cover is more restrained and monumental than this reliquary triptych, in both works the artists relied on common Byzantine models, reworking them in accordance with the style of the time.

When Katholikos Kostandin's reliquary arrived at the imperial Hermitage in 1885, it had lost many silver fragments. The central plaque that had covered the relics was missing, leaving them exposed and making it difficult to exhibit the piece in the museum. In 1900 it was restored: the old wood base was replaced by a new one and the hammered silver plaques were attached to it. The center section containing the relics was removed and brought in solemn celebration to the Winter Palace Cathedral. After the revolution it languished in the depositories of the Oriental Department of the Hermitage, but in 1990 it was found and attributed.[2] On July 12, 2000, the anniversary of the consecration of the Armenian Church of Saint Catherine in Saint Petersburg, the Hermitage presented the holy relics in the ancient wood center section to the church. AAM

1. Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, the Matenadaran, Yerevan, inv. 7690.
2. Mirzoian 1996, pls. 1–3.

REFERENCES: Carrière 1883, pls. 1, 2; Promis 1883, pp. 125–30, pls. 1–5; Der Nersessian 1964, pp. 121–34, 143–47, pls. 1–7, figs. 1–9; Kakovkin 1969, figs. 1–6; Mirzoian 1996.

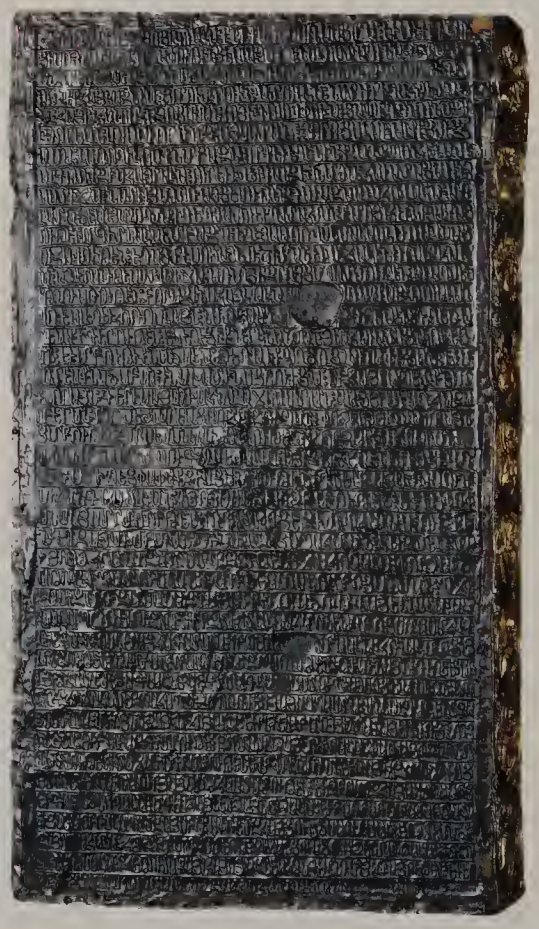
71, open

71, closed

72. Arm Reliquary of Saint Nicholas

Armenian Cilicia, 1325 (or 1315)[1]
Silver sheet, partially gilt, with filigree and gemstones on the window
Height 47.5 cm (18¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the wrist, in Armenian, "I, Kostandin katholikos, received this right [arm] of Saint Nicholas with desire of heart and gave order to make this [case for it] for my commemoration at the See of Saint Gregory during the reign of Ōshin and his son Levon in the year 774 [1325]"; on the gilded band above the filigree window, in Armenian, "[This] relic of Saint Gregory was separated by order of Lord Theodoros, katholikos"; on the part of the forearm in modern silver, dating from the restoration in 1926 is copied an earlier, now lost, inscription referring to the right arm of Saint Stephen presented by Bishop Sahak in 628 (1179).[2] The base of the reliquary is covered with a roughly contemporary silver sheet bearing the symbol of Saint Luke and the inscription "S[an]C[tu]S LUCAS"
PROVENANCE: From the Treasury of the Monastery of Saint Sofia at Sis, Armenian Cilicia; taken to Antelias, Lebanon, with other church treasures of the Armenians when they departed Turkey in the early twentieth century.
The Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilica, Antelias, Lebanon

The realistic form of reliquaries that are shaped like parts of the human body, as exemplified by this arm reliquary, originates in the Latin West.[3] But the iconography of Saint Nicholas



71, inscription on back of central panel

and the use of a medallion with his bust to indicate its contents are Byzantine.[4] The spread of the cult of Saint Nicholas in Armenian Cilicia is associated with its prominence in both Byzantium and the Latin West during the eleventh century.[5] The oldest known representation of the saint on Armenian silver is found on the reliquary-triptych of 1293 from Skevra Monastery (cat. 71), which is associated with the celebrated Franciscan monk King Het'um II.[6] The reliquary here was made in 1325, during the reign (1320–29) of Ōshin of Korykos, who had effectively usurped power from his young nephew and son-in-law, Levon IV (r. 1320–42), thus inciting the anger of the local barons.[7] It was probably intended to function as an instrument of political propaganda through its inscription asserting the legitimacy of Ōshin and of his adherent, the katholikos Kostandin IV (r. 1322–26); at a later date, together with reliquaries of the right arms of Saints Gregory the Illuminator and Silvester, it was similarly used in support of the authority of the katholikoi of Cilicia.[8]

The reliquary owes its present form to its reconstruction in 1926 from various fragments of the original case and from other, now lost, reliquaries. Most of these fragments can be identified in a photograph of 1915, although they were then arranged differently. Among them are the filigree window for viewing the relics, the inscription of Katholikos Theodore, and the interconnected medallions enclosing winged griffins, which the earlier photograph shows covering the arm—a form of decoration imitating the episcopal fabrics found on Latin reliquaries.

AB

1. The reading of the date on the inscription is difficult. Father Housig believes that the correct translation dates the arm to 1315.
2. Kiwlēsērean 1939, cols. 1325–28. The wrist of the reliquary with the first inscription and the hand with the medallion of Saint Nicholas are made from the same sheet of metal and are thus contemporary. The second inscription, on the band above the filigree window, comes from a reliquary containing the right arm of Saint Gregory; the case was split into parts by order of Katholikos Theodore II Kiliketsi (r. 1382–92) and presumably incorporated—at least one part—into this Saint Nicholas reliquary. Katholikos Theodore is known to have been murdered by the Mamlūks. In regard to the third inscription, both the reliquary of Saint Stephen and the name Bishop Sahak are unknown in the literature. On the particular significance and the symbolism of the possession of the right arm of Saint Gregory the Illuminator by the Armenian Church, see Kiwlēsērean 1939, cols. 1276–93.
3. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, nos. 145–48, pls. 128–129; Codroipo 1992, p. 60, fig. II-10; Lasko 1994, figs. 292–293; Hahn 1997, fig. 7. On Byzantine arm relics and reliquaries, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1997.
4. New York 1997, no. 332; on the facial features of Saint Nicholas, see N. Ševčenko 1999, figs. 1, 3, 20.

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5. N. Ševčenko 1983, pp. 23–24.
6. Der Nersessian 1973a, vol. 1, p. 710.
7. Mutafian 1993, pp. 80–82.
8. Ballian in Athens 2002, pp. 83–87.

REFERENCES: Kiwlēsērean 1939, cols. 1325–28; Halle 2000, pp. 16, 91; Anna Ballian, "The Treasury of the Monastery of St. Sophia at Sis," in Athens 2002, pp. 87–93.

73. Reliquary Box with Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist

Byzantine, 14th century
Tempera and gold on wood
9 x 23.5 x 9.9 cm (3⅝ x 9¼ x 4 in.)
CONDITION: The box has significant paint loss along the edges and scattered scratches on the figural decoration. Most of the identifying inscriptions have been lost.
Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Bruce Ferrini in memory of Robert P. Bergman (1999.229.a-b)

As the precursor of Christ, John the Baptist holds a revered place in the Christian tradition. The long sides of this painted wood box illustrate four of the most significant moments in the saint's life—the visitation between his mother, Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary and the annunciation of his coming birth to his father, Zacharias; John's nativity; his baptism of Christ; and his martyrdom by beheading. On each side, an intricate arabesque separates the scenes.

Numerous relics are associated with John the Baptist, who was one of the most popular saints in Byzantium. The most celebrated are remains of the saint's arms and head. Pilgrims' accounts report that such relics were adorned with a silver or gold band, often with an identifying inscription. When not on view, the relics were kept in small boxes.[1] The size and rectangular shape of this box in the Cleveland Museum of Art, which are similar to those of a reliquary (now lost) containing the left forearm and hand of John the Baptist, which arrived in Perpignan in 1323, suggest that it may once have housed a relic of the saint.

Despite the physical similarities between the two boxes, their decoration differed dramatically. The cover of the Perpignan reliquary was painted in iconic style with a winged John the Baptist, who held an open book in front of his chest with his right hand and in his left his head on a salver; the rest of the box was given over to a lengthy prayer, in Greek, dedicated to the saint.[2] In contrast, the Cleveland box has no votive or dedicatory inscription, and the painting style and composition are evocative of monumental rather than iconic painting. Both features are unusual within the context of Late Byzantine reliquaries.

BR

1. For a discussion of the relics of John the Baptist and the importance of the saint and his relics in imperial ceremony, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1997, pp. 67–79.
2. For the Perpignan reliquary, see Favreau and Michaud 1986, pp. 110–12, figs. 85–87; Paris 1992–93, no. 367, p. 477.

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74. Trebizond Casket

Byzantine (Trebizond), 1420–40
Silver gilt, niello
28 x 14 x 9 cm (11 x 5½ x 3½ in.)

INSCRIBED: In two engraved and nielloed bands of text on the casket's exterior, Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ πτήξαντες αἱμάτων χύσεις | μάτυρες ἠθλήσατε πανσθενεστάτως· | τοὺς τῆς ἑώας ἀκλινεῖς στύλους λέγω, | τὸ λαμπρὸν εὐτύχημα Τραπεζουντίων | πρώταθλον Εὐγένιον ἅμα δ' Ακύλαν | Οὐαλ[λ]εριανόν τε σὺν Κανιδίῳ. | Καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβ(ὴ)ν τῶν ἀμετρήτων πόνων | ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὑμῖν παρέχων· |καὶ γὰρ δίδωσι τοὺς στεφάνους ἀξίως | Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τάλας πλημμελημάτων γέμων | ὑμᾶς μεσίτας τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας | τίθημι φυγεῖν τὴν καταδίκην θέλων. (You, O martyrs, unshrinking from the shedding of blood/fought most all-powerfully in battle;/I speak of the enduring pillars of the East,/the splendid blessing of Trebizond,/Eugenios, the first martyr, together with Aquilas/and Valerianus and Canidius./And Christ himself bestows upon you/the reward for your countless sufferings,/For worthily he bestows the [martyrs'] crowns./And I, the one wretched, abounding in sins, and/wishing to escape condemnation,/elect you [as] the mediators for my salvation); in five engraved labels, one flanking each figure, on the casket's lid, Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ, (Jesus Christ); Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΑΚΥΛΑΣ, (Saint Aquilas); Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΣ Ο ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΤΙΖ, (Saint Eugenios of Trebizond); Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΚΑΝΙΔΙΟΣ, (Saint Canidius); Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ, (Saint Valerianus)

PROVENANCE: Listed (as no. 15) in the 1634 inventory of the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.

CONDITION: The small rings around the exterior of the cover probably secured a strand of small pearls.

Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice (33)

The figural decoration on the cover of this small but elegant casket and the twelve-line Greek inscription in iambic trimeter adorning its sides laud the four martyrs of Trebizond,

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the last Byzantine city to fall to the Turks, in 1461. The inscription also calls upon them to act as heavenly intercessors. With hands outstretched in supplication, the four saints—Aquilas, Eugenios of Trebizond, Canidius, and Valerianus—converge on Christ, who distributes the crown of martyrdom. Architectural details selected from the delicate arcade framing the figures, such as the foliate capitals and twisted-rope columns, are used on the sides to create highly decorative registers that offset the two wide bands on which the engraved and nielloed inscription appears.

This casket, almost certainly intended to house relics of the four martyrs, is a testament to the cult of Eugenios, which enjoyed popularity from the sixth century to the fall of the city. We know that the relics of the saint, a native of Trebizond, and his three companions from surrounding Chaldian villages were displayed in a special room in the Church of Saint Eugenios in silver caskets set with jewels. Among the four martyrs, Eugenios was paid special reverence, and his relics played an important role in Trapezuntine life. Carried in processions, they were believed to ward off invasion and to perform healing miracles.[1] Eugenios's significance as the patron saint of Trebizond is reflected in the casket's inscription, which celebrates him as the city's first martyr, and on the cover, which identifies Trebizond as his home.

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Little is known of the circumstances surrounding the reliquary's creation, but its dedication to the martyrs of Trebizond suggests that it was made there or, if elsewhere, then for a patron with strong ties to the city, such as the scholar-statesman Cardinal Bessarion (ca. 1403–1472).[2] Although there is no definitive proof of this connection, hypothesized by André Grabar and generally accepted, dating the casket between 1420 and 1440 does not rule out a link with Bessarion.[3]

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1. For a detailed discussion of the cult of Eugenios and his companions, see Rosenqvist 1996, pp. 21–36, 64–87.
2. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, no. 33, pp. 39–40, pl. 31.
3. Venice 1994b, no. 69, pp. 455–56.

References: Braun 1940, p. 154, pl. 20, fig. 66; Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 1, 91 n. 13, vol. 2, no. 33, pp. 39–40, pl. 31; Gallo 1967, p. 314, no. 15, pl. 30, figs. 52–53; Venice 1974, no. 113; New York 1984, no. 28, pp. 201–3 (with bibl.); Venice 1994b, no. 69, pp. 455–56; Talbot 1999, pp. 83–84; Rosenqvist 2002, pp. 210–12, fig. 3.

75. Fragment of a Triptych

Mamne Okromtchedeli (active Georgia, 16th century)
Silver gilt, 16th century
26.5 x 12.5 cm (10⅜ x 5 in.)
PROVENANCE: Bought on an unrecorded date at the bazaar in Tbilisi, according to an inventory of the Museum of Baron Shtiglits' Central School of Industrial Design, Saint Petersburg, at a price of 3 rubles per zolotnik (4.26 grams); from there, entered the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, in 1924.
CONDITION: Many parts are missing. The plaque has been reconstructed from several pieces and soldered together.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (GR-122)

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Study of this repoussé plaque chased with scenes of the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple has shown that it was once attached to the wing of a triptych. Two other fragmentary plaques—neither of which is as informative as this one—have also been located in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum.[1]

Beneath the arch at the top of the second plaque—which was part of the center panel of the triptych—there is an inscription in Georgian that reads, "Michael, Gabriel." These names probably identify the angels whose half-figures frame an arched embrasure that once contained the image of a haloed head. In the center of the arch and on the edges of the composition there are large holes where the panel was mounted. They suggest that the triptych was adorned with large gems. The third fragment, which was also part of a wing of the triptych, is decorated with a Crucifixion scene.[2]

In size and shape the three fragmentary plaques match one another: the semicircles at the top of the wing compositions repeat the arch of the center panel and are easily folded into its recess. They are also similar in style, technique, and the bright color of their gilding.

The width of the triptych can be determined quite accurately: about 30 centimeters (11⅞ inches) when closed and 60 centimeters (23⅝ inches) with the wings open. The height is more difficult to estimate, as there may have been more than two scenes on the wings.

Details of the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple suggest a connection with Cretan icons of the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.[3] The Georgian master who created these scenes translated the Byzantine painting techniques he observed on the icons into the language of chased metalwork. This can be clearly seen in the rendering of clothes, especially in the robes of the high priest Simeon in the Presentation in the Temple. It seems possible that the icons used as the basis for these scenes were created by the Cretan master Nicolaos Ritzos (late fifteenth to early sixteenth century)[4] or his circle. The style and the chasing technique identify the artist who crafted the triptych as the sixteenth-century Georgian master Mamne.[5] AAM

1. Mirzoian 2003, pp. 55–56. The inventory numbers of the two other plaques are GR-115 and GR-132.
2. It is impossible to determine how the lateral fragments were positioned on the triptych: whether on the front or the back of the left or the right wing. The fragment in this exhibition (GR-122) is conventionally assigned to the left wing, the Crucifixion fragment (GR-132) to the right wing.
3. M. Chatzidakis 1975, pl. 17, no. 13, pl. 21, no. 30, pl. 40, no. 53; Saint Petersburg 2000, nos. B-150, B-160.
4. Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 321.
5. Chubinashvili 1959, pp. 525–26, 627–28, pls. 494, 495, 501, 529; Cxartisvili 1978; Alpago-Novello et al. 1980, p. 40, figs. 82–84; Javakhishvili and Abramishvili 1986, p. 110, pls. 218–21, 226–29.

REFERENCE: Mirzoian 2003.

76. Rodop's Bell

Serbia, August 2, 1432
Cast bronze
59.1 x 42.5 cm (23¼ x 16¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the lower band and rim, in Slavonic, + Прѣс(ве)тая вл(а)д(и)ч(и)це Б(огороди)це прими малое сіе приношеніе многогрѣшнаго раба своєго Род(о)па. В лѣто ѕ҃ц҃м҃ м(е)с(е)ца августа в̄ д(е)нь. Многогрѣшны Род(о)п (Holy Lady, Mother of God, accept this small offering from your sinful servant Rodop. In the year 6940, 2nd day of the month of August. The sinful Rodop). Beside the Virgin's head, $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\theta\text{V}}$ (Mother of God).
PROVENANCE: Monastery of the Virgin Hvostanska, Hvosno,[1] Metohija, Serbia; National Museum, Belgrade, November 28, 1951.
CONDITION: The bell has a patina, and it is abraded in some places (the interior and at the edge of the rim); a clapper and one of six eyes of the support are missing.
National Museum, Belgrade (2177)

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The bronze bell is decorated with a representation of the Virgin Orans and the donor's inscription, both executed in shallow relief.[2] It has a soprano ring.[3] It is recognizably a work from the fifteenth century.[4] The same donor presented a bell to the Church of Saint Nicholas in Drenica,[5] and the same name occurs on a tombstone, carved in the shape of a low sarcophagus, at the church.[6]

The bell, the product of skillful craftsmanship, is of an elongated shape. Two bands—one near the top and the other toward the bottom—are demarcated on the outer surface. In the field in between, the linear depiction of the Virgin Orans with an inscription attests to the meticulous work of the sculptor-founder. The composition was probably modeled on an image found in frescoes of an earlier epoch in churches in the vicinity.[7] The inscription in the lower band and on the rim discloses the name of the donor, Rodop, and the date of casting, August 2, 1432.[8] Rodop was most probably the feudal lord who, on September 3, 1402, liberated Serbian despot Đurađ Branković (r. 1427–56) from a dungeon in Constantinople, where he was imprisoned after the Battle of Ankara.[9] The social status and wealth of its donor are evidenced by the value of the bell.[10]

The bell from the Church of Saint Nicholas in Drenica (now in the collection of the Patriarchate of Peć) was executed in the same manner. The theory that they were produced in the same workshop and by the same master is strengthened by their shape, the placement of the bands, the rendering of the saint's standing figure on each, the content and style of the inscriptions, and the form and number of eyes of the support.[11] While we have no information about the workshop in which the bells were cast, it is known that there were famous workshops for casting bells in the Croatian and Montenegran littoral and that traveling master founders lived and worked in these regions.[12]

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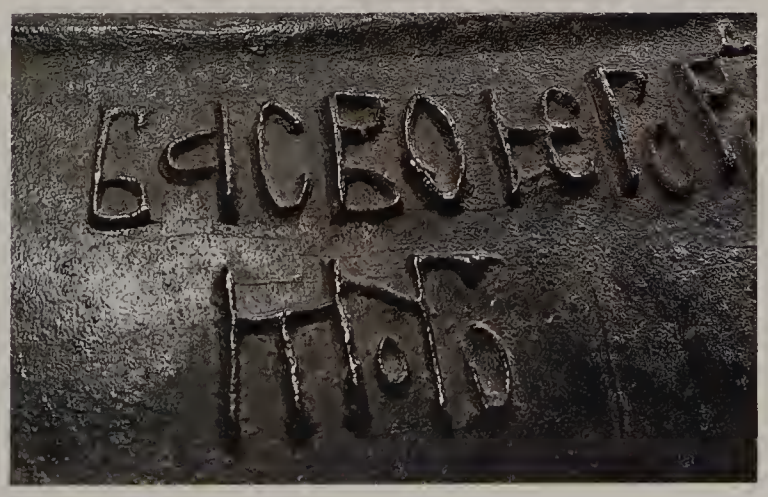
1. Reliable data on the find do not exist, but it is mentioned in the literature together with objects found in inexpertly conducted excavations; see S. Petković 1987, p. 24.
2. Jovanović 1991, pp. 229–30 (with earlier bibl.).
3. P. Popović 1926–27, p. 108.
4. Ibid., p. 110.
5. Ibid., pp. 105–7; Đ. Radojičić 1940, p. 52; Jovanović 1991, pp. 229–30.
6. V. Petković 1927, p. 116; Babić 1972, p. 149, fig. 8; Tomović 1974, p. 112; Ivanović 1984, pp. 33–34; Jovanović 1991, pp. 229–32.
7. S. Petković 1987, p. 46; Müller 1986, p. 92; Panić and Babić 1975 (2d ed.), p. 130, fig. 22.
8. L. Stojanović 1902–26, vol. 1, p. 84, no. 255.
9. Đ. Radojičić 1940, pp. 51–53; Dinić 1978, pp. 403–4; Jovanka Kalić in Srejović et al. 1981–93, vol. 2, p. 67; Jovanović 1991, pp. 235–38; Spasić et al. 1991, pp. 135–36; Spremić 1994, p. 203; Blagojević 1997, p. 194.
10. Opinions on the identification of the historical personality with the donor of the bell differ; see Jovanović 1991, p. 236.
11. P. Popović 1926–27, p. 110; Jovanović 1991, pp. 229–30.
12. Radojković 1977a, vol. 3, p. 87.



76, detail of inscription

Images: Expressions of Faith and Power

ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR

This exhibition embraces the cultures invested in the Byzantine icon. It delineates a geography of indebtedness to Byzantium that includes not only the heirs of Orthodox Christianity but the Ottoman heirs of Byzantium's political system and the churches of the European West as well. The sacred imagery of Byzantium was an investment for the empire itself. By the late thirteenth century, the starting point for our exhibition, it was already drawing heavily on the stored capital of its venerable and richly diversified cultural legacy. This legacy was as fundamental to the value of European and other Christian sacred imageries as it was to Byzantium itself, and by the time Byzantium had been extinguished as a political force, cultures throughout Europe and the Middle East were committed to the health and maintenance of its imagery. So it was that as Byzantium waned its visual culture throve, and in fact great icons were more numerous in the mid-sixteenth century, when our exhibition ends, than they were in the radiant years of restitution and revival about 1300. Byzantium put in place a gold standard for the value of sacred imagery that proved extraordinarily pure and powerful throughout early modernity. This is the story our exhibition tells.

This essay addresses the medium of the icon.[1] The icon has a double definition. The primary one is functional: icons are images venerated as holy in the Orthodox Church. But to modern viewers the icon also implies a specific form: icons are panel paintings on a golden ground. The icon as defined in functional terms has been integral to Orthodoxy since at least 843, the end of the era of Iconoclasm; on the other hand, the relation of holy images to the painted panel is far less clearly understood, and the assumption that the Orthodox image was always embodied in this medium should be resisted. Medium, like shape and themes, was a means by which the icon negotiated the demands of historical change. It may only have been in the centuries embraced by this exhibition that panel painting finally became the definitive medium of the holy image. This reflects shifts within Orthodoxy itself, but it affected a wider world, too, for the portable panel proved to be very marketable, and the icons of late and post-Byzantium enjoyed an appreciation that went far beyond Orthodoxy alone. The icon's life at the end of Byzantium is one of the themes of our exhibition.

Among the features that most visibly distinguish Late Byzantine art is the quantity of panel-painted icons. From no earlier period are panel paintings preserved in large numbers. Surely related to this is a second significant feature: the large size of many of the panels. Icons had always existed in monumental scale, but in mural media of fresco, mosaic, or stained glass, not as panel paintings.[2] The same imagery had flourished in small scale, too, as personal icons. Being small, personal icons had migrated readily into precious media—gold, silver, gemstones, ivory, and cloisonné enamel—substances so costly that they may in turn have encouraged private images to remain small. It is these precious objects that survive.[3] The more modest and perishable wood panel must have existed alongside these richer media, but surviving examples are rare before the twelfth century.[4] At this point they become more numerous, as well as larger: one begins to find panels of as much as a yard in height. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, panels of six feet in height are not unusual, and many are larger. Fully a third of the panels in our exhibition are more than four feet high. Something, in short, was expanding the scale of a modest medium and increasing its patronage.

A major force behind this transformation must have been the practice of affixing images to the templon, the wood or masonry screen that segregated the sanctuary in churches.[5] Opaque in its lower portions, the templon was open above, with columns supporting an architrave. Already in the eighth century we hear that the outer face of the templon was where the laity gathered to pray and that images were placed there.[6]

Fig. 6.1. A proskynetarion in situ, Markov Monastery, FYR–Macedonia. Photo: Annemarie Weyl Carr

Fig. 6.2. Icon with the Virgin Theoskepaste. Tempera on panel, late 14th century. Church of the Virgin Theoskepaste, Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus. Photo: Annemarie Weyl Carr

These must have been on the architrave, leaving the view through the columns unimpeded. Only as the celebration of the mysteries was gradually shrouded from view in the later Byzantine centuries did the imagery on the templon expand, initially along a beam above the architrave, but eventually between the columns, too, both compensating for and occluding the vista into the sanctuary. These images were usually supplied on wood. As wood panels became the customary medium for templon images, the trade in panel painting surely expanded, stimulating the increased production of both small- and large-scale panels that distinguishes Late Byzantine art.[7]

The Byzantine templon never assumed the many-tiered complexity of the later Russian iconostasis with permanently fixed icons. Its images remained movable adjuncts to the columniated structure. Nonetheless, by the late thirteenth century its adornment had become standard enough to impose particular shapes, subjects, and sizes on painted panels. Panels of four feet to six feet in height were most probably made to fit between the templon's columns, as so-called dominant or "despotic" icons, though some panels of this size were placed in specially framed icon stands or "thrones" for particular veneration (fig. 6.2).[8] Usually, though not always, the despotic icons show half-length figures of Christ, his mother, the archangels, or saints. The "holy doors" at the entrance to the sanctuary were painted with the Annunciation or with saints (see cat. 125). Running along the top of the templon, in turn, were icons of about one-and-a-half to two feet in height, arranged in standardized sequences: usually either the Great Deesis, showing Christ flanked by his mother, the Baptist, and assorted angels, apostles, and saints, or the dodekaorton, the cycle of major theophanic scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary. Icons of this scale were also stored in considerable numbers on the aisle and sanctuary walls of churches and were placed for veneration on an icon stand, or proskynetarion, on the day sacred to their subject (fig. 6.1). Little panels of six to eighteen inches, finally, may have had a place in the templon as "kissing icons," affixed below much-venerated despotic icons to receive the attentions that were beginning to abrade the large panels, such as the one shown in the frontispiece to the Hamilton Psalter (cat. 77). The vast majority of these little icons, however, were surely private panels for personal devotion at home or in a monastic cell. Monastic regulations varied with respect to the personal ownership of icons,[9] but one of the hermits in the icon of the Dormition of Saint Ephrem (cat. 80) is shown venerating a tiny icon in his cave. Wills make it clear that many homes contained icons; the small monetary value assigned to most of them implies that they were wood panels and reinforces the impression given by saints' lives that ownership of icons extended far down the social ladder.[10] Domestic icons played a wide range of roles, as devotional aids, repositories of individual and family identity, apotropaia or talismans against evil, and magical tools for predicting the future.[11] Templon icons probably received more conventionally formal veneration—a bow, a kiss, a surge of contemplative recognition—but those singled out for special attention could, again, become the focus of exceptional and even miraculous expectations.

The style of Late Byzantine icons will be discussed later in this essay, but it is important to note here the heightened emphasis on volume and the extremely sensitive interplay between figure and surrounding space that comes with it. One sees this already in the single-figure compositions, where the form is both silhouetted against the gold ground and modeled as if enveloped three-dimensionally in its light. But the same is true in scenes. Here the figures appear not against a ground but within a spatial setting, and the setting expands dramatically in Palaiologan art, leaving the figures small in its precipitous spaces (as in cat. 117). Vast as these spaces are, though, they remain tense and eloquently bound to the human gestures that punctuate them. Such spatial eloquence was brilliantly suited to images of desert asceticism. Desert imagery was deeply rooted in Byzantine book illumination, as exemplified by cat. 31, but from the late thirteenth century onward it migrated into icons, too. Enhanced by the expanded spaces of Late Byzantine art, the imagery yielded a novel kind of icon exemplified by the Dormition of Saint Ephrem (cat. 80), one that is not so much of a holy person—the holy man here lies dead—than it is of the living, holy space that defined him.[12] This kind of "landscape icon" of a holy place surely lies behind El Greco's paintings of Sinai and helps to explain why a person trained as an iconographer—as he was—should have become one of Europe's earliest and most potent landscape painters.[13]

Many of the icons in our exhibition are despotic icons. The figures in Middle Byzantine panels had rarely exceeded the size of a real person, but as the Palaiologan painters filled the intercolumniations of large churches, their figures grew. Six-foot half-lengths like those of Christ and the Virgin Psychosostria from Ohrid (cats. 153, 154) equal in their monumental size the

fresco figures surrounding them. This expansion to architectural scale surely contributed to the emerging importance of panel painting. Even in a fully frescoed church such panels could claim attention as *the* icons there. They could, moreover, claim something that the mural icons could not: they looked just like the panels of personal scale, painted in the very same medium, that Christians prayed to privately in their own homes. The six-foot Virgin Psychosostria from Ohrid in its silver frame (cat. 153) would scarcely differ from the eighteen-inch icon from Moscow (cat. 4) if they were reproduced side by side in a book. They are, in this sense, much the same. Yet they engage radically different spaces of prayer. This union is seamlessly effected in the medium of the painted panel. Only far more rarely—given its expense—could the same unity have been effected in mosaic (as it is in the case of cat. 126).

The isolated despotic panels in our exhibition do not reveal one crucial feature of icons: their sociability. Icons function in complexes and respond to one another. This is true of the templon itself, where icons large and small, despotic icons, feast icons, and Great Deesis icons coalesce in a complex of mutually complementary perspectives on the divine presence. Much the same complementarity occurs in the personal icons, and it is often in these carefully integrated, small images that one can best observe the distinctive modes of message-making in Late Byzantine art.

A special case of mutuality is seen in the bilateral, or two-sided, panels.[14] A number of Late Byzantine icons of despotic size or larger were painted with figural imagery on both sides. These are generally assumed to have been designed for processions, when both images could be seen. Several are (or were) mounted on poles (see figs. 6.2, 6.3), and they are presumed to have been processed in the way the famous bilateral icon of Suzdal'—which is on a pole—is shown in the great panel depicting the battle between Novgorod and Suzdal' (cat. 79). It is, in fact, in much this way that the mighty Virgin Hodegetria icon—described by Palaiologan viewers as huge and bilateral—was carried in its processions through Constantinople. Carrying the Hodegetria was a specialized feat, however, much marveled at and managed only by strapping the pole firmly to the full trunk of the bearer.[15] The poles seem to have been used to affix panels to templons or thrones or elsewhere (see fig. 6.3), and as the paintings grew in size the poles only complicated their procession. Far more customarily, it seems, big icons were carried as they are today, propped on decorated litters or trolleys in a way that obscures their back (figs. 6.4, 6.5). Thus, the bilateral icons may, instead, have been made for special thrones, larger than the usual proskynetaria, that permitted both sides to be seen.[16] As yet, however, no such thrones are known. Sharon Gerstel has recently suggested that the big bilaterals were actually despotic icons of a type designed to address two worlds—the lay world outside the templon, with one face, and the clerical world inside, with the other.[17] Certainly this is the way many are displayed today. Yet the themes of their two faces communicate so specifically with one another that it is hard to believe both sides were not visible. Their close relationship is underscored by the frequency with which the themes paired on bilateral icons are found again in small personal diptychs, where they could be seen side by side: thus the Mother of God and the Crucifixion, paired in two large bilateral icons in this exhibition (cats. 90, 103). are paired also in the small Ryerson Diptych (cat. 288).[18] Though the manner of their display remains unclear, then, the themes of the bilateral icons are instructive. They reinforce the deep mutuality of iconic images, which function in resonance with one another. And they reinforce the community of themes in large panels and small.

A particularly vivid demonstration of both points is seen in the bilateral icon from the Vlatadon Monastery in Thessalonike (cat. 82). Here a little fourteenth-century icon with an exceptionally intricate enactment of the Celestial Eucharist was embedded in a new icon of despotic size. The new icon creates a setting for the small one, as its tiny "virtual sanctuary" is supported at either side by the "pillars" of the church, Saints Peter and Paul, and is overseen from above by the celestial liturgy of Christ in heaven while protected below by a troop of military saints, like the honor guards of soldiers who still accompany great holy icons in Greek ceremonies (see fig. 6.5). The icon's

Fig. 6.3. Icon installed for veneration in an outdoor ceremony. Tempera on vellum, 14th century. Athens, Benaki Museum (Ms. 34.3, fol. 194r). Courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 6.4. Akathistos Hymn: Strophe 24, with celebration of the Hodegetria. Fresco, 14th century, Markov Monastery, FYR–Macedonia. Photo: Bruce White

back shows the Crucifixion, archetype simultaneously of the eucharistic sacrifice depicted in the little icon and the Eucharist performed behind the templon to which the new icon may have been affixed. Large icon and small, front and back, form a seamless and mutually enhancing dialogue. One wonders whether the small icon was a cherished possession of the monk portrayed on the big icon's back.

The role of personal expression in Late Byzantine icons is best explored through donors. Late Byzantium is rich in icons personalized by inscriptions, by donor portraits, or by their small and thus private scale. Especially memorable are those with metal revetments and the tiny icons worked in the immensely precious and labor-intensive medium of miniature mosaic. Here, where diminutive size is a measure of greatness, we see clearly how the personal could favor the deliberately small and intricate. Often inscribed with great feeling, such icons invite speculation about their owners' individuality.[19] The icons of five women patrons offer an opportunity to take up this invitation. The hauntingly beautiful Pantokrator (cat. 307) of Anna Notaras,[20] patron and protector of Byzantine culture, was nearly a century old when she took it from Constantinople on the eve of the city's fall. It reflects above all the discerning eye of a consummate collector, but the other icons exhibit the patrons' personal intervention. Helena of Anjou (d. 1314), Catholic, French-born empress of Serbia and regent for her sons Milutin and Dragutin, gave to the Vatican an icon of Saints Peter and Paul (cat. 23) in which her sons are shown venerating the apostle-princes in postures appropriate to their Orthodox creed, while she herself is portrayed receiving the personal blessing of Saint Nicholas, namesake of the pope. Maria Angelina Palaiologina (d. 1394), wife of successive despots of Epiros, is portrayed in no fewer than three surviving icons of superb quality, one a rare and dazzlingly rich example of a reliquary icon and another exceptional for its inclusion of Maria herself among Jesus's disciples at the Doubting of Thomas (cat. 24). Sophia Palaiologina, Byzantine wife of Grand Duke Ivan III, and her daughter-in-law, Helena Stephanovna, who supported a major workshop of embroidery, are both represented in an embroidered podea for an icon of the Hodegetria that Sophia had brought to Russia (cat. 195). In the scene stitched on the rich cloth both the icon itself and the women are shown participating in the ceremony of the coronation of Helena's son as czar. The identity of the fifth patron, the empress Helena who commissioned the large and extremely beautiful bilateral Poganovo icon (cat. 117) remains a subject of debate. Striking in these icons are the patrons' active engagement in the scenes: Helena of Anjou enters the space of Saint Nicholas; Maria Palaiologina retains in two of her portraits the intimate place at the feet of the Mother of God that had been occupied already by Middle Byzantine donors, and she actually enters the scene of the Doubting Thomas; Sophia Palaiologina stands prominently with the ladies of the court; and the empress Helena stands side

by side in equal scale with Christ's beloved apostle John. The intensity felt in icon inscriptions is made visible in these participative images. All four, moreover, embraced innovation. Sophia, in her icon of a ceremony with an icon, adopted a kind of ceremonial image that was new in Late Byzantium. Helena of Anjou's icon, in which the figures of Peter and Paul are copied from early Christian icons of those apostle-princes in the Vatican,[21] has always been recognized as tailored to a unique context. Maria Palaiologina not only sponsored her unusual icon of the Doubting Thomas but produced in her reliquary icon a work of composite function that is rare in the extreme. The combination of themes on the Poganovo icon, finally, is so unusual that it has so far eluded adequate exegesis. These works show that their sponsors did not hesitate to shape imagery to their needs and in this sense to express themselves. That said, the message intended in two of the cases—the Doubting Thomas of Maria Palaiologina and the Poganovo icon—has proved ambiguous, and while the impulse to rely for an interpretation upon emotionally wrenching biographical details is probably unwarranted in either case, the individuality of the imagery has made its intended content elusive over time.

Perhaps the most valuable way of probing the messages of icons is by observing how images are related to one another. This was—as noted—the way the messages of icons on the templon were composed. Recurrently in the small, personal icons, too, multiple images are conjoined. They may be paired: we have remarked that small diptychs often repeat pairings seen in bilateral icons, as the Ryerson Diptych (cat. 288) echoes the coupling of the Crucifixion and the Mother of God seen in cats. 90 and 103. A more extensive cluster of multiple images that are often seen together is the dodekaorton, or twelve-feast cycle, a variable but readily recognizable sequence of major theophanies drawn from the lives of Christ and his mother.[22] Often aligned along the top of the templon, depictions of the dodekaorton also appear in images of personal scale, such as the Florence Diptych (cat. 129), and on the frames of icons of the Mother of God as in Istanbul (cat. 90) and Athens (cat. 305). Endlessly inflected by the specific selection and sequence of its scenes, it narrates the biography of Jesus, images his Incarnation by bracketing his life with scenes of Mary and so embedding his humanity in her body, and displays the eternal round of the Christian year by depicting its major feasts. Open like a book in the Florence Diptych, the dodekaorton offers a year-round "icon for all seasons," a narrative of Jesus's life, and a dialectical meditation on paired themes of abasement and exaltation, descent and ascension in Christian theology. In the Istanbul icon, by contrast, it is a circuit framing Mary. Enclosing her in the Church year, it invites us to see in her an image of the Church; at the same time, placing the Nativity and Ascension centrally above and below her, it inflects the message of her child, framing him in eucharistic terms as both the "bread fit to eat" that came down from heaven at the Nativity and the eternally living flesh of the Ascension. He responds to this message by assuming the recumbent posture of the Host in the paten, his mother's arms becoming thus the altar on which he is consecrated to his saving mortality. The dodekaorton scenes in the Athens icon are now incomplete, but one can see that their selection differed from that of the Istanbul icon, shifting the frame of reference within which the central icon is seen.

The dodekaorton is one of a number of framing devices in icons, and none is casual. This emerges from a comparison of cats. 4 and 151, both small, precious icons showing the Mother of God with the name and pose of the famous Constantinopolitan palladion, the Hodegetria. As in the Istanbul and Athens icons just examined, Mary in cat. 151 is surrounded by scenes. But this time they are scenes of her own life—her vita. The vita icon was a widespread type, attesting the miracle-working powers of a saint by surrounding a central icon with scenes of his or her miraculous life.[23] It is represented in our exhibition by the podea of Saint Cyril of Belozersk (cat. 198). Framing the saint's icon with scenes of miracles, the vita affirmed not only the saint but the icon itself as a source of saintly power.[24] This is especially overt in the case of the Mandylion: here the story in the frame recounts the miracles not of a saint, but of the very image depicted at the center, a cloth that Jesus imprinted with his face and gave to King Abgar of Edessa. Mary became the subject of vita icons only late and in very much this way: overwhelmingly, her vita surrounds icons that replicate great miracle-working images of her.[25] Cat. 151, in short, is not simply an icon of Mary but also a replication of an attested site of her power: it is an icon of a great icon of her. The vita scenes frame it as such. In cat. 4, however, the frame contains not stories but figures, including the standing figures of the icon's patrons, Constantine Akropolites and Maria Tornikina Komnene Akropolitissa, his wife. Like Helena of Anjou, Maria Angelina Palaiologina, and the empress Helena, they are the icon's votaries. But unlike

Fig. 6.5. Celebration of the Soumeliotissa on August 15, 1990. Church of Nea Soumela, Kastania, Greece. Photo: Annemarie Weyl Carr

these women, who step into the frame to engage with active and corporal immediacy the saints whom they honor, Constantine and his wife stand in the frame. Presumably, the image inside the frame is not a penetrable world of holy people; it is an icon. They contemplate it from the close proximity of the frame like one who bends to a proskynetarion. As in cat. 151, it is an icon not of Mary simply, but of her great icon of the Hodegetria.

With this, we approach what is probably the single most striking aspect of the Late Byzantine icon. We have spoken of the growing importance of the panel painting, in number and scale, and watched the ways in which images played across their surfaces, often in responsive clusters that surprise our expectation of the icon as a single figure or image. Accompanying these is a third important development in the treatment of icons in the Late Byzantine centuries. One finds a self-referentiality in the images at this point that is new and full of import for the future.

A symptom of this development is the prevalence of icons that show icons. We have seen this already in the podea of Sophia Palaiologina, the frontispiece to the Hamilton Psalter, the icon of the Dormition of Saint Ephrem, and the icon of the Battle of Novgorod and Suzdal'. The icon of Helena of Anjou, too, portrays Saints Peter and Paul by portraying famous early icons of them. Perhaps the most remarkable example of an icon in an icon in this overt sense is the exquisite small painting of the Feast of Orthodoxy (cat. 78). Like the podea of Sophia Palaiologina, it shows an official ceremony in a composition centered upon an icon. Images of this sort recur in pictorial cycles of the Akathistos Hymn, the great paean to Mary (fig. 6.4, cat. 172).[26] In our icon we see the ceremony that affirms icons par excellence: the liturgy celebrated in 843, at the end of Iconoclasm, and repeated annually ever since, to mark the official recognition of icons as integral to Orthodox religious practice. The significance of the event is summed up not by the historical figures who accomplished it but in the great frontal icon that dominates the upper register, an icon as frontal as any saint, compelling the viewer's recognition and respect. To view the icon of the Feast of Orthodoxy is to acknowledge the icon within it, and so to acknowledge the validity of icons themselves. No less than the icon from the Vlatadon Monastery with the little icon mounted in it (cat. 82), this is an artful and deliberately self-referential icon in an icon.

But there is another way in which we see icons in icons: the way we analyzed in the icon of Constantine Akropolites and his wife, and in the icon with Mary's vita (cats. 151, 4). We discussed these icons in terms of their frames, which are important because they shape our perception of the image within. This they present as an image of a great icon. The whole complex of images is in this sense a means of reference to a single, central image, which itself refers to a great image.

This kind of self-referentiality, deeply ingrained in Late Byzantine icons, is most vividly mobilized in the great pilgrimage icons. By far the most famous of these was the Hodegetria.[27] Familiar through her erect posture, gesturing with her right hand to the fully clad Child enthroned on her left arm, the Hodegetria was the protective icon of the city of Constantinople. It is the Hodegetria who is shown in most of the icons-in-icons we have inventoried so far: both of the icons with precious-metal frames, the podea, the Dormition of Saint Ephrem, and the Hamilton Psalter frontispiece all show her form, and we recognize her at once in the icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy as well. Believed from at least the twelfth century onward to have been painted in Mary's presence by the evangelist Luke and thus to be coeval with Gospel scripture itself, the Hodegetria emerges from the mists of legend into fitful visibility by about 1100;[28] figuring prominently in the Crusader history of Constantinople, it preceded Michael VIII Palaiologos into his recovered capital in 1261 as the "unconquerable general" of his army and was a staple of Constantinopolitan ritual thereafter. Each Tuesday it was carried in procession before great crowds of pilgrims and venerators by a special, hereditary confraternity of singers who wore scarlet costumes and had mastered the art of supporting the (by then) huge, bilateral panel in spectacular solo performances in which they staggered from side to side, inclining the panel to individuals in the crowd.[29] A measure of the degree to which the icon—and above all this icon—had taken its place between the Mother of God and her devotees is seen in the stories of Constantinople's miraculous delivery from the Avars in 626; variously described in earlier centuries as due to Mary herself or to the relic of her maphorion, it was attributed by Nikephoros Kallistos in the fourteenth century to her icon: that is, the Hodegetria. Her icon had become the image of her power. That Constantinople fell to the Ottomans on a Tuesday—May 29, 1453—and the Hodegetria itself was smashed on that day remains indelibly embedded in Greek sensibility.

A splendid picture of the Hodegetria's processions survives, albeit barely, in a fresco near Arta, in western Greece (fig. 6.6).[30] The icon, scantly legible but identified by an inscription, is strapped as in Sophia's podea to the body of a single bearer, who stands at the center of a crowd thronging with singers, venerators, vendors, and the whole apparatus of urban spectacle. Whether this is the ceremony of "the" Hodegetria or of a local equivalent is harder to know. Already in the twelfth century we hear of an icon in Thessalonike named Hodegetria that was honored with special processions embracing the city in her protection,[31] and the appropriation of the Hodegetria's far-famed charisma accelerated in the Late Byzantine centuries. This is precisely what Sophia Palaiologina did: she brought an icon of the Hodegetria's type to Moscow and integrated the charismatic connotations of its form into her grandson's imperial image. Very much the same thing may be illustrated in the Hamilton Psalter (cat. 77), where a family in red clothing is assembled in front of what may be the "Hodegetria" of their city or clan. Cimabue in his famous *Maestà,* Coppo di Marcovaldo in his *Madonna del Bordone,* and the San Bernardino Master in his con-

summate altarpiece (cat. 287) did much the same for their Italian cities.[32] Meanwhile, in both Cyprus and Kiev, locally famous icons of the Mother of God—the Virgin of Vladimir in Russia, the Kykkotissa in Cyprus—were invested with the Hodegetria's might by being given ceremonial processions akin to those of the Constantinopolitan icon.[33] Yet another dimension of the Hodegetria's appropriation appears in the great despotic icons of Mary from Ohrid: though named with epithets relevant to the local congregation—Peribleptos and Psychosostria (cat. 99)—they have the posture of the Hodegetria and so draw upon the Hodegetria's deep reservoir of present grace. Finally, the palladion's power entered the very lives and devotions of private individuals like Constantine Akropolites (cat. 4) and the patron of cat. 151. This can occur because the panels proclaim their images to be not icons of Mary simply, but icons of her mighty icon.

The Hodegetria is the most famous of the pilgrimage icons, but others emerged in the Late Byzantine centuries as well. The great majority show the Mother of God. At this time Orthodox monasteries, hard-pressed by the loss of their customary patrons, and perhaps inspired to some extent by western European religious tourism, began to promote the cult icons that would remain their signature images in the Ottoman period. The Virgin Megaspilaiotissa in the Peloponnesos;[34] the Soumeliotissa in the Pontos;[35] the Kykkotissa,[36] Machairiotissa,[37] and Phaneromene in Cyprus;[38] the Tricheirousa and Karyiotissa (now known as the Axion Estin) on Mount Athos;[39] and the Pelagonitissa in Macedonia[40] are all icons that became, like the Hodegetria, the focus of a significant cult. We call them pilgrimage icons because they had "proskynetai," the Greek term for pilgrims. A "proskynetes" literally is one who venerates. And the icons attracted their pilgrims less by drawing them onto journeys than by going out to them, reaching out across distances through recognizable icons of icons. Exemplary in our exhibition are the icons replicating the great miracle-working icon of Kykkos Monastery on Cyprus. We do not know the early history of the Kykkotissa, as this icon is named; the composition used in its image, with the Child twisting in his mother's embrace, is known already in the early twelfth century, but its special status is not evidenced until the later fourteenth century, when a spate of iconographically nearly identical panels, including cat. 91, signal an icon of very strong individual identity behind them: signal, in this sense, that they are not icons merely, but icons of a great icon.[41] By the early sixteenth century, this visual identity was reinforced by the name "Kykkotissa," confirming the bond with the icon at Kykkos. The icon thus labeled bears in the fringes of the Virgin's veil the words "by the hand of the humble Luke"—an artist's signature, or a reference to Saint Luke the Evangelist? Its presence reminds us that the icon of Kykkos was among those that acquired in the course of the fifteenth century the kind of peripatetic processions associated with the Hodegetria, making it a local counterpart of the Constantinopolitan palladion. Like the Hodegetria, the Kykkotissa is known by its image, carried to its pilgrims by the recognizable self-referentiality of its images. The icons cats. 92 and 211 permit us to watch the same process in the case of another great iconic type, again a composition developed in the twelfth century and canonized as a cult icon in the Late Byzantine period. By the early fourteenth century it was known in Serbia as the Pelagonitissa, the name on the larger of our two icons, which also is signed in the Virgin's maphorion by the painter Makarios. The exquisite small icon of this type, on the other hand, is not named, showing that poses could function well without names, referring to their originals quite adequately through visual reference alone. These two icons, so radically different in scale, reinforce the message of the framed icons of the Hodegetria discussed earlier: the referential capacity of the image enabled icons of monumental power to enter the very hands and homes of individual proskynetai.

Distinctive to the Late Byzantine period is the degree to which the images of preference become in this way canonized and—in important cases—named. It is a process seen especially clearly in the imagery of Christ and the Mother of God. They follow what might be seen as opposite paths. Christ's portraits are distilled to the purest and most irreducible form, as seen most radically in the Mandylion. The Mandylion was an imprint of his face on a towel that Jesus was believed to have sent before his death to Abgar of Edessa.[42] It was brought in triumph to Constantinople in 944 but was only rarely reproduced before the late twelfth century. At this time a highly condensed version was created. It was especially effective on panels, as in cat. 95. The panel was painted to represent the towel; then the face alone—without neck, bust, or sometimes even halo—was painted upon it as if imprinted upon the icon itself.[43] Although the largest number of surviving examples are from Russia, its cult was surely nourished from Constantinople, where the famous relic saw a kind of posthumous resurrection despite its loss during the Latin interregnum. The "Holy Face," as it was later called, reduced the image of Christ—precisely—to an image of an image: simultaneously a sign and a sacred presence. Its very currency bespeaks an engagement with the image that was powerful because the Holy Face was the image of an image.

If Christ's images became distilled to their most quintessentially iconographic, Mary's images became ever more meticulously differentiated.[44] They retained the dynamic, deliberately moving postures of Mother and Child that had been decocted in the course of the twelfth century from narrative episodes: the pose later known as the Kykkotissa from the Presentation in the Temple;[45] that of the Kardiotissa from the Flight into Egypt;[46] the Virgin kissing the Child's hand from the Deposition from the Cross;[47] the various versions of the Glykophilousa from the Lamentation;[48] the pose of the Pelagonitissa from the swaddling and shrouding.[49] But the postures were progressively stabilized into set types. Their vitality resided less in the energetic

reconceptualization of two responsive bodies, as it had in the twelfth century, than in the inflection of familiar postures with meticulously defined details: the meeting of fingers or eyes, the fall of cloth across the legs, the pose and clothing of the foot. Chrysanthe Baltoyianni has shown that many of these motifs were charged with scripturally based meanings of semiotic precision: the single bare leg seen in compositions of the Glykophilousa signals sacrifice in contexts running from the plague of the firstborn in Egypt through the invocation in the Presentation (Luke 2:23) of the Mosaic law demanding the dedication of the firstborn to God, to the Baptist's invocation of the paschal lamb (John 1:29);[50] the raised head of the recumbent Child is linked with the awakening of the lion of Judah (Genesis 49:9; Numbers 23:24);[51] the upturned sole of his foot is associated with the theme of betrayal, as seen in Psalm 41:9 and again in John 13:18;[52] the loosened sandal signals protection lost or forgone.[53] Such motifs might invite the label of symbols, and both symbolism and typology did become issues in Late Byzantine thought and art. But Orthodoxy had resisted symbolism in its art very early—the Quinisextum Council of 692 had proscribed the representation of Christ in the form of a lamb on the grounds that his Incarnation had made symbols and "shades" unnecessary when reality itself had become visible[54]—and the Byzantine icon is rarely if ever effectively approached as an esoteric code. Its purpose is to make its messages, even complex messages, present to the eye. Baltoyianni's motifs, too, are a vocabulary: conventions codified rather than encoded. Similar semiotic details appear in feast icons: thus, Baltoyianni explains the cherubim at the apex of Christ's mandorla in the Koimesis on the reverse of Theophanes the Greek's infinitely beautiful Mother of God of the Don (cat. 88) as a means of making visible the long-established liturgical analogy of Mary with the ark of the Covenant, the word bearer now being borne by the new Solomon to her place in his Temple beneath the Cherubim of Bezaleel.[55] What emerges from these motifs is a self-referential codification in the composition of images that, rather than inviting the viewer unmediated into the composition, draws attention instead to mediating motifs that stimulate recognition, reflection, and recapitulation. The icons remind their viewers that they are seeing an icon.

Style itself, finally, contributes to the self-referentiality of the Late Byzantine panels. More insistently than in Middle Byzantine painting, where neither volume nor value contrast were so emphatic, the Late Byzantine icons "foreground" their techniques of form. Byzantine figures had never been flat; Late Byzantine figures are often of airy, even voluminous, three-dimensionality. Garments billow and swell; bulbs of noses, balls of cheeks and thumbs, locks of curling hair, and the liquid globes of eyes in their sockets, round into emphatic fullness. Especially in the flesh areas, light and tonality are attentively modulated to the tonality of the surrounding gold, the highlights catching and conversing with the gold as though the forms were engulfed in as well as silhouetted against its light. Yet this very light remains abstract, drawing attention endlessly to the artifice of the image. It shrinks back from the forms' edges, leaving them etched in patterned silhouettes against the gold; it shatters at the luminous crests of the volumes, breaking and splintering across the curves in a delicate glitter of lines. Persuasive but particulate, the forms are united not by spatial coherence but by a carefully modulated play of pattern across the surface. In a manner reminiscent of Cubism, where a surface disintegrated by facets of persuasive volume is reintegrated by carefully modulated visual rhyme, the icons unite a play of deep luminism with a codified body of refined surface patterns that absorb the eye and fracture the image. Eventually hardened and refined in the competitive marketplace of Cretan painting, where the icon's surface became a glittering showplace of technical expertise, these techniques closed into the canon that we still recognize today as "the icon." In form and iconography, the Late Byzantine icon in this sense closes its surface, calling attention to a codified body of forms.

Placing the Late Byzantine icon as a genre into its broader cultural context, and so interpreting these developments, has been complicated by two divergent avenues of approach to its history. One is represented by Hans Belting, who almost literally "brought the icon to life" for many of us.[56] Belting's focal interest was with what he called the "living icons"—the dynamic icon types developed out of the intense and affective moments of Christ's infancy and Passion, culminating in the so-called Akra Tapeinosis, the Man of Sorrows (see cat. 131). Their imagery engaged the rhetoric of passion, offering a complexity of expression that was moving in two senses: it showed the figures in motion and moved the feelings of the viewer. These types did go on, as we have seen, to provide a fundamental repertory for the icons of late and post-Byzantium. They are also the images linked to the crucial shift toward expressive humanism in late Dugento Italy, and this was what most fascinated Belting. These, he believed, set imagery on the path from rhetorical animation toward representation, the forms progressively absorbing in themselves the job of animating their content, and leaving the viewer to watch and to appreciate the animating gifts of the artist. Thus, having followed the icon into its late-twelfth-century peak of passionate animation, Belting moved westward into Dugento art. The icon of the Late Byzantine centuries and its processes of self-referential closure receive little attention in his great study. The other avenue of approach, represented by the major Orthodox scholars and Robin Cormack, moves through late Byzantium into the brilliant, almost superabundant prodigality of post-Byzantine icon production in Crete.[57] The year 1453 practically vanishes as a meaningful date in this perspective, and the liquid fluency of Late Byzantine colorism is collapsed into the harder virtuosity of Cretan mannerism. This continuity is crucial to an understanding of the icon's vitality after Byzantium came to an end. But it

should not eclipse the conditions in late Byzantium itself that nourished the icon's vigor.

In setting the Late Byzantine icon into its context, extensive and varied speculation has eddied around the politically charged conflict between intellectual humanism and the mystical spiritual practice known as hesychasm, which assumed great prominence in the fourteenth century. Where Olga Popova has seen hesychasm as a potent spiritual force in art and Viktor Lazarev has decried it,[58] John Meyendorff has seen only the humanist opposition to hesychasm as having a profile in art.[59] Hans-Georg Beck has suggested that hesychasm was actually iconophobic;[60] in fact, its leading theologian, Saint Gregory Palamas, was accused of profaning icons.[61] Hesychasm's partisans certainly included bishop-monks revolted by the extravagance of rich patrons (of the sort seen in icons in our exhibition); as a method premised on the necessary conjunction of body and spirit in spiritual enlightenment, however, hesychasm in its fundamental beliefs can only have been icon-friendly. Images expressing its ideas were produced for sympathetic groups or individuals; thus, a manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, gr. 1242) made for the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos includes a radiant miniature reflecting the centrality of the light of the Transfiguration in hesychastic thought (cat. 171). But hesychasm embraced a spectrum of lifestyles, ranging from scholarly aristocratic office holders to radically ascetic troglodytes, and was unlikely to have produced a unified attitude to something as conventionally social as art. Rather than in its mysticism, which differentiates it from society, one should perhaps seek a common ground between art and hesychasm in its sermons and the tenets of its sacramental theology. Here its emphasis on the timeless and unwavering immanence of God in the sacramental life of the Church, and its faith in the centrality of Christ and Mary, outside their biographies, as models of the transformed relationship between God and humanity in the wake of the Incarnation find a resonance in the distilled, delicately modulated, deeply traditional images of Christ, the Mother of God, the Great Feasts, and such sacramental meditations as the Philoxenia, represented here by the exceptionally beautiful icon from Athens (cat. 107). In contrast to the passionate heroism of twelfth-century eucharistic theology with its dynamic distillations of narrative in its icons, the Late Byzantine era is characterized theologically by an emphasis on the deep, enduring energy immanent in the sacraments, the saints, and, above all, the bodies of God and Mary.

At least as fundamentally, I believe, the icons we have reviewed belong to their own era in their self-referentiality, making conscious reference to the long tradition of which they are part: the techniques, the themes, the habits of composition and content, the devotional indices of a culture by now both ancient and venerable. They are the essence of what a long and profoundly dedicated iconic culture had distilled as its worthy image of the holy.

What history has forgotten is how compelling this image proved to be. Not Byzantines alone but other Christians, too,

Fig. 6.6. Procession of the Hodegetria icon. Fresco, late 13th century. The Holy Monastery of Vlacherna, Arta, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

found the distilled energy of Late Byzantine icons to carry a persuasive authenticity that was without parallel. Icons of exactly the types, techniques, materials, and scale that occur in our exhibition number among the archetypal miracle-working images of the Catholic West. Perhaps the most dramatic case is that of the Holy Face of Laon (cat. 95), a devotional icon displaying the condensed version of the Mandylion cited above. The icon is believed to have been sent in about 1260 by Jacques de Troyes, later Pope Urban IV, to his sister in France. No more than two decades later we find its isolated, frontal face in the Psalter of Yolande de Soissons, there representing the face of Jesus on the Roman relic of Saint Veronica's cloth.[62] By the Jubilee year of 1300, the Roman relic of the Veronica veil appears on pilgrim tokens in the gaunt and neckless guise of the Laon Mandylion.[63] The appeal of the Laon icon did not lie in its immediacy: Jacques

had warned his sister that the image might look strange and off-putting at first. Its allure lay precisely in its mediacy, in its fierce fidelity as an image of an old—indeed, an exotic—image. Throughout Europe, Byzantine icons ensconced themselves as holy: the mosaic icon of the Pantokrator at Chimay (cat. 132) was regarded as an "acheiropoietas," an image not made by human hands; the mosaic icon of Saint Nicholas in the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist at Aachen-Burtscheid was believed to have been "wrought by one who saw St. Nicholas in the flesh . . . according to his likeness";[64] the icon of the Mother of God at Liège (cat. 150) was named Hodegetria and venerated as the work of Saint Luke; the Virgin of Freising (fig. 8.6) remains a major cult object; the Italianate Madonna of Cambrai (cat. 349) was replicated in its own icons of icons in the fifteenth century; already by 1430 the much overpainted Balkan panel of the Hodegetria at the Pauline Church, Jasna Góra, in Częstochowa, Poland, was identified as "tabula Beatae Mariae Virginis, quem Sanctus Lucas depinxit propriis manibus."[65] As Michele Bacci has shown, Byzantine icons dotted Italy, their devotion adorned with the trappings of Byzantine legend, and their cults surging in the wake of Constantinople's fall.[66] Far away in Ethiopia, the sixteenth century would see the careful creation of a group of byzantinizing icons of the Mother of God that were venerated as works by Luke himself and given special cult as miraculous and holy.[67] Here as in western Europe, the Late Byzantine icons proved to bear an extraordinary weight of persuasive value.

The cult icons we have enumerated in western Europe were not, as Belting's "living icons" had been, images of relevance to the West because they were means to other ends. They were images of relevance to the West because of what they were. Almost all were panel paintings. Most were very small—devotional panels of the truly personal scale that had distinguished Byzantine images throughout the Middle Ages. It is a surprise to find that the "big" cult icons of the West are in fact among the littlest panels in our exhibition. This surely speaks to the way in which icons conveyed their identities as images: they could reach out to their devotees one by one. Many of these images were precious, either worked in miniature mosaic or framed in precious metal. None was earlier than the thirteenth century. All of them are images of single figures or of the Mother of God with her Child. And all are a little exotic, touched with the aura of age or the East. These characteristics together form an intriguing composite. Put together, they produce a convincing picture of what we think of as a "holy image." Indeed, as Bacci shows, it is these qualities that stand behind the eloquent defenses of miracle-working images penned by the fathers of the Council of Trent in the face of Protestant iconoclasm.[68] But put together, they also form the preconception of "the icon" that has run as a theme and a challenge through this essay. They help to explain why it was not in the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, with "living icons," but in the fourteenth and fifteenth, with "holy images," that western Europe embraced most fully the Byzantine legacy. So it was—as evidenced in the contracts for literally hundreds of icons in the later fifteenth century—that Europeans eagerly helped to fuel the explosive market for icons that propelled Late Byzantine tradition over the threshold of early modernity into the vibrant ateliers of Venetian Crete. Yet the "holy image" as composed of western Europe's cult icons is at the same time a partial view of the icon.[69] It is a view that places the image always somewhat outside: of our era, our expectations, our usual relation with the divine. For Byzantium and its Orthodox heirs, "the icon" resides deeply inside all of these. It is a theme of our exhibition that the Late Byzantine icon not only validates but exceeds the "holy image" as we in the West came to know it.

77. Frontispiece to the Hamilton Psalter

Cyprus (?), ca. 1300
Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment
31.4 x 25.4 cm (12⅜ x 10 in.)
PROVENANCE: Probably Charlotte de Lusignan, queen of Cyprus (r. 1458–74); the Italian poet Apostolo Zeno; bequeathed by him to the Dominican library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice, 1750; the duke of Hamilton; acquired with the rest of his early-nineteenth-century library for the Royal Library, Berlin, by Wilhelm Bode and Friedrich Lippmann, 1882.
CONDITION: There are abrasions to the surface, especially in the more thickly painted areas, such as the figures' faces.
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (78 A 9; Hamilton 119, fol. 39v)

The iconography and installation of the icon depicted on this page from the Hamilton Psalter—Mary's posture, the scarlet clothes of her eight venerators, the protective grille, the icon stand, the little icon for kissing, the red veil—recall descriptions of the Virgin Hodegetria, the great protective icon of the city of Constantinople.[1] The miniature's high quality, too, suggests Constantinople. But the manuscript itself challenges this attribution. At its heart is a bilingual Greek and Latin psalter with 375 folios adorned with 310 miniatures that belongs to the Greek "marginal psalter" group. Of the nine surviving marginal psalters,[2] it is the sole bilingual example, one of two richly illuminated bilingual books from the Crusader era.[3] The manuscript contains, in addition, a Latin calendar, historical text, breviary, and litany and a Greek horologion, metrical calendar of Christopher of Mytilene, and canon on all saints by Michael Psellos.[4] The combination of languages implies a place with a mixed population; the litany suggests Famagusta,[5] and indeed, a note on folio 1v reads: "Isto libro la Regina Charlotta de Jerousalem de Chipre et Armenia" ("This book [belongs to] Queen Charlotte of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Armenia").

Charlotte ruled Cyprus from 1458 to 1474, 150 years after style and paleography date the psalter; she cannot have had anything to do with its production. This miniature is ambiguously related to the psalter, too: it opens a quire with scenes of King David that are far finer than the marginal miniatures. The quire is nonetheless contemporary with the psalter, bilingual, and coherent with it in content. Superb painters worked in Cyprus, and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko argues persuasively[6] that many communities could very consciously have imitated the iconography and cultic rituals of the Hodegetria. Thus, the whole psalter may have been made elsewhere than in Constantinople, possibly on Cyprus. If not an image of the Hodegetria, this illumination certainly offers a superb idea of the way great icons were venerated in Late Byzantium.

AWC

1. A good collection of descriptions of the Hodegetria is given in N. Ševčenko 1995, pp. 547–50.
2. The marginal psalters include: ninth century—Pantokrator, Athos, Ms. 61; Historical Museum, Moscow, Ms. grec. 129; Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, Ms. gr. 20; eleventh century—British Library, London, Add. Ms. 40731, 19352; and Vatican, Barb. gr. 372, fourteenth century—the Hamilton Psalter; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.733; and Saltykov-Ščedrin Public Library, Saint Petersburg, Ms. 1252 F VI.
3. The other illuminated bilingual manuscript is a Gospel book, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 54. On this Gospel, see Maxwell 2000 (with earlier bibl.); on the two books as contrasting testimony to a polyglot culture, see Zeitler 1992, pp. 313–33.
4. The full contents, as well as the system of quire numbers that proves the book already contained its present collection of texts before coming to the West, probably when Charlotte fled Cyprus in 1474, are given in Havice 1984, p. 142.
5. Buchthal 1975, p. 149.
6. In Athens 2000–2001a, p. 389.

REFERENCES: Tikkanen 1903; Wescher 1931, pp. 25–30, pl. 25; Berlin 1939, no. 249, pl. 96; A. Grabar 1960, p. 128, fig. 8; Athens 1964, pp. 301–2, no. 286; Böse 1966, pp. xiii, 66–67; Belting 1970, pp. 5–6, 72–75, figs. 1–3; Buchthal 1975, pp. 149–52, figs. 10–12; Berlin 1975–76, pp. 5–6, no. 6, pl. 6; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 45–48, fig. 16; Havice 1978; Havice 1984; Babić 1994, pp. 207–8, fig. 10; Cormack 1997a, p. 58, fig. 9; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 388–89, no. 54; Trahoulia 2002, p. 276, fig. 8.

78. Icon with the Triumph of Orthodoxy

Constantinople (?), ca. 1400
Tempera and gold on wood, priming on linen
39 x 31 cm (15⅜ x 12¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: In the upper row of figures, ΘΕΟΔΩ[ΡΑ] ΠΙΣΤΗ (Theodora faithful [in Christ]), ΜΙΧΑΗΛ εν Χ[ΡΙΣΤ]Ω ΠΙΣΤ[ΟΣ] (Michael faithful in Christ), ΜΕ[ΘΟΔΙΟΣ] (Methodios); in the lower row of figures, ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑ (Theodosia), [ΘΕΟ]ΦΑΝ[ΗΣ] (Theophanes), Θ[ΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ] (Theodoros), ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚ[ΤΟΣ] (Theophylaktos), ΑΡΣΑΚΙΟΣ (Arsakios). Above Methodios a lone "ΙΑ" may have belonged to what in one of the post-Byzantine examples of this subject is the icon's title, ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΙΑ (Orthodoxy)
PROVENANCE: First recorded in a private collection, Sweden; sale, Sotheby's, London, February 15, 1984; purchased at that sale by a private owner who exhibited it in 1987 at the Bernheimer Gallery, London; purchased in 1988 by the British Museum with the help of the National Art-Collections Fund.
CONDITION: The icon is lightly bowed with two horizontal struts on the reverse. Most inscriptions have been scratched out or abraded.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (1988, 4-11.1)

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This icon shows the celebration of the official end of Iconoclasm on March 11, 843, when icons were affirmed as integral to Orthodox Christian practice.[1] If indeed predating 1453, as its style implies, it would be the earliest—and only Byzantine—example of this scene.

The Feast of Orthodoxy was—and still is—celebrated annually on the first Sunday in Lent.[2] An eleventh-century miniature illustrates the feast by showing priests reading from the pulpit the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, the official definition of right belief.[3] The present icon offers a far more elaborate, Late Byzantine image.

In the absence of inscriptions, not all figures can be identified. The ones that can are, above, the sainted empress Theodora (r. 842–56), who brought Iconoclasm to an end;[4] her four-year-old son, Michael III (r. 842–67);[5] and Saint Methodios I,[6] patriarch of Constantinople (r. 843–47), wearing the elaborate, cross-covered sakkos of a Late Byzantine patriarch. Below are Saint Theodosia, the nun who defended from Iconoclast vandalism the icon of Christ over the entrance to the imperial palace,[7] carrying an icon of Christ complete even with its tiny red picture hook; at center, Saint Theophanes of Megas Agros (ca. 760–817)[8] and Saint Theodore of Stoudios (759–826)[9] holding an icon of Christ that may have been circular; then the Graptoi, brother poets whose Iconophile hymns were branded on their foreheads;[10] Saint Theophylaktos;[11] and Saint Arsakios.[12] Most are confessor-saints of the Iconoclast era, but Arsakios became linked to the events of 843 only in a fourteenth-century retelling of the life of the empress Theodora.[13] His presence shows that the Triumph of Orthodoxy as displayed on the icon was based not on ninth- but on fourteenth-century conceptions.

The correctness of the later date is reinforced by the great icon of the Mother of God that dominates the upper register. No Late Byzantine viewer would have failed to recognize this as the icon of all icons, the Hodegetria.[14] The protector of Constantinople, she was carried each Tuesday before surging crowds by the members of a special confrater-

nity, who wore scarlet caftans and the domed hats of singers. The same red costume characterizes the figures flanking the Hodegetria in this icon;[15] they surely represent the confraternity, their wings added to permit their incorporation in the company of saints in heaven.[16] Icon in an icon, the Hodegetria enjoins upon each viewer the veneration for icons that the Triumph of Orthodoxy signified. Yet the Hodegetria can in no historical sense have belonged to the event of 843. Her cult postdates it. Her presence in the icon reflects a centuries-long process of conflation that had slowly melded layer upon layer of Byzantine history and legend into one dense, coherent composite. Welding the theme of icon veneration to the icon of defense, and that of right belief to that of invincibility, our painting offers a veritable icon of Byzantine faith. No less than the consummately cultivated style, the image, too, is the product of long cultivation.

The Synodikon of Orthodoxy was last updated in 1370, when the doctrines of Gregory Palamas were linked to the veneration of icons and incorporated in it. Perhaps it was in the wake of 1370 that the icon we see was made. AWC

1. The subject survives in nine post-Byzantine paintings (five icons and four wall paintings): a fifteenth-century Cretan icon in the Velimezis collection, Athens (N. Chatzidakis 1998, pp. 86–91, no. 5); an icon of about 1600 attributed to Emmanuel Tzanfournaris in the collection of San Giorgio dei Greci, Venice (M. Chatzidakis 1962, p. 96, no. 63); two icons of the late sixteenth century in the Tsakyroglou collection, Athens (N. Chadzidakis 1998, p. 90); a Melchite icon of 1722 in the Nicolas Sursock Museum, Beirut (Paris 1993a, pp. 262–63, no. 84); sixteenth-century wall paintings by the Cretan painter Theophanes at both the Great Lavra (dated 1525) and Stauroniketa on Mount Athos (M. Chatzidakis 1986, pls. 122–123); and two unpublished wall paintings of the sixteenth century on Cyprus, in the katholikon of Saint Neophytos Monastery and in the Church of Saint Sozomenos in Galata in Cyprus. It is also described in the eighteenth-century *Hermeneia* of Dionysios of Phourna (Hetherington 1974, p. 64).
2. In Constantinople it was celebrated with a procession from the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai, where the events of 843 occurred, to the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia for a liturgy in which the Synodikon of Orthodoxy—the official definition of right belief—was read aloud from the pulpit. Descriptions of its rituals are given in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos of 899 (Oikonomidès 1972, pp. 65–235) and the *Book of Ceremonies* of the emperor Constantine VII (Vogt 1967, vol. 1, pp. 145–48).
3. Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, Ms. 587, fol. 43r: see Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 1, fig. 220.
4. Herrin 2001, pp. 185–239.
5. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (hereafter *ODB*) (New York, 1991), vol. 2, p. 1364.
6. *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1355.
7. Constas 1998; Galavaris 1993–94.
8. Historian and Iconophile confessor; see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2063.
9. Theologian, icon theorist, and abbot of the Constantinopolitan Monastery of Saint John Stoudios; see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2044–45.
10. This identification is based on their presence at this place in post-Byzantine icons. On the Graptoi, see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2042, 2062.
11. Identified in Foundoulakis 1999, pp. 32–34, as Saint Theophylaktos, an assistant of the Iconophile patriarch Tarasios and elevated in 800 to bishop of Nikomedeia. He is commemorated on March 8 and cited in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy.
12. Foundoulakis 1999, p. 55, identifies him as a fourth-century hermit-monk of Nikomedeia with the gift of prophecy.
13. Foundoulakis 1999, pp. 32–34, 55–57.
14. On the Hodegetria's considerable bibliography, see recently Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakēs, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 373–87; see also Angelidi 1994; Babić 1994; Cormack 1997a, pp. 47–63.
15. N. Ševčenko 1991, p. 48.
16. Foundoulakis 1999, p. 193

REFERENCES: Sotheby's 1984, lot 156; London 1987, pp. 49–50, no. 43; Abel 1988, pp. 32–33, 36; Cormack 1988, pp. 33–34, pl. 11, 9; Cormack 1989, pp. 93–94; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, pp. 2122–23; N. Ševčenko 1991, p. 48; Buckton 1994b, pp. 129–31, no. 140; Hall 1994, p. 38; N. Ševčenko 1995, p. 550, fig. 4; Cormack 1997a, pp. 47, 62–63, pls. 11–13; Cormack 1997b, pp. 27–31, 110 (repr.); N. Chatzidakis 1998, pp. 88, 90, pl. 31; Foundoulakis 1999; Carr 1999, pp. 360–68, figs. 2, 3; Cormack 2000, pp. 31–32, 214–15, pl. 13; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 340–41, no. 32; Herrin 2001, pp. 211–12.

79. Icon with the Battle of Novgorod and Suzdal' (also called the Icon with the Miracle of the Virgin Orans)

Rus' (Novgorod), ca. 1475
Tempera on limewood panel
165 x 120 cm (65 x 47¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: In the top register, in Slavonic, ст...о...[прош]ение / и мног[...]; прид(е) архиеп(и)ск(о)пъ новгород(ц)кiи Иван на Илiинъ оулицю ко С(вя)т(о)мъ / Сп(а)съ и взѧ иконъ С(вя)тую Б(огорди)цѧ (...Archbishop John of Novgorod came to [the Church of] the Holy Savior on Elijah Street and took the icon [of] the Holy Virgin); in the middle register, (кня)зь великiи Роман Ѳндрѣев(ич) сѹздальскiи к Великомъ Новѹград(у) со многими / [...]и рѹскими; послове; сѹздальцы (Grand Prince Roman Andreevich of Suzdal [coming] to Novgorod the Great with many Russian [troops], envoys, Suzdalians)
PROVENANCE: Church of Saint Nicholas in the Kochanov neighborhood of Novgorod; entered the Novgorodskii Gosudarstvennyi Ob'edinennyi Muzei-Zapovednik in 1931.
CONDITION: The white background is late, as are the inscriptions, in dark red. The original background was gold; in the places where the panels are connected there are cracks filled with what may be putty; overpaint was removed in 1913.
Novgorod Integrated Museum-Reservation, Russia (956)

According to Novgorod legend, in 1170, when the army of Andrej of Bogoljubovo, prince of Suzdal', was besieging the city,

79, detail of top panel

79, detail of center panel

Archbishop John (Il'ia) (r. 1165–86) had a revered Novgorod icon of the Virgin Orans (depicted in the top register of this icon) transferred from the Church of the Savior on Elijah Street to the vicinity of Saint Sophia Cathedral and mounted on the wall of the fortress. One of the arrows of the Suzdal' soldiers hit the image of the Virgin Mary (as seen in the middle register). The icon turned its face to the city, and tears started to run from the eyes of the Virgin. Darkness covered the army of the besiegers. Stunned, the men of Suzdal' panicked and began attacking each other. As a result, they were soon defeated by the men of Novgorod.

In the lower register the Novgorodians, who gained their victory with the help of the miraculous intercession of the Virgin, are shown under the protection of the archangel Michael, the commander of heaven's army, who flies before them, and four haloed saints on horseback—the Russian saints Alexander Nevsky, Boris, Gleb, and the military saint George, the bringer of victory—lead them into battle.

Oral tales about the events of 1170 were written down in the fourteenth century. Interest in the legend intensified when Euthymius II was archbishop of Novgorod (r. 1429–58) and the citizens were waging an intense political struggle with Moscow for independence. At the time, icons on this topic became popular. The oldest example with this battle scene comes from the Church of the Dormition in the village of Kuritsko, near Novgorod, and is dated from the first half of the fifteenth century (State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow).

This icon's presentation of an idealized, heroic vision of the past and the belief expressed in the special patronage of the Virgin clearly place it in the company of descriptions of the protection offered by the Virgin to Constantinople during various sieges; it also relates to scenes of veneration of the sacred icons of the Virgin that were found throughout the Byzantine world in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see cat. 78).[1] The arrangement of the icon in tiers and certain elements of the composition, including the armies and the fortress wall, reveal similarities with the illustrations in historical chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly Bulgarian and Russian manuscript miniatures, such as those that illustrate the *Chronicle of Manasses,* the Tomič Psalter, the *Chronicle of George Hamartolos,* and the Radziwill Chronicle.[2]

JK

1. Smirnova et al. 1982, p. 218.
2. Ibid., p. 230.

REFERENCES: Makarii 1860, p. 114; Novgorod 1911, no. 428; Anisimov 1914, pp. 5–21, pl. 5; Gusev 1914; Alpatov and Brunov 1932, pp. 333–34, pls. 262–263; Lazarev 1947, p. 112, pls. 112–113; Frolow 1948–49; Lazarev 1954, pl. 251; Onasch 1961, p. 365, pl. 41; Porfiridov 1966, pp. 112–15; Paris 1967–68, no. 262; Polekhovskaia 1974; Smirnova et al. 1982, no. 18, pp. 150–54, 229–30, pl. p. 430.

80. Icon with the Dormition of Saint Ephrem the Syrian

Crete, 1457 (?)
Tempera and gold on wood
69 x 51.5 cm (27⅛ x 20¼ in.)
PROVENANCE: Described as the Dormition of Saint Isidoros and dated to 1457 in the auction catalogue of the Bay collection, Cairo.[1] Purchased and correctly identified by the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.
CONDITION: The icon was conserved by Stavros Baltoyiannis. Its surface is worn and much of the original gold ground is lost, leaving visible the red bole (hematite clay paste) used beneath the gold leaf.
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (T 2511)

In the bottom center of the composition, the body of the fourth-century theologian Ephrem the Syrian, wrapped in a shroud, lies on a stone slab, with a small icon of Christ as the Man of Sorrows resting on the saint's chest. He is surrounded by a group of monks and anchorites, led by the bishop, the reader, and the deacon, who perform the funeral service. Some members of the group prostrate themselves; two of them kiss the dead saint. A large icon of the Virgin Hodegetria is set in the midst of the group. At Ephrem's head and before the icon of the Virgin, candles glow in candlestands. Other monks approach from left and right to venerate the saint. Their means of travel are extremely varied; in addition to walking, there are monks who crawl, are carried on a man's back or in a litter, or ride on animals, in one case a lion. The landscape is a rocky desert with low hills and cave openings, homes of the hermit monks who were Ephrem's contemporaries. A small church to the right, some trees, and a couple of rabbits are the only other landscape details. In their caves hermits can be seen engaged in serious conversation, praying before an icon, working, writing, and studying. In the open desert a monk offers food for a stylite monk to pull up in a basket to the top of his column. Nearby another monk strikes a long wooden bell to announce the death of the saint. High in the sky are an angel with the saint's soul and Christ in radial glory, both barely visible on account of the icon's worn condition. This icon is particularly interesting because the Hodegetria icon depicted in it does not appear in other, earlier icons of the type. The Virgin's image is probably present because Ephrem wrote a eulogy in her honor; in addition she is understood as a savior and carrier of souls.

The symmetrical, highly detailed, earth-colored composition of this work exudes a classicist grace and points to an origin in the workshop of a mature painter. The representation derives from wall paintings and portable icons of the Palaiologan period, as transformed by Cretan artists of the fifteenth century. This style was not particularly widespread in the later post-Byzantine period.[2] Characteristic examples of the type include the icon of the Jerusalem Patriarchate made by the Cretan painter Andreas Pavias,[3] another belonging to the Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople,[4] and one in the Monastery of Zoodochos Pege on Patmos.[5] Similar compositions are found in paintings of the dormition of other hermit monks, such as Saints Sava, Onouphrios, and Loukas Steiriotis.[6] Both stylistic and iconographic elements allow us to attribute this work to the mid-fifteenth century and to the workshop of a skilled Cretan painter.

K-PhK

1. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991, p. 41.
2. Ibid., pp. 41, 44–47.
3. Weitzmann et al. 1983, pp. 311, 320.
4. Sotiriou 1937, p. 31, pl. 21; Pallas 1966, p. 358, pl. 110.
5. M. Chatzidakis 1977a, fig. 22.
6. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991, pp. 44–45.

REFERENCES: Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, no. 31; New York 2002–3, no. 6.

81. Anastasis

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Byzantine (Mount Athos), mid-14th century and 16th–early 17th century
Tempera and gesso in two layers, on chestnut panel
38 x 29.5 cm (15 x 11⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the original layer, a fragment of a Slavonic inscription in white on the red ground of the top margin, въскр[есение] (Resurrection)
PROVENANCE: Acquired from Mount Athos by Piotr Sevastyanov, 1860; Museum of Early Russian Art at the Academy of Arts, Saint Petersburg, 1861–98; Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III (after 1917, the State Russian Museum), Saint Petersburg, 1898–1930; transferred to the Hermitage, 1930.
CONDITION: The icon was restored in the Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III in the early twentieth century, when portions of the original painting in the center and at the top border were cleaned. The icon was restored twice in the Hermitage studio: in 1952 by Feodor Kalikin, and in 1965 by Alexandra Malova.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (I-466)

As the icon panel with raised borders is made of chestnut *(Castanea sp.)*, a wood typically used for icons on Mount Athos, we can confirm that the work was painted on the Holy Mountain. The white inscription in Slavonic and the red background of the border of the icon indicate that the artist of the original layer was a Russian from Novgorod. Although such inscriptions are typical of the Novgorodian school of icon painting, we know that the icon was not painted in Novgorod, as the panels created there typically were made of lime and pine. Paleographic analysis of the inscription, which is identical to inscriptions on monuments associated with the Novgorodian archbishop Vassily's activity (1330–52), such as the Vassilievsky gates of 1335–36 and the Likhachev doors from the 1330s–50s, suggests a date in the mid-fourteenth century for the present work.

The original composition can be seen in X-rays and on the cleaned portions. The background of the icon and halos of the saints are painted in gold and the borders are red. The depiction of the Anastasis follows traditional Byzantine iconography, with Christ in a mandorla in the center reaching out to take the hand of the kneeling figure of Adam. Behind Adam stand Sarah and three other figures. Opposite them, behind Christ, are Old Testament heroes with the kings David and Solomon in the foreground. A detail specific to this icon is the fact that Christ steps toward Adam and Sarah and in the original layer of the icon he turns his head back to the kings. This scene is represented the same way on the Vassilievsky gates.[1] This detail is also seen on some Byzantine works, such as the silver revetment on the eleventh-century Georgian icon of the Virgin of Tenderness;[2] on the Great Feasts icon with a Deesis from the second half of the eleventh century; in the borders of a fourteenth-century Crucifixion icon at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai;[3] and on the west portal of the Nativity Cathedral in Suzdal', which date to the 1230s.[4]

The style of painting observable in the small cleaned portions of the original layer associate it with such Novgorodian works as the Vassilievsky gates, the Likhachev doors,[5] and the miniatures of the Gospels Chlood 30 of 1330–40 (Chlud 30) in the Historical Museum, Moscow,[6] which were inspired by Byzantine Palaiologan models, and the Great Feasts icon painted by Greek or Balkan artists for the iconostasis of Saint Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod in 1341.[7]

Probably in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, the original fourteenth-century image was covered by a new thin layer of gesso and another image of the Anastasis was painted by a Greek artist inspired by works of the fifteenth-century Cretan school of icon painting. The new iconography evolved from types in late Palaiologan painting, such as the icon of the Anastasis in the Hermitage, which is ascribed to the Cretan artist Andreas Ritzos (active 1421–92).[8] Significantly, the same iconographic type is also seen on the border of the icon of the Enthroned Virgin in the Benaki Museum in Athens (ascribed to Andreas Ritzos, ca. 1490); in Nikolaos Ritzos's icon in Sarajevo (1504); in Theophanes the Cretan's frescoes and icons in the Anapausas Monastery in Meteora (1527) and in Stauroniketa Monastery at Mount Athos

82, obverse

82, reverse

(1546), respectively; in the dodekaorton of the Great Lavra iconostasis; in sixteenth-century icons in Cyprus;[9] and in an unpublished Anastasis icon of the Cretan school of the sixteenth century in the Hermitage.

The upper layer of the painting should be ascribed to a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century icon-painting workshop on Mount Athos. Theophanes the Cretan and his sons were active in the 1530s through the 1550s at Mount Athos, where their work was widely appreciated. The style of the icon's upper level suggests that the painter was connected with the traditions of Theophanes' art. While a date in the middle of the sixteenth century is thus most appropriate for the repainting, the rosy hue of the flesh tones suggests that the possible dating of the work should be extended into the seventeenth century. These flesh tones, while found on works of the middle to late sixteenth century, were most popular in the seventeenth century.

YP

1. Yuri Piatnitsky, "Katalog (pamiatnikov v tekhnike zolotoi navodki)," in Sterligova 1996a, pp. 297–321.
2. Weitzmann 1983a, p. 103.
3. Vokotopoulos 1995, pls. 18, 83.
4. Ovchinnikov 1978, fig. 34.
5. Piatnitsky in Sterligova 1996a, pp. 321–26.
6. Popova 1980, pp. 172–213; for Novgorod painting of the fourteenth century, see also Smirnova 1976, pp. 61–69.
7. Filatov 1974, pl. 19.
8. Iráklion 1993, no. 1, pp. 326–29.
9. Krems 1993, no. 49; M. Chatzidakis 1969–70, figs. 12, 76, 41; Thessalonike 1997, pp. 133–34, no. 2.67; A. Papageōrgiou 1969, p. 66.

82. Two-Sided Icon with a Small Inlaid Icon

Thessalonike, ca. mid-14th century (inlaid icon); end of the 15th century (framing icon)
Tempera and gold on wood; framing icon, primed with canvas
Inlaid icon: 24 x 21 cm (9½ x 8¼ in.); framing icon: 98 x 71 cm (38⅝ x 28 in.)
Inscribed: On the inlaid icon, in the top tier, upper left corner, ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΣΑΒΑ/ΟΘ ΠΛΗΡΗΣ [Ο ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η] ΓΗ Τ(ΗΣ) ΔΟΞΙ[Σ] /ΣΟΥ/ΩΣΑΝΑ ΕΝ Τ(ΟΙΣ)/ ΥΨΙΣΤ]Σ (Holy, holy, holy Lord of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory, hosanna in the highest); upper right corner, ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΕΝΟΣ Ο ΕΡΧΟ/ΜΕΝ(ΟΣ) ΕΝΟΝΟ[Μ]ΑΤΙ/ΚΥΡΙΟΥ/ Ω/ΣΑ[Ν]/ΝΑ [Ο ΕΝ] ΤΗΣ ΥΨ]ΣΤΙΣ (Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, hosanna in the highest); above the head of the right angel, Ο ΑΡΧ(ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) ΓΑΒ[Ρ]ΥΗΛ (the archangel Gabriel); in the middle, toward the right, [Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ] ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ (the King of Heavens); to the left and right of Christ's head, Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ (Jesus Christ); below left and right, Ο Ι/Ω/ΜΕ/Ν/(ΟΣ)–[ΠΑ]/ΣΑΝ/ΝΟ/ΣΟΝ (The one curing every infirmity); bottom tier, above the head of the angel, Ο ΑΡΧ(ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (the archangel Michael); to the right and left of the head of John the Baptist, Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ)/ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗΣ) —Ο [ΠΡΟ]Δ/Ρ[Ο]Μ/ΟΣ (Saint John the Precursor); on the scroll held by John, ΙΔΕ Ο Α/Μ[Ν]Ο(Σ) ΤΟΥ/Θ(ΕΟ)Υ Ο ΑΙ/ΡΩ(Ν) (Behold the Lamb of God who takes away [the sins of the world]). On the larger icon, on the side with the Crucifixion, to the left, above the horizontal arm of the cross, Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ (Jesus); above the head of the Virgin, ΜΗ(ΤΗ)Ρ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ (Mother of God); above the head of John, Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗΣ) Ο ΘΕΟΛΟ/ΓΟΣ (Saint John the Theologian)
Provenance: Vlatadon Monastery, Thessalonike.
Condition: There is some damage, mostly on the large icon: on the side with the Crucifixion, pigment loss from Christ's chest and up, and partial pigment loss on the angel on the right. The inscriptions with the names of the saints on the other side have been destroyed. Both sides of the border have suffered slight damage.
The Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, Thessalonike

A small two-tiered icon has been inlaid in the center of one side of this large two-sided

icon. In its upper tier is Christ Pantokrator, flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel, who bow toward him in supplication. In the lower tier, the archangel Michael and Saint John the Baptist flank the Virgin Hodegetria. Extensive inscriptions from hymnological texts and psalms read during the divine liturgy and the service of the matins of the Orthodox Church, as well as the Gospel passage on the scroll held by John the Baptist, help explain the religious significance and interrelation of the scenes. The composition in the upper zone has been read as representing Christ in his heavenly glory, worshiped by the angelic powers, similar to compositions that decorated the apse of the sanctuary of certain churches.[1] The composition of the lower tier has been considered a symbolic representation of the prothesis rite.[2] The entire composition, which refers in an allegorical way to the doctrine of the Incarnation and to the Passion and Christ's heavenly glory, follows fourteenth-century iconography. The style of the inlaid icon also points to a mid-fourteenth-century date.[3]

The larger icon can be dated to the fifteenth century and re-creates in a more extensive way the iconography and the dogmatic content of the inserted icon. Thus, the representation of Christ Pantokrator with the archangels, the apostles Peter and Paul, and the military saints and fighters for the faith—George, Theodore of Tyre, and Demetrios—repeats more extensively the iconography and ideas expressed in the upper zone of the small icon, while the Crucifixion on the other side makes visible the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Passion of Christ. That the work reflects the donor's extensive theological education is indicated by his representation on the side with the Crucifixion.[4]

The insertion of the older smaller icon within the later icon and the special care that was taken to harmonize the iconographic themes indicate that the smaller icon was an especially venerated relic that the monks wanted to protect but at the same time continue to venerate. One could say that the smaller icon was a precious relic and that the larger icon functioned as its reliquary container.

The icon is directly connected to the history of the Vlatadon Monastery, which was founded by the brothers Dorotheos and Markos Vlates sometime between 1351 and 1371, when Dorotheos was the metropolitan of Thessalonike. The two brothers belonged to the circle of followers of the hesychast movement associated with the theologian Gregory Palamas (1296–1359).[5] The monastery was dedicated to Christ Pantokrator. The fact that the iconographic themes depicted on the icon refer to Christ Pantokrator indicates that it was the main icon of worship in the monastery, to be used in liturgical processions.[6]

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1. Xyngopoulos 1948, pp. 120–24.
2. Ibid., pp. 124–27.
3. Baltimore 1988, p. 187.
4. Tourta 1977.
5. Stogioglou 1971, pp. 56–65.
6. Tourta 1992, pp. 178–80.

REFERENCES: Xyngopoulos 1948; Athens 1964, no. 199, p. 253; Stogioglou 1971, pp. 131–32; Tourta 1977; Athens 1985–86, no. 83, p. 82; Florence 1986, no. 36, p. 75; Athens–London 1987, no. 21, pp. 86–87, 160; Baltimore 1988, no. 23, pp. 100–101, 186–87; Tourta 1992; Athens 1994, pp. 16–21.

83. Icon with the Council of Archangels

Bulgaria, mid-14th century
Tempera and gold on wood
123 x 76.5 cm (48⅜ x 30⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Bačkovo Monastery, Bulgaria.
CONDITION: The icon consists of two boards, both of which have been slightly trimmed. It is in very good condition. The central surface of the icon is surrounded by a protruding frame 6.5 cm (2½ in.) wide.
National Art Gallery, Sofia (Museum Collection of Bačkovo Monastery 1040)

The archangels Michael and Gabriel, dressed in Byzantine imperial garb and holding a medallion showing the Holy Virgin with the Christ Child, emanate serenity and pensiveness. Although the full-length frontal figures are flatly treated, the faces display a precise and delicate representation of forms and exquisitely drawn details. The two images

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show certain differences in the use of color, which could be considered evidence that the icon was created by two painters.

When it was found, the icon had been serving as the patron icon of the Church of the Holy Archangels at Bačkovo Monastery (near Plovdiv, Bulgaria). While the date of the church is disputed, its construction is generally attributed to the thirteenth to fourteenth century. The composition of this icon, an iconographic type known as the Council of Archangels, usually represents Christ Emmanuel alone in the medallion. In the Bačkovo icon, however, he appears together with the Virgin, an addition made because she is the patron saint of Bačkovo Monastery.

Stylistically the icon can be compared with a series of wall paintings, icons, and miniatures (see cat. 27) created between the 1340s and 1370s, including wall paintings commissioned by Bulgarian czar Ivan Alexander (Assen; r. 1331–71) for the mortuary church of Bačkovo Monastery. In them we can trace the same contrast between the flatness of the figures and the precise forms of the faces (notably in the face of Saint John the Theologian in the upper narthex). If the icon, as has been suggested, was part of a donation made to Bačkovo Monastery by a Bulgarian czar, its creation should be dated to the period soon after 1344, when Czar Ivan Alexander enlarged the territory of his state to the south. His new domain included the towns of Plovdiv and Assenovgrad as well as Bačkovo Monastery. The latest possible date for the icon is 1363, when the entire Plovdiv region, including Bačkovo Monastery, was captured by the Ottomans. GG

References: Bakalova 1972, pp. 73–74, fig. 19; Moscow 1976; Sofia 1976, no. 67; Munich 1978; Paskaleva-Kabadaieva 1981, pp. 27, 86–87; Bozhkov 1984, p. 121, no. 70; Prashkov 1985, pp. 13, 66, no. 13; Paskaleva-Kabadaieva 1989, pp. 40–41; Gerov et al. 1999, p. 24, no. 6; Rome 2000, pp. 230–31, no. 89; Velmans 2002, p. 190, pl. 160.

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84. Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria

Thessalonike, 1360–70
Tempera and gold on wood, prepared with canvas and gesso
90 x 71 cm (35⅜ x 28 in.)
Inscribed: At the end of the maphorion on the right shoulder of the Virgin, from Psalm 44 (45):13–14, ΠΑΣΗ Η ΕΝ ΚΡΟΣΣΩΤΟΙΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΙΣ (All in tasseled golden [garments])
Provenance: Vlatadon Monastery, Thessalonike.
Condition: The icon is in very good condition, with minor damage on the frame and some loss of painting.
The Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, Thessalonike

The Virgin Hodegetria, the icon type represented here, was the palladion of Constantinople, where the image was known by at least the ninth century. As it was extremely famous as a miraculous icon, it became the prototype for the creation of numerous others. The icon was destroyed by the Ottoman Turks during the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The firm composition, the accurate design, the calm yet magnificent attitude, and other elements, such as the subtle tonal harmonies in the rendering of the faces and the rays of white lights, date the Vlatadon Monastery icon to the 1360s and place it among the most important works of the period, along with the icons of Christ Pantokrator in the Athonite monastery of the same name,[1] in Saint Petersburg,[2] Veroia,[3] and Mytilene.[4]

The luxurious details of the garments of the holy persons are impressive. Dense gold rays highlight the dark blue chiton and the deep red himation of Christ. Equally elegant is the wine-red maphorion of the Virgin, the golden details of which include stripes, three stars, and tassels, as well as the lines from Psalm 44 (45) on the right shoulder. This last element indicates the influence of mariological poetry on painting, which then goes on to appear in works that were painted in Macedonia, Epiros, and the Balkans.[5] More precisely, the icon from the Vlatadon Monastery is the oldest known work on which this inscription from the Psalms appears,

indicating the role of Thessalonike in the establishment and spread of this element.

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1. S. Papadopoulos et al. 1998, fig. 21.
2. Ibid., fig. 9.
3. Mauropoulou-Tsioumē 2003, nos. 5–6, pp. 52ff.
4. Athens 1964, no. 200, p. 254.
5. Babić 1991, pp. 57ff.

References: Stogioglou 1971, pp. 132–34; Athens 1985–86, no. 84, p. 83; Babić 1991.

85. Hodegetria Icon

Thessalonike (?), second half of the 14th century
Tempera on wood
109 x 46 cm (42 15/16 x 18 1/8 in.)
Provenance: Veroia, templon icon of the Church of the Pantokrator.
Condition: Traces of silver color are discerned underneath the tricolored font. The frame and the font are slightly worn.
Byzantine Museum, Veroia, Greece (407)

In this Hodegetria icon, the full figure of the Virgin is turned to the left, holding Christ in her right arm. Christ also turns in the same direction, leaning his head on his right shoulder. His right hand with clenched fingers rests on his thigh, while the left hand touches his knee. His garment, with traces of its original gold lines, exposes his red-banded tunic and his bare legs from the knees down. This detail hints at the future Passion and connects this representation with the theme of the Lamb of God.[1] Both figures seem to look into infinity; they do not make eye contact. A notable iconographic element of the representation is the manner in which the Virgin lays her hand to touch Christ's right knee. This is the only indication of maternal tenderness in the image.

Representations that are roughly parallel to this image are encountered in Middle Byzantine works at Daphni[2] and Kurbinovo,[3] as well as in Late Byzantine depictions such as the mosaic representation of the Virgin Mary at Porta Panagia in Thessaly (third quarter of the thirteenth century)[4] and an icon from Veroia that dates to the beginning of the fifteenth century[5]—a range that shows the longevity of the theme. The icon, which is of very high quality, was probably made in a workshop in Thessalonike. Although it has been dated to the end of the thirteenth century,[6] the modeling of the faces with dark tones, the rendering of the garments, and the bare legs of Christ are not typical of this period. It is probable that the work dates to the second half of the fourteenth century and is based on a fine prototype of the thirteenth century.

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1. Baltoyianni 1994, pp. 18–19.
2. Mouriki 1991a, p. 167, pl. 21.
3. Grozdanov and Hadermann-Misguich 1992, pl. 5.
4. Orlandos 1935, pp. 5–40.
5. Mauropoulou-Tsioumē 2003, p. 84, pl. 11.
6. Papazōtos 1995, p. 46.

86. Pimen Virgin Hodegetria

Constantinople, 1380s
Tempera on wood
76 x 62 cm (29 7/8 x 24 3/8 in.)
Provenance: From Uspenskii (Dormition) Cathedral of Moscow Kremlin, the icon was transferred first to the Blagoveshchenskii (Annunciation) Cathedral,[1] no earlier than the second half of the sixteenth century, and then to the Mirovarennia Palace in the Kremlin; following restoration in Moscow in 1918, it was kept in the State Historical Museum until 1930.
Condition: Overpainting was removed in Moscow in 1918. Almost all of the original gesso is now missing in the background. There is vertical inpainting of the ground along the joint of the boards, and on the

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restored ground are fragmentary additions to the clothes and the face of the Virgin. There is extensive inpainting of the clothes of the Child and along the edge and to the right of his head.

State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (28638)

The iconography of the Pimen Hodegetria suggests that the prototype of this icon was a full-length standing figure of the Hodegetria Peribleptos. The Virgin's neck bent slightly forward, the complex rotation of the nearly erect Christ Child, and the blessing gesture of his hand at shoulder height testify to this. The icon's likeness to other full-length images of the Virgin and Child supports this hypothesis.[2] This iconography is seen on the left panel from the diptych reliquary of the Serbian despot of Ioannina (Epiros), Thomas Preljubović, which is dated to the last third of the fourteenth century[3] and was donated to the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora by Maria Palaiologina between 1367 and 1384 (cat. no. 24).[4] It has been suggested that the iconography of the Pimen Virgin Hodegetria ultimately is derived from the image of the Virgin and Child in one of the mosaics of 1310 in the Chora Monastery at Constantinople.[5]

The name of the icon is linked to Metropolitan Pimen, who was appointed in 1380 by Patriarch Niel. Soon after his arrival in Moscow, Pimen fell out of favor with its ruler and was exiled, but returned to his metropolitan seat after the patriarch pled his case. He remained in Moscow off and on until 1389.[6] According to legend, the icon was brought from Constantinople in 1381 or 1386 by Metropolitan Pimen, and was placed on the altar of Uspenskii (Dormition) Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. The stylistic connection of the Pimen icon with late-fourteenth-century Palaiologan art matches the period when Metropolitan Pimen traveled to Constantinople. He visited the capital of Byzantium for the first time in 1380–81, and the second time in 1385. During his third and last journey, the metropolitan died in Chalcedon, near Constantinople.[7]

Soon after the icon of the Pimen Virgin was brought to Moscow, it became famous as a miracle-working image and was transferred to the altar of the Cathedral of the Annunciation in the Moscow Kremlin. In the *Stepennaia kniga* (Book of Decrees), which contains a chronology of Russian rulers, the entry for 1404–7 reports a story about a miraculous event in which the icon shed chrism (holy oil) during a service in the house of a certain merchant.[8] In the eighteenth century a scene of the Annunciation was painted on the back of the Pimen Hodegetria, probably in an attempt to emphasize the association of the honored icon with the Cathedral of the Annunciation (in the Moscow Kremlin).

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1. The history of the icon is recorded in *Stepennaia kniga* (Book of Decrees) of 1550–60 (*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* [Saint Petersburg, 1913], vol. 21, pt. 2, p. 421). Shchennikova 1982, p. 101, pointed out that the original location of the icon was in Uspenskii (Dormition) Cathedral.
2. Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 70.
3. Weitzmann et al. 1970, fig. 196.
4. Athens 1964, no. 211, p. 259.
5. Sal'ko 1974, p. 9.
6. Golubinskii 1997–98, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 244–51.
7. See Prokhorov 1978.
8. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (Saint Petersburg, 1913), vol. 18, p. 151, vol. 21, pt. 2, p. 421.

REFERENCES: Moscow 1991b, no. 43; Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 70, p. 159 (bibl.).

87. The Virgin of Vladimir

Moscow, first quarter of the 15th century
Tempera and gold on wood
87 x 62 cm (34¼ x 24⅜ in.)

PROVENANCE: The icon originated from the Troitskii (Trinity) Cathedral of the Troitse–Sergiev Monastery (Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery). The last location of the icon before it was acquired by the museum was the chapel of Saint Sergius of Radonezh, in Moscow. The chapel belonged to the metochion, Moscow Trinity town residence, of the Troitse–Sergiev Monastery. In the 1920s, after the chapel was demolished, the icon was placed for a while in the nearby Church of the Virgin of Grebnevo, which was closed in 1933, when the icon was transferred to the State Tret'iakov Gallery.

CONDITION: The pigments have faded, and there are some minor losses of the paint layer in the places where the new gesso layer has been applied. There are major losses of the decorative gold hatching. The

original gold background is preserved only around the silhouette of the figure; most of the background gesso, a replacement of the destroyed original layer, is of later date.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (20116)

The icon is one of the earliest copies of the famous Byzantine icon of the Virgin of Vladimir, protectoress of Russia, which was brought to Rus' in the beginning of the twelfth century from Constantinople (see fig. 1.9).[1] Already in the twelfth century copies of this miracle-working icon appeared in the oldest Russian cities, including Rostov the Great, Belozersk, Kostroma, and Staraia Russa.[2] In 1395 the icon, the ancient palladium of Vladimir, was brought to Moscow to protect it from the invasion of Tamerlane. The retreat of the Mongol leader was an important milestone in the icon's glorification, bringing it fame as guardian of Moscow. Copies of the icon began to appear in Moscow in the late fourteenth century, with the earliest ones attributed to the great Russian artist Andrei Rublev.[3]

Copies of the icon produced in Moscow, as here, present a slightly different iconography from the original, as the Virgin no longer looks at the viewer but rather appears absorbed in deep meditative prayer. This variant is based on the style of Rublev as seen in his work of 1395 for the Uspenskii (Dormition) Cathedral in Vladimir.[4] There too both hands of the Virgin are held equally high; in the original the Virgin's right hand supports the child, while the left is raised in prayer. The hand of the Christ Child, reaching behind the Virgin's neck under her maphorion, is not depicted here.

At the left side of the icon are traces of the lost painted figure of a Russian saint, the venerable Sergius of Radonezh (d. 1392), founder of the Trinity Monastery, near Moscow. Sergius was a spiritual mentor of the Moscow grand prince Dmitrii Donskoi, whom he blessed before the Battle of Kulikovo which brought Russia victory over the Mongol Golden Horde in 1380. The saint is depicted praying to the Virgin of Vladimir, an honored image in his home near Rostov the Great. According to the saint's traditional vita, the Heavenly Queen visited him and gave him her blessing as he read the Akathistos Hymn (cat. 172) in his cell. Ancient images of this legend, following Byzantine iconographic tradition, represent Sergius in prayer in front of the image of the Virgin of Vladimir.

The early date of this icon is confirmed by the representation of Sergius alone, without his disciple Nikon (d. 1427), with whom he is usually portrayed on later icons. There is no doubt that this icon came from the Trinity Monastery. When the iconostasis of the main cathedral was remodeled, its dilapidated icons were transferred to churches, convents, metochions, or chapels affiliated with the monastery. Only one icon of the Virgin with the praying figure of Saint Sergius was mentioned in the inventory of the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery dated 1641. It was placed to the right of the sanctuary doors, near the shrine of the saint. Its very lavishly decorated frame was covered with jewels, as was typical of the most venerated icons in the cathedral. An indication of the existence of this lost decoration is the destroyed surface of the original background on the icon, which was covered with new gesso at a later date.

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1. Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 1.
2. Guseva in Moscow 1995, pp. 76–79.
3. Guseva 1984, p. 58; Guseva 1993, pp. 6–8.
4. Moscow 1995, no. 4 (with bibl.) (the icon belongs to the Vladimir-Suzdal' Museum, inv. B-2971).

REFERENCES: I. Grabar 1926–28, vol. 1, p. 103; Antonova 1960, no. 60; Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, no. 232 (with bibl.); Guseva 1984, p. 58; Guseva 1993, pp. 6–8; Ėvelina K. Guseva, "Iz istorii pochitaniia ikony 'Bogomater' Vladimirskaia' i ee spiskov," in Moscow 1995, pp. 76–79.

88. The Virgin of the Don

Moscow, beginning of the 15th century
Tempera and gold on wood
32 x 28 cm (12⅝ x 11 in.)
PROVENANCE: Unknown. The icon was transferred in 1930 from the State Historical Museum (Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei).
CONDITION: The pigments have faded, and the surface shows some craquelure and minor losses. There are major losses of the background all over the surface.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (14332)

The icon owes its name to the legend that its presence at the Battle of Kulikovo (1380) on the River Don helped the Russians to overcome the army of Mamai, ruler of the Mongol Golden Horde. The original icon of this name was first mentioned in the chronicles in 1552 in relation to Ivan IV (the Terrible), who prayed to this icon before the Battle of Kazan. At that time the miracle-working icon was situated in the Uspenskii (Dormition) Cathedral of Kolomna, south of Moscow, which was built by Dmitrii Donskoi in 1392 to celebrate the victorious outcome of the Battle of Kulikovo.[1] In 1563 the icon was also taken on the Livonia campaign.[2] In 1591 the Donskoi Monastery in Moscow was founded to commemorate the deliverance of the city from the army of the Crimean khan Kazi Gireya, and its cathedral received a copy of the miracle-working icon.

The original icon, now in the collection of the State Tret'iakov Gallery, is attributed to the Byzantine artist Theophanes the Greek, who worked in Rus' in the last quarter of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century.[3] It is a version of a Byzantine icon type, the Virgin Eleousa, but the Russian work is distinguished by its depiction of the Christ Child with a scroll in his left hand and his bare feet resting on the left wrist of the Virgin. As this iconographic version was not known in Rus', it may represent an abridged half-length representation of the famous mosaic image on the altar column in the katholikon of the Chora Monastery in Constantinople.[4]

The icon in the exhibition is one of the copies that emerged in the Moscow painting school at the turn of the fifteenth century. A distinct feature of this image is the slightly disproportionate balance between the Virgin's large head and her narrow shoulders. The border of the maphorion around her neck and face is broader than in earlier images, and the patterns of the folds are no longer defined by gold striations. The lower border cuts off a portion of the Christ Child's robes that are present in the original. The pale ocher and pink hues used in the painting of the Virgin's face are typical for Moscow icons of the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, as seen in the icons of the Virgin Hodegetria and Eleousa from Blagoveshchenskii (Annunciation) Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin.[5]

Judging by its size, this icon was a house icon used for private devotions in a home and probably later, as was customary, donated to a monastery or church in memory of its deceased owner. ÈKG

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1. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (Moscow, 1965), vol. 13, p. 191.
2. Ibid., p. 347.
3. Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 61.
4. Guseva 1996.
5. Kachalova et al. 1990, nos. 195–97.

REFERENCES: Valentina I. Antonova, "O Feofane Greke v Kolomne, Pereiaslavle-Zalesskom i Serpukhove," in Moscow 1958, vol. 2, p. 19 n. 2; Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 2, no. 458; Guseva 1984.

89. Virgin of Yaroslavl'

Moscow, second half of the 15th century (?)
Tempera and gold on wood
54 x 42 cm (21¼ x 16½ in.)
INSCRIBED: Left of the Virgin's halo, $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ (Mother of God); right of the Virgin's halo, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ); on the edges of the Virgin's maphorion, a decorative border of Greek letters.
PROVENANCE: Collection of Il'ia Semenovich Ostroukhov.
CONDITION: The icon bears traces of a so-called antiquarian restoration of the beginning of the twentieth century, including late brushstrokes on the faces and clothes and late, imitation inscriptions. There are areas of new gesso at the edges of the icon.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (12045)

The Virgin of Yaroslavl' type is a half-length variation of the Virgin Eleousa (Compassionate); the two types share a characteristic intimate pose. Here, the Child touches his mother's chin with his

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right hand and the edge of her maphorion with his left. The Virgin, holding the Child with her right hand, with her left hand supports him against her. The Virgin appears in her traditional dress. The Child wears a light blue chiton with gold ornamentation, a broad girdle, and a himation with gold highlights that covers the lower part of his figure.

According to legend, the earliest icon of this type, which has not survived, belonged to the Yaroslavl' princes Vasilii (r. 1238–49) and Konstantin (r. 1249–57), sons of the Grand Prince Vsevolod III "Bol'shoe Gnezdo" (Big Nest; d. 1212), and then to the Cathedral of the Transfiguration of Our Savior (Spaso-Preobrazhenskii) in Yaroslavl'. Numerous copies of this icon from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries testify to the widespread worship of the image in Yaroslavl', the Volga region, Moscow, and the central Russian lands. One of the finest fifteenth-century icons of the type, which predates the present work, is kept in the museum of the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, Sergiev Posad (4950).[1] It was donated to the monastery by Princess Agrafena Sutskaia, a descendant of the family of Yaroslavl' princes, who became a nun, taking the name Alexandra. The icon, with its typical emphasis on contemplative prayer, is painted in a very delicate Moscow style and set in an ornate family icon cover.

The earliest mentions of the icon of the Virgin of Yaroslavl' date from the thirteenth century, and its owners were princes from one of the branches of the Monomachos line. These facts make it plausible that the icon was an ancient variant on the famous miracle-working image of the Virgin of Vladimir (see fig. 1.9), a Byzantine icon from Constantinople that in 1155 was transferred from Kiev to Vladimir by Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubski (d. 1174), an uncle of the Yaroslavl' princes who were descendants of Vsevolod of Kiev. Copies of the Virgin of Vladimir are known to have emerged in the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century in northeastern Russia, among them the Theodore icon, the Virgin of Tolga, and the Virgin of Tolga and Podkuben.[2]

The present icon resembles the ancient Vladimir icon in conveying, through both its image and its style, the sense of compassion that is central to the Eleousa type. At the same time it also seems related to the copy of the Vladimir icon painted by Andrei Rublev (ca. 1360–1430), for the Cathedral of the Dormition (Uspenskii) in Vladimir,[3] where, similarly, the Virgin does not look at the spectator and appears to be in a state of concentrated, contemplative prayer.

The former owner of this icon, Il'ia Semenovich Ostroukhov (1858–1929), was a famous Moscow art collector and painter. He championed the restoration of many ancient monuments by the removal of later layers of overpainting. He was also one of the trustees of the State Tret'iakov Gallery after the death of Pavel M. Tret'iakov.

ĖKG

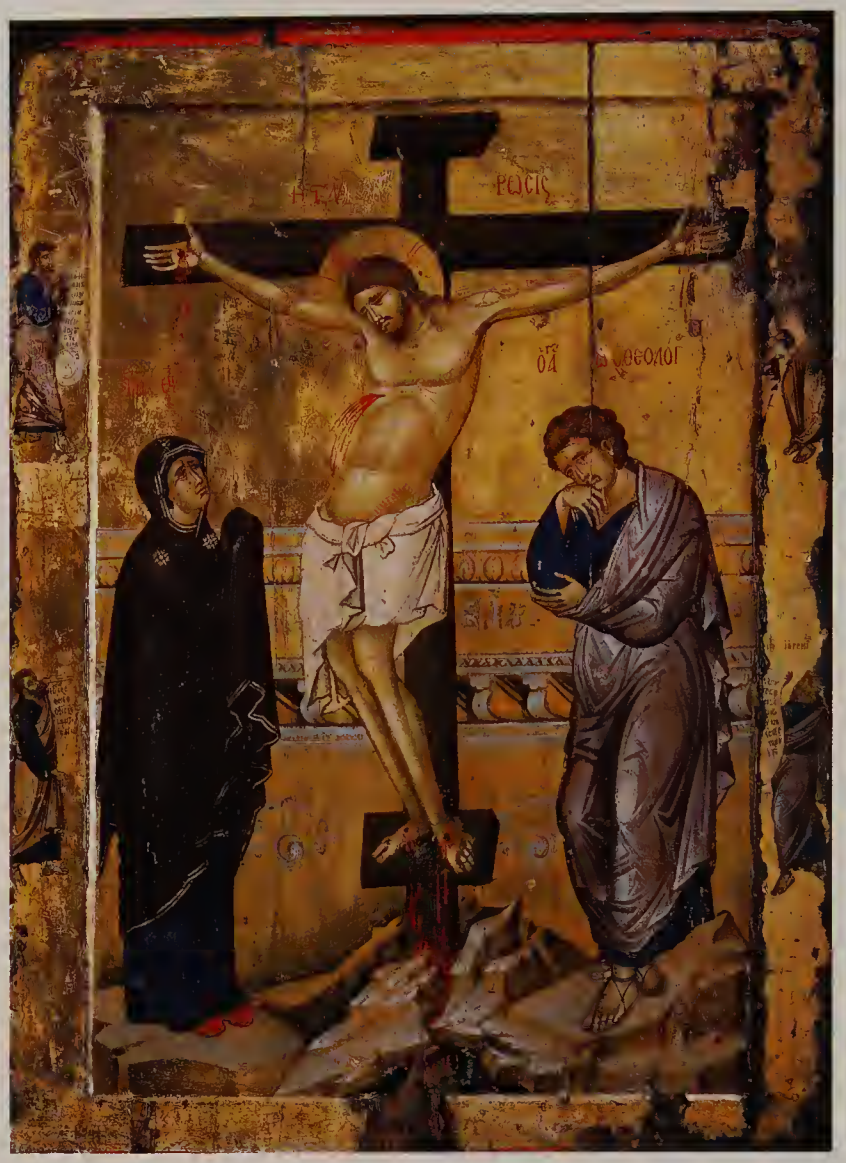
1. Nikolaeva 1977, no. 106.
2. Ėvelina K. Guseva, "Iz istorii pochitaniia ikony 'Bogomater' Vladimirskaia' i ee spiskov," in Moscow 1995.
3. Moscow 1995, no. 4 (with bibl.).

REFERENCES: Muratov 1914, p. 22; Alpatov 1958, pp. 25–26, 29, pl. 48; Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, no. 235 (with bibl.).

90. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Pafsolype and Feast Scenes and the Crucifixion and Prophets

Byzantine (Constantinople?), second half of the 14th century
Tempera on gessoed wood
INSCRIBED: In gold on the obverse: in the central icon on red medallions in the upper corners, Μ[ή]τηρ Θ[εο]ῦ (Mother of God); on a red band over Mary's right shoulder, Ἡ Παύσον Λύπυ[ς] (the [Mother of God] "cease sorrow!"); on two red medallions over Mary's left shoulder, Ἰ[ησοῦ]ς Χ[ριστό]ς (Jesus Christ). Each feast scene is titled in red. On the reverse: in red majuscules flanking the title plaque of the cross, ἡ Σταύρωσις (the Crucifixion); over Mary's head, Μ[ή]τηρ Θ[εο]ῦ (Mother of God); over John the Evangelist's head, ὁ ἅγ[ιο]ς Ἰω[άννης] ὁ Θεολόγ[ος] (Saint John the Theologian). The surviving labels for figures of the prophets on the frame are inscribed in red, and the open scrolls of the prophets are inscribed in black.
CONDITION: The icon is in a modern frame. Light abrasions occur along the two vertical seams between the panel's boards and along the horizontal seam below a thin strip of wood added along the top.

90, obverse



90, reverse

They are more pronounced on the reverse, where the upper right corner and the lower and right-hand portions of the original, raised frame are damaged. Scars from a frame added at some later date around the central icon on the obverse have been filled in during a recent restoration, as have abrasions to the Crucifixion and four prophets.
Collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Istanbul

The Virgin and Child framed by ten feast scenes on the icon's obverse are complemented on the reverse by the Crucifixion framed by four prophets with open scrolls. Jesus' exceptional pose on the obverse is rooted in compositions akin to the Pelagonitissa (cat. 211) and Kardiotissa (cat. 210), but the pose was transformed here by having the child bend back toward the viewer as he lifts his arms to his mother. The two faces form a dramatic, up/down opposition that is echoed in the surrounding feast scenes, paired to contrast ascent on the one hand, descent on the other.[1] Both the development in depth of the Mother and Child and the bent knees of the crucified Christ on the reverse indicate a familiarity with Italian painting, but one fully integrated into the Byzantine sensibility. Mother and Child reflect motifs recurrent in fifteenth-century Cretan paintings: the child's crossed ankles,[2] his arms lifted to frame Mary's head,[3] her fingers delicately supporting and thus drawing attention to the droop of his head, anticipating its droop in death. The icon is not Cretan in style, however, and the soft, richly bundled folds and coloristic subtlety of the drapery—so closely akin to those in the Transfiguration of 1370–75 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (cat. 171)—suggest a date in the second half of the fourteenth century, as do iconographic parallels with the Transfiguration icon associated with Theophanes the Greek[4] and the late-fourteenth-century Crucifixion icon from Monemvasia.[5]

The epithet is an unusual, imperative form of "Pafsolype" (Cessation of Sorrow).[6] A convent with this rare name, founded in Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century, was renovated shortly thereafter by a noblewoman, Martha Pyriana, as confirmed in a document of 1365.[7] Preserved in the same city, this icon could well have been made for that convent in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[8] AWC

1. Antithesis, including the abrupt juxtaposition of ascent and descent, is a frequent strategy of Byzantine hymnography; see Maguire 1981, pp. 53–83. In this case, Mary's triumph in the Annunciation on the upper left is balanced by her surrender in the Presentation of Christ in the Temple at the upper right; Christ's descent into the depths in the Baptism just below the Annunciation is paired with his exaltation in the Transfiguration on the right side of the frame; Lazarus's ascent from death in his Raising is matched with Jesus' descent into death in the Entry; the descent of Christ into Hades in the Anastasis is brilliantly bonded by the two red mandorlas with Mary's ascent to heaven in the Koimesis. On the central vertical axis, the descent of Christ's flesh to earth at the Nativity is linked with its ascent at his Ascension below. Finally, a vertical reading of the side frames reveals a seesaw alternation of ascent and descent in each.
2. The crossed ankles are linked with themes of sacrifice in Baltoyianni 1994, pp. 17–21.
3. Ibid., p. 13, derives this motif from the Flight into Egypt, and so sees it invested with the tender yet threatening aura that surrounds Mary's maternity.
4. Theophanes is believed to have been trained in Constantinople in the third quarter of the fourteenth century; see Lazarev 1967, p. 399. Alpatov 1979, pp. 134–35, pls. 110, 111, links the Theophanes Transfiguration iconographically with that in Paris (cat. 171), but it is closer to the icon currently under discussion.
5. The icon is now in the Byzantine Museum, Athens; see Vokotopoulos 1995, pl. 130, where it is dated to the late fourteenth century. Mary appears in the same posture at the Crucifixion as she does in the Istanbul icon.
6. Timotheos 1955, pp. 1–2, cites only two other examples: a church in the now-vanished village of Neo Chorio on Chios that was a metochion of Sinai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and an icon of 1779 labeled

"Μήτηρ Θεο Παυσολύπη" on the island of Chalke, near Constantinople.

7. The convent is cited in Janin 1969, p. 217. It was mentioned again in a document of 1401. I am indebted to Alice-Mary Talbot for pointing out this reference to me and for explaining the form of the epithet. I thank her warmly for her help.
8. It is probably impossible to associate the Martha of the 1365 document with the one named in an inscription on the flyleaf of the famous illuminated Tetraevangelion (Iveron, Athos, cod. 5), saying that "on the 8th of March, 7th indiction, 1387, my mother, named Maria but renamed Martha as a nun, died," for the author of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Spanopulos family, named in a slightly earlier inscription of 1386 (fol. 460v). See Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 2, p. 296; Trapp 1976–96, vol. 1, p. 52, no. 26454. No other plausible Martha is cited in this inventory.

91. Icon with the Virgin Kykkotissa

Byzantine (Cyprus), late 13th–first half of the 14th century
Tempera on wood support, primed with cloth, gesso, and bole
109 x 72 x 4.5 cm (42⅞ x 28⅜ x 1¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: The Monastery of Saint John Lampadistis, Kalopanagiotis, Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.
CONDITION: The icon consists of two boards of unequal dimensions with a self-raised frame measuring 4.5 centimeters (1¾ inches) at the top and bottom and 3 centimeters (1⅛ inches) at the sides. The boards are held together by two straps attached from the front with handmade nails. The painted surface is considerably damaged, with losses of color, silver background, and the relief nimbus at the point where it has cracked. The inscriptions in the four medallions containing abbreviations of the names, with traces of red paint for the abbreviation IC [XC] (Jesus Christ), have been almost completely destroyed.
The Byzantine Museum of Saint Ioannis at Kalopanayiotis, Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus

The Virgin is shown against a gold background, from the waist up. She has the usual characteristics of the iconographic type known as the Kykkotissa, an epithet introduced for such images in Cypriot icons.[1] This theory has led some scholars to date the Kykkotissa icons to between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, including, for example, the icons of the Theotokos from Moutoullas and from Agios Theodoros tou Agrou. With her right hand, the Virgin embraces the Christ Child, whose body is sharply turned and whose legs are parted. Christ holds a sealed porphyry scroll, tied with a fine gold cord in his right hand, while his left lifts his mother's veil. The Virgin attempts to restrain the infant by holding him by the wrist of his right hand. The manner in which she raises her hand almost at a right angle to take hold of Christ's is often to be seen in icons of the Kykkotissa type. The lively movement of the Child is intensified by the Virgin's expression of boundless, maternal beauty, as she affectionately bends her head to touch his with her cheek.

The Christ Child has long chestnut blond hair. Beneath his garments there is a fine diaphanous shirt, which can be seen through the openings in his tunic. His short sleeveless tunic is orange with rich gold highlights, and he wears a broad red and gold girdle at the waist that has a darker band passed through it in such a way as to form an X. He has red sandals on his feet.

The Virgin wears a blue tunic decorated with a single gold band at the neck and a double one on the long narrow sleeves. Over the tunic there is a dark-colored maphorion with a gold band and a red veil decorated with heart-shaped motifs and lozenges, similar to that on the icon of the Kykkotissa at Agios Theodoros tou Agrou;[2] the edge of the veil has a gold band with imitation precious stones. The flesh is painted with warm colors modeled to stress the muscles and joints. The eyes are almond-shaped with white in the left corner and large pupils that look at the beholder, and the lips are red.

Each relief nimbus has a band around its edge in which precious stones are set. Similar decoration is borne by the nimbuses of a half-preserved thirteenth-century icon of the Virgin Hodegetria from the village of Alona (unpublished). On the inside, the nimbuses are decorated with rosettes and spiraling scrolls. The nimbus of Christ has a cross inscribed in it. These decorations are paralleled on nimbuses that appear on icons of Saint John Lampadistis (thirteenth century), from the monastery of the same name at Kalopanagiotis;[3] the Theotokos, a variation on the Kykkotissa type (third quarter of the thirteenth century), from the Monastery of Our Lady of Asinou;[4] Saint Mamas (thirteenth century), from Pelendri;[5] Saint George (early fourteenth century), from

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Pedoulas;[6] and the Theotokos Eleousa (first half of the fourteenth century) (unpublished). A Virgin Kykkotissa inscribed "the Athanasiotissa" (second half of the fourteenth century) from the Church of Saint Marina at Kalopanagiotis appears more idealized,[7] but is similar to the present work in the way in which the Virgin touches Christ with her cheek, in the hands, and in the decoration of her tunic. Another icon comparable in design is that of the Virgin Kykkotissa from Agios Theodoros tou Agrou.[8]

That the Kykkotissa type seems to have had its origin in Constantinople is evidenced by the Komnenian icon of the Virgin (first half of the twelfth century) from Sinai.[9] The foundation of the Kykkos Monastery on Cyprus and the bringing to the island of the Komnenian icon led to a progressive dissemination of the type in neighboring areas, such as the Marathasa area, the Troodos range, and the Paphos district. However, the event that contributed to the development of its popularity and, by extension, to that of the cult of Our Lady of Kykkos was the miraculous preservation of the icon from the fire of 1365 and the rebuilding of the monastery by Queen Eleanore.[10] It was after this event that the name Kykkotissa was given to the icon of the Virgin,[11] and the iconographic type subsequently spread throughout the Orthodox world. CH

1. Stylianos K. Perdikēs, "Our Lady Theoskepaste, Fourteenth Century," in Nicosia 2000–2001, p. 284.
2. Sophocleous 1992a, p. 335 n. 23.
3. Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou, "St. John Lampadistes," in Nicosia 2000–2001, pp. 252–53.
4. Hadjichristodoulou and Myriantheus 2002, pp. 41, 43.
5. Sophocleous 1992a, p. 334.
6. Hadjichristodoulou in Nicosia 2000–2001, pp. 270–71.
7. Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou and Kyriakos Papaiōakeim, "Icons in the Metropolis of Morphou," in Nicosia 2000–2001, p. 139; C. Constantinides 2002, pl. 33, fig. 33.
8. Sophocleous 1992a, p. 336, dates this icon to the late thirteenth century, while C. Constantinides 2002, pl. 36, dates it to the sixteenth.
9. Mouriki 1990, p. 105, fig. 19; Tsigaridas 2001, p. 187.
10. Paulides 1987, p. 354.
11. C. Constantinides 2002, p. 68.

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92. Icon with the Holy Virgin Pelagonitissa

Makariya Zograf
Late Byzantine, 1421–22
Tempera on wood
134.5 x 94 x 4 cm (53 x 37 x 1⅝ in.)

INSCRIBED: Flanking the Virgin's head, in Greek, ἡ Μ(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ Πελαγονήτϊσα (Mother of (Mother of God of Pelagonia); on the top rim, in Church Slavonic, +Изволениемь(ь) Г(оспод)а и Б(ог)а и Сп(а)са и(а)ш(е)го Іс(о)у(са) Х(ри)с(т)а и по

и(и)л(о)сти пр(ѣ)у(и)стые Б(о)гом(а)т(е)ре писа се сн прѣсвѣтли образъ в лѣт(о) 6931. Помени Г(оспод)и їерѡм(о)наха кур(ь) Макарїа зогр(а)фа· (With the will of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, and with the mercy of the most pure Mother of God, this most luminous icon was painted in the year of 6930. Remember, o Lord, hieromonk Macarius the painter); on the bottom rim, + И(о)ление раба б(о)жиа Константина с(и)на Гюргїуева а внѹка Шагланова и подрѹжие его кура Фе[ѡ]д(о)р[оу] и чеда его Їакова и Калоиана и Дмитра / и дъщере иего Анна и Єла. Помени мѝ Б(ож)е и рѡд(и)теле и брата мѝ Богоа, кон е ѹмрьл(ь) ѹ заплѣн[ие]н[ин] и дъщере иего кура Зѡю (Supplication of the servant of God, Constantine the son of Gyurgich, grandson of Shaglan, and his wife, the lady Theodora, and his sons Jakov, Kaloyan, and Dmitar, and his daughters Anna and Ella. Remember, o Lord, and his parents, and his brother Bogoya who died in captivity, and his daughter Zoe)

PROVENANCE: Church of the Transfiguration, Zrze Monastery, Prilep.
Museum of Macedonia, Skopje, FYR–Macedonia (357)

The Holy Virgin and the infant Christ are depicted on a gold background, and their complexion is rendered with an ocher and broad olive shadowing, blush and white highlights. The Virgin's purple maphorion has long fringes, and on the edges is an embroidered text of Psalm 44.[1] Christ is dressed in a patterned white tunic with a blue belt adorned with gold streaks and a cinnabar cloak.

The icon of the Holy Virgin Pelagonitissa is considered a variation of the Virgin of Tenderness (Glykophilousa). The infant Christ hugging his mother with his back turned to the viewer characterizes this type, a gesture

that boosts the drama of the mother worried for her frightened child who is threatened with martyrdom.[2] This image, conveying the heightened emotions of the mother and the child, is also related to another iconographic type, the Holy Virgin of Sorrows (Passion).[3] It is believed that the image and the topographic epithet were created, following older Slavic traditions, in monasteries in the Pelagonia region of Macedonia, most probably during the time of the mid-ninth-century Slavic missionaries Cyril and Methodios. This iconographic type, regardless of the appellation, appears on fresco icons, for example, the iconostasis of the Church of Saint George at Staro Nagoricino. Other well-known older icons of the Holy Virgin Pelagonitissa are found at Veroia (Ber),[4] Hilandar,[5] Dečani, and Prizren,[6] and one early example of Macedonian origin from the fifteenth century is in the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai (cat. 211).[7] The belt strapped on Christ's shoulders is an iconographic detail that scholars explain as an allusion to "Christ as prelate who sanctifies the temple."[8]

Other works by Makariya are found in the vicinity of Prilep and in Serbia.[9] In the history of medieval art in Macedonia, the icon of the Holy Virgin Pelagonitissa has been considered one of the last outstanding achievements of icon painting, a representative of the then still-living tradition of Byzantine iconography. It was displayed as a patronal icon on the iconostasis of the Church of the Transfiguration in the monastery in the village of Zrze, near Prilep, the donor and founder of which was the fourteenth-century monk Germanos. His painter grandsons, hieromonachos (ordained monk) Makariya and the metropolitan Jovan Zograf, cared for the monastery endowment until it was transferred to Constantine, the village head *(kmet)*, who is mentioned in the icon's inscription.[10] These facts are also recorded in the fresco inscription on the south entrance of the monastery church.[11] VP-K

1. Psalm 45 in Latin version. Babić 1991, p. 73.
2. Běljaev 1930; Miljković-Pepek 1957, pp. 20–27; Babić 1985, p. 266.
3. Đurić 1969, p. 32.
4. Papazōtos 1995, fig. 61.
5. Bogdanović et al. 1978, pp. 112, 118.
6. Belgrade 1980, nos. 24–25.
7. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 235, vol. 2, pp. 205–6.
8. Lidov 1986, p. 17.
9. Subotić 1980, pp. 43–52.
10. Ibid., p. 46.
11. Rasolkoska-Nikolovska 1966, pp. 88–89.

References: Hadži-Vasiljević 1902, p. 116; Běljaev 1930; Blažić 1952; Miljković-Pepek 1955, pp. 143–49; S. Radojčić 1955, p. 144; Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, p. 80, fig. 95a; S. Radojčić 1956, p. 81, fig. 25; Ammann 1957, p. 201, fig. 41; Miljković-Pepek 1957; Đurić 1961b, pp. 39, 97, fig. 52; S. Radojčić 1962, p. xvi, fig. 67; Paris 1965, no. 32; Weitzmann et al. 1966, p. lxv, fig. 191; Tokyo–Kyoto 1967, no. 21; Kolb 1968, p. 108; Balabanov 1969, p. xxv, fig. 31; Đurić 1969; Sarajevo 1971, no. 298; Miljković-Pepek 1972, fig. 13; S. Radojčić 1972, p. lxix, fig. 191; Đurić 1974b, p. 84, fig. 87; D. T. Rice 1974; Belgrade 1976, no. 354; Balabanov 1979; Babić 1980, p. 26, fig. 41; Subotić 1980, p. 40, figs. 46–47; Madrid 1981, no. 19; Rasolkoska-Nikolovska 1981, p. 419; Antić-Komnenović 1982, pp. 45–47, fig. 9; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 142–43, fig. 197; Babić 1985, p. 266; Lidov 1986, p. 17, fig. 16; Vatican 1986, no. 19; Zagreb 1987, no. 101; Balabanov 1995, no. 45, fig. 115; Paris 1999b, no. 36; Cracow 2000, no. 8.

93. Icon with the Virgin Kykkotissa

Byzantine (Cyprus), 16th century
Tempera and gold leaf on wood support, primed with cloth, gesso, and bole
89.5 x 54.4 cm (35¼ x 21⅜ in.)
Inscribed: On either side of the Virgin's halo, MH(TH)P Θ(EO)Y / H KYKHOTICA (Mother of God the Kykkotissa); to the left of Christ's halo, I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C (Jesus Christ); on the border of the maphorion, TOY TAΠEINOY ΛOYKA XEIP (The Hand of the Humble Loukas [Luke])
Byzantine Museum at Pedoulas, Holy Bishropic of Morphou, Cyprus

The most venerated icon of Cyprus is that of the Virgin Kykkotissa (Kykiotisa according to the oldest scripts), which constitutes the palladion of the Monastery of Kykkos. It was donated by the emperor Alexios I Komnenos at the end of the eleventh century, together with a donation for the foundation of the monastery, as a result of the efforts of the hermit Isaïas, who was leading an ascetic life on the mountain where the monastery stands today. This icon had been kept in the royal palace at Constantinople and was thought to be made by Saint Luke, who, according to tradition, painted it while the Virgin was still alive. Now covered by a metallic icon and a woven podea, it is not visible and thus cannot be dated, but its particular iconographic type spread very early (see cat. 91), mainly in the Balkans and Russia, probably in a period when it was uncovered. The attribution of the iconographic type to Constantinople is corroborated by the well-known icon at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, which Kurt Weitzmann connected with the artistic activity of Constantinople and dated to the second half of the eleventh century.

Only on Cyprus does this iconographic type with the epithet Kykiotissa appear as early as the first part of the thirteenth century. The oldest known mural on the island bearing that epithet is in the Church of Saints Kyrikos and Ioulitti at Letympou (ca. 1200), which, although poorly preserved, is datable because of other murals near it belonging to the same layer of paintings.[1] The mural on the apse of the Church of the Theotokos at Lysos, which has a similar image but not the epithet, dates to the thirteenth century.[2] On portable icons from Cyprus the name appears from the thirteenth century on, according to present data.[3] The iconographic type is found on such icons under various versions and epithets: the icon of the Virgin Athanasiotissa, for example, is of the same type but bears a different name.[4] Cypriot manuscripts do not contain the epithet until the second half of the fourteenth century.[5]

On the present work the Virgin is depicted half length and carries the Christ Child on her left arm. She inclines her head toward his and touches him with her right hand. One of his legs hangs down, the other is outstretched. Christ places his left hand within the folds of the Virgin's veil, which overlaps her maphorion; in his right hand he holds a sealed scroll. Apart from the customary garments (blue chiton and red-purple maphorion), the Virgin wears the typical veil of the Kykkotissa, which falls diagonally over her head and on her left shoulder, its dark blue color dotted with heart-shaped and rhomboidal gold ornaments. All the garments are decorated with gold borders. Christ wears a transparent white shirt under a red-orange chiton with chrysography, fastened at the waist by a blue cloth strip. There are sandals on his feet. The two figures are depicted against an ochre-yellow background surrounded by a red frame. Only the halos are gilded.

The typical additional veil of the Kykkotissa appears for the first time in Byzantine iconography on the late-twelfth-century icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste from Kato Paphos.[6] Although this icon is not of the Kykkotissa type, its dating to the late twelfth century proves that such a veil could not be of Western origin, as previously proposed.[7] Its presence on the icon at Kato Paphos may refer to the epithet Theoskepaste, which means "covered by God," in which case, it may allude to the descent of God in the form of the celestial firmament.

Several etymologies and interpretations have been proposed for the epithet Kykiotissa and the toponym Kykkos, but it seems that they are related, as are many of the epithets of the Virgin in Cyprus, to the local flora of the place of worship. In the case of Kykiotissa, the thriving flora on the mountain of Kykkos is a species of oak tree, the golden Cyprus

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oak (*Quercus alnifolia*). In the works of Theophrastos and Dioskorides, the apple of the oak tree is called *kikis* (κηκις) from their phrase "kikis is the fruit of the oak,"[8] and was mentioned as being used for tanning and dying. It seems most probable that "Kykiotissa" comes from *kikis* and means the Virgin of the Oak Apple. A related epithet is Panagia tou Valana (Virgin of the Oak Trees' Place) at the community of Lancia, where there was a monastery of the same name whose icon palladion is today kept in the parish church and dates back to the last quarter of the twelfth century.[9]

The Pedoulas icon is signed by the painter Loukas, whose art bears the strong mark of Palaiologan influence as it was felt during the sixteenth century. Remaining faithful to the rigid Eastern tradition, Loukas and other such artists were not affected to any great extent, if at all, by the Italian Renaissance. Another work signed by Loukas is the icon of Saint George Eleimon in the Chapel of the Panagia Kardakiotissa at Alona.[10]

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8. See P. G. Gennadios, *Lexikon phytologikon* (Athens, 1914), p. 258.
9. Sophocleous 1994, p. 134, no. 11.
10. See for both icons Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou and Kyriakos Papaioakeim, "Icons in the Metropolis of Morphou," in Nicosia 2000–2001, p. 146; Kostas Gerasimou in ibid., p. 162.

94. Triptych with Virgin and Child and Saints

Nikolaos Tzafouris (act. 1489–93) or Andreas Ritzos (1422–1492)
Crete (Candia?), late 15th century
Painting on wood
25 x 43.5 cm (9⅞ x 17⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: Between the arms of the cross on the exterior of the triptych, IC XC NK (Jesus Christ conquers); Φ Χ.Φ Π (The light of Christ shines on all); Τ Κ Π Γ (The place of the skull is Paradise now)
Private collection, London

Traditional Byzantine and Gothic iconographic types, juxtaposed in a typically Cretan manner, decorate this triptych.[1] The central panel portrays the Virgin and Child in the type of Madre della Consolazione that was painted by Cretan artists during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see also cat. 292). The type may have been established by Nikolaos Tzafouris, who may also be the artist responsible for this triptych, as his painting is characterized by the same combination of Byzantine and Western iconographic and stylistic elements.[2] The left wing portrays the apostles Peter and Paul embracing, a scene associated with the Union of Churches that was proclaimed in 1439. The portrayal, possibly created by the Cretan artist Angelos Akotantos,[3] is in an austere Byzantine style and may be a copy of an original by Angelos painted by Andreas Ritzos.[4] The reverse of this wing has a full-length frontal portrait of Saint George in military dress, as in other Cretan icons and an icon in the former Likhachev collection.[5]

On the obverse of the right panel two anonymous Western deacons, beardless and with short hair and tonsure, are painted in a Gothic manner. Clothed in red sticharia with gold embroidery, the pair must represent Saints Stephen and Lawrence. According to an account of a posthumous miracle, the healing by exorcism of Eudoxia, the daughter of Emperor Theodosius, the two were buried together in the same tomb in Rome.[6] This pair of Roman saints works well as a pendant to the embrace of Peter and Paul on the other side. When the triptych is closed, this panel displays on the reverse a cross on a stepped plinth painted in gold on a background painted in floral scrolls.[7]

MG

1. See Sophocleous 1992a, pl. 9.
2. Ibid., pl. 13.
3. See ibid., pl. 1.
4. See Athens 1976a, no. 30.
5. See C. Constantinides 2002, p. 68.
6. See Sophocleous 1994, no. 12a.
7. Hadermann-Misguich 1991.

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1. Other similarly shaped triptychs, with a flat top and base, include a Cretan work from the same period in London (London 1979, p. 43, no. 29) and a triptych with the Coronation of the Virgin in the Vatican (Bettini 1933, pl. 22). The latter piece also shows Peter and Paul on the left panel.
2. Compare the paintings of the Madre della Consolazione type signed by Nikolaos Tzafouris in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens and in Trieste; see Athens–London 1987, no. 42, p. 175, and Bianco Fiorin 1983. See also Baltoyianni 1994, pp. 273–80; Athens–London 1987, pp. 176–77.
3. Vassilaki 1990, pp. 408–10. The subject was painted by Cretan painters in the fifteenth century: an icon by Angelos (in Zakynthos, now lost), an icon at Hodegetria Monastery in Crete, and an icon in the Ashmolean Musuem, Oxford. This popular subject was also painted in the Great Lavra on Mount Athos and in Ioannina, in Epiros, in the sixteenth century.
4. C. Bouras 1988, pp. 69–70, has attributed the triptych to Andreas Ritzos, based on Ritzos's acquisition of the cartoons of Angelos Akotantos from his brother John Acotanto.
5. Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, pl. 108b.
6. The devil, on leaving her, cried out that the two saints had to be buried in the same tomb. When Stephen was placed in Lawrence's tomb, the latter moved to the left in order to leave the place of honor to the first Christian martyr; see Kaftal 1952, vol. 1, fig. 718. The scene is depicted in the Church of San Lorenzo

94, closed

94, back of left wing

Fuori le Mura in Rome; see Acta Sanctorum, 1965–70, vol. 25, pp. 528–29, nos. 41–46.

7. Similar delicate decoration is to be found on a triptych in Ravenna attributed to a painter of the fifteenth-century Venetian-Ferrarese school; see Pavan 1979, p. 93, no. 154.

REFERENCES: Charleroi 1982, no. 22; Athens 1983, no. 38, pp. 44–46; Athens–London 1987, pp. 111, 176–77; Vassilaki 1990, fig. 15.

95. The Holy Face of Laon

Slavic, 13th century
Tempera on primed cedar panel
44.1 x 40.1 cm (17⅜ x 15¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: Flanking the head, the sigla I[HCOY]C X[PICTO]C (Jesus Christ); below it in the same vermilion paint, in Slavonic, ѡбразъ г(о)сп(о)днь на ѵбрѹсѣ (The face of the Lord on the handkerchief)
PROVENANCE: Jacques Pantaléon de Troyes (later Pope Urban IV, r. 1261–64); in 1249 offered by him, then in Rome, to his sister Sybille, abbess of the Cistercian convent of Montreuil-en-Thiérache, France, where the painting indeed was by 1262; transferred in the seventeenth century, perhaps 1658, to the Convent of Montreuil-les-Dames, La Neuville, near Laon, and there installed in 1679 in a silver reliquary; sent in 1792, when the reliquary was melted down, to the parish church; sequestered by the administrator Lobjoy during the Terror and sent to Laon Cathedral in 1795; transferred officially to the cathedral treasury, 1807.
CONDITION: The icon was fully restored in 1988–91 to counteract and protect against moisture. The flesh has remained almost wholly free of overpainting; the considerable paint losses in the beard have been stippled over and those in the background filled in.
Treasury, Laon Cathedral

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Few works so fully exemplify the history of Byzantine holy images as this one. It represents the famous face cloth, or Mandylion (from the Arabic *mandyl,* towel), imprinted with his likeness that Jesus is supposed to have sent to the Armenian king Abgar of Edessa. There it was long venerated as a protective palladion but in 944 was brought triumphantly to Constantinople.[1] Renowned throughout the Byzantine period of Iconoclasm (726–843) as the greatest of the "acheiropoieta" images (ones not made by human hands) and cited to prove divine sanction of images, the Mandylion was displayed for pilgrim veneration in Constantinople and celebrated in an annual feast on August 16. Yet it acquired little place in the public propaganda of the state and was eventually lost in the terrible wake of 1204, when Constantinople fell to the Latin West. What it had failed to acquire as a relic, though, it did as an image: widely represented in twelfth-century murals, it developed by the end of the century a distinctive version for devotional contemplation on icons. This showed the neckless face of Christ on a field defined by the icon itself, as if the icon offered not a picture of the Mandylion, but the Mandylion itself.[2] If indeed in Rome by 1249, as indicated by the now-lost letter of Jacques Pantaléon de Troyes,[3] the present panel would be among the earliest examples of the iconic version.[4]

As this version proliferated, the Mandylion assumed a new vitality in Orthodox devotion. The same happened in the Latin West. There, the visible face of God claimed new intensity in the thirteenth century. This is seen in the transformation about 1200 of the cult of the Veronica (another cloth on which Christ's visage was miraculously imprinted) into a cult of Christ's face.[5] It was as a Veronica, not a Mandylion, that this panel was offered in the presumed letter of Jacques de Troyes to his sister, abbess of Montreuil-en-Thiérache, in 1249.[6] It stepped easily into this role, assuming compelling authority as the image of Jesus's face. Already about 1280 we see it replicated as the Veronica in the Psalter of Yolande de Soissons.[7] Its authority derived from its authenticity, and this it acquired from its deep roots in Byzantine tradition. As European devotion began to demand to see the very face of God, it was Byzantine tradition that could satisfy that need. The icon at Montreuil became not a picture, merely, but a holy relic, preserving the authentic form of the face of God. Long the object of pilgrimage, it survived the French Revolution only clandestinely and was meticulously conserved in 1988–91—not for transfer to a museum of fine art, but so it could withstand exposure for veneration. Few will visit it here expecting to see the very form of the face of God. But many will search it earnestly to see what was seen as the face of God. AWC

1. Of the Mandylion's extensive bibliography, see in particular Dobschütz 1899, pp. 102–96, 158*–249*, 29**–129**; A. Grabar 1931; Weitzmann 1960; Cameron 1984; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 1282–83; Wolf 1998.
2. The earliest example is a late-twelfth-century icon from Novgorod with the face of Christ—but not the pattern of the cloth—on the obverse and the Passion relics on the reverse, perhaps reflecting the pilgrimage site of Saint Mary of the Pharos in the Great Palace at Constantinople, where both the Mandylion and the

Passion relics were displayed (see Belting 1994, p. 214, pl. 128, and a fine color reproduction in Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 259). The iconic version became especially prevalent in the iconography of the Russian and Slavic churches.

3. This letter, reproduced in A. Grabar 1931, p. 8, exists in several transcriptions and is supposed to have been given to the chapter of Laon Cathedral in 1807 with the painting. But it no longer exists.
4. The attribution of the painting remains tentative. As the red paint of the sigla is identical to that of the Slavonic inscription, it seems clear that it was produced in one of the Slavic countries—Serbia, Bulgaria, or Russia. The soft, volumetric manner suggests a date in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, but if the letter from Jacques de Troyes is credited, the painting was in Rome before 1249. As André Grabar (1931, p. 15), points out, the papal court to which Jacques de Troyes belonged was in diplomatic contact with Bulgaria, Serbia, and Kiev in the early thirteenth century.
5. On this process, see Rome 2000–2001, pp. 67–214; Wolf 1998. The Veronica was the cloth proffered by the legendary Saint Veronica ("Vera icona" means true image) on which Jesus wiped his face on his way to Calvary. In contrast to the Mandylion, it emerged from the Passion story. The relic may have been destroyed in the sack of Rome in 1527. On the Veronica, see Kuryluk 1991.
6. "Idcirco vos rogamus enixe, ut propter reverentiam illius quem repraesentat, recipiatis eam, ut Sanctam Veronicam, seu veram ipsius imaginem et similitudinem" (Thus we ask that, out of reverence for him whom it represents, you receive this as a Holy Veronica, or true image and likeness of him); quoted in A. Grabar 1931, p. 8.
7. See Gould 1978, pp. 93–94, fig. 7.

References: A. Grabar 1931; Miatev 1964; Gould 1978, pp. 81–94, fig. 65; Paris 1988, pp. 16–17, pl. 1; Paris 1992–93, p. 475, no. 365; Belting 1994, p. 218, fig. 131; Guillou 1994, p. 33, fig. 11; Piel 1995; Wolf 1998, pp. 164, 171, fig. 10; Kessler 2000, pp. 71 n. 42, 102, 124 n. 78, 136 n. 120, fig. 5.9; Rome 2000–2001, pp. 97–99, no. III.13.

96. Mandylion, Icon with the Christ "Not Made by Human Hands"

Serapion (?)
Veliky Ustiug, Russia, 1447 (?)
Tempera on wood
108 x 95 cm (42½ x 37⅜ in.)
Inscribed: IC XC (Jesus Christ), о wн (He Who is); in Russian, не[р]ѵко[творный образъ] ... Г(оспода)а распятаг(о) (the image, not made by hands . . . of the crucified Lord)
Provenance: Veliky Ustiug; brought by an expedition of the State Tret'iakov Gallery; arrived at the Gallery in 1964.
Condition: There are losses of paint on the face, background, and inscriptions along seams in the wood on the right and left. The red outline of the nimbus is almost completely lost. There are traces of nails in the background. The board is deformed.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (DR-286)

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The iconography here is based on the legend of Abgar, the king of Edessa, who, in one of several versions of the story, sent the painter Ananias to Christ, asking him to paint a portrait of Christ in the hope that looking upon it would cure the king of a disease. When Ananias was unable to paint Christ, Christ wet his face and wiped it with a piece of cloth, on which his image miraculously appeared. Ananias then took the portrait on the cloth to Abgar in Edessa. A cult grew up around this image, known as the Mandylion (Holy Towel), and became widespread in the Byzantine world in 944, when the cloth was brought from Edessa to Constantinople. In Byzantine and Russian art the image of Christ "Not Made by Human Hands" (archeiropoietos) was widely known from the twelfth century.

The present icon follows an ancient tradition in depicting the Savior without the cloth. The typological similarity of the face to those of the icons of the Christ Not Made by Human Hands from Rostov and the village of Novoe allows us to connect it with the Rostov tradition of painting.[1] As the icon was discovered in Veliky Ustiug, it was probably a local work and possibly the city's most famous and sacred treasure—the icon of the Christ Not Made by Human Hands painted by the hieromonk Serapion in 1447 and often mentioned in historical sources.[2] Records suggest that this icon was initially "on a city tower" and later, in the seventeenth century, in a church above the city gate. In the 1820s it was moved into the Vsegorodskaia Spasskaia church, which was built especially to house it, where it stayed until 1921, when the church was destroyed.[3]

The attribution of this work to Serapion is substantiated by the inscriptions and repairs discovered in the process of conservation. The joints of the boards are covered by wide, thick layers of gesso, applied to even out the deformed surface of the board. The first restoration occurred when the icon was partially repainted for transfer to the newly built church above the gate. A second was done at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, which also correlates with the time when it was brought to another church. Numerous traces of nail holes discovered on the icon indicate that it was once covered by a revetment, which incidentally was described in the Pistsovaia book of 1676–83.[4]

NVR

1. See Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, pp. 53, 108–9, 125–26, nos. 8, 40, 51.
2. Rozanova 1974, pp. 86–89.
3. Nikolaev and Naĭdenov 1883, pp. 1, 41; Titov 1903, p. 2; Dunaev 1919, pp. 16, 21, 22; Evdokimov 1921, p. 98.
4. Nikolaev and Naĭdenov 1883, p. 1.

REFERENCES: Moscow 1966–67, no. 48; Moscow, Acquisitions, 1968, p. 22; Rome–Moscow 1999–2000, no. 21.

97. Icon with Christ King of Glory (Man of Sorrows)

Balkans (?), 14th century
Tempera and gold on wood
110 x 94 cm (43¼ x 37 in.)
INSCRIBED: In white, in Church Slavonic, on the broad black crossbeam, ц(а)рь гл(а)вы ("King of Glory.") On both sides of the halo are fragments of an ancient, but illegible, vermilion inscription.
PROVENANCE: The icon was found in the ruined Church of the Dormition[1] in the village of Krivoe (in Cholmogory uezd, Archangelsk Oblast' [province]) and was brought to Moscow by an expedition of the People's Committee for Education (Nakompros) of RSFSR in 1920. The icon was later placed in the Central State Restoration workshops (Tsentralnye Gosudarstvennye Restavratsionnye masterskie). It was acquired by the State Tret'iakov Gallery in 1931.
CONDITION: The icon was repainted early in its history, when the black crossbeam with an inscription was added. There are major losses of the painting layer as well as of the silver background. The halo with cross has lost most of its decoration, one imitating jewels.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (22944)

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The origin of the iconography of this icon is probably related to the events of Saturday of Holy Week: after Christ's body was laid in the tomb, his soul descended into purgatory, from where he delivered the righteous, but the great mystery of the Resurrection had not yet occurred. Long before that, while addressing his mother, the Savior said: "Do not lament Me, O Mother, seeing Me in the tomb, the Son conceived in the womb without seed; for I shall arise, and be glorified; and, as God, I shall unceasingly exalt all who extol Thee in faith and in love." These words, from the irmos of the canon, are read during the Holy Saturday service.

This iconography is known from the twelfth century in Byzantine and Balkan icon painting.[2] An icon of later date, from the second half of the fifteenth century, *Christ in the Tomb, with the Virgin and John the Theologian* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), is attributed to the Cretan artist Nikolaos Tzafouris.[3] The inscription on the present icon reflects the composition (and determines its title): a half-length image of Christ, absent the sepulchre, with the black crossbeam with nails at shoulder level.

The image of the dead Christ on a separate icon is not typical for Old Russian icon painting. Usually it is a part of compositions, such as the Deposition from the Cross, the Entombment, and "Do not lament me, O Mother." The latter is the closest iconographic analogy to the present icon; it is worth mentioning that the title cites the words of the irmos. A depiction of the entombed Christ on the seventeenth-century Iaroslavl icon[4] is probably a unique image because this iconography was not widely spread in later Russian icon painting.

The present icon was most probably located in the niche of the prothesis of the Church of the Dormition, as were the wall paintings in Novgorod churches at the end of the fifteenth century[5] and Serbian frescoes from the same period.[6] NGB

1. In early publications it is mistakenly called Trinity Church, as it was written down in the diary of N. N. Pomerantsev. Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, pp. 180–81, document the erroneous name of the church and its history.
2. See, for example, New York 1997, no. 72, for a double-sided icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and Man of Sorrows from the second half of the twelfth century in the Byzantine Museum in Kastoria, Greece.
3. Evseeva et al. 2002, p. 106.
4. *Entsiklopediia pravoslavnoi sviatosti* (Moscow, 1997), vol. 2, p. 211.
5. In the Church of the Dormition at Volotov, and the Church of the Transfiguration of the Savior, Kovalevo.
6. In the Kalenić and Markov monasteries, Serbia.

REFERENCE: Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, pp. 180–81, pl. 85 (with bibl.).

98. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Paramythia and the Man of Sorrows

Obverse: The Virgin Paramythia
End of the 16th century
Reverse: Man of Sorrows (Akra Tapeinosis—"Utmost Humiliation")
End of the 14th–early 15th century
Tempera on wood
115.5 x 70 cm (45½ x 27½ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, Μ(ΗΤΗ)Ρ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ Η ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ ΚΑΙ Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C Χ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C (Mother of God the Solace and Jesus Christ); on the reverse, behind the cross, Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΗC ΔΩΞΗC (King of Glory); in the background, Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C Χ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C Η ΑΠΟΚΑΘΗΛΩCΙC (Jesus Christ, the Deposition)
PROVENANCE: Church of Aghios Nikolaos, of the parish of Aghios Loukas, Kastoria.
Byzantine Museum, Kastoria (60/72)

The grooves in the bottom of the frame of this double-sided icon from Kastoria suggest that it was a processional icon with a specific liturgical use in connection with the Passion service of Holy Week. The iconography of the Man of Sorrows (reverse) was inspired by the flowering of the liturgical services related to the Passion of Christ in the monasteries of Constantinople in the eleventh century.[1] For the Holy Week services of the Orthodox Church, an iconography was required that combined the Crucifixion, the Deposition, the Lamentation at the Tomb, and the Entombment. The figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrows combines these themes, with the cross that is seen behind him and with the overall funerary character of the icon. His red halo is inscribed with a cross, the arms of which are painted royal blue.

The figure on the Kastoria icon has a close iconographic relationship with another two-sided icon with the same theme, also of a local workshop, dating to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.[2] The nude Christ, with his slender hands crossed over his bulging abdomen (a feature typical of cadavers), his oval face with its delicate features, and the soft shading in the rendering of his face and the body, continues a fourteenth-century style found in works of the later Palaiologan period, such as the Man of Sorrows from the diptych icon of the Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteora (see fig. 331.1).[3] Closer still is the iconographic and artistic connection with another double-sided icon from Kastoria, this one also showing the Virgin Hodegetria on the main side, and which has been dated to the transition from the fourteenth to fifteenth century.[4] Based on these comparisons, the Man of Sorrows should be attributed to a workshop of Kastoria from the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.[5]

The later artist who painted the icon on the front, the Virgin Paramythia (Holding the Christ Child), a variant of the Virgin Hodegetria, followed an iconographic type that connects him to the tradition of

98, obverse

98, reverse

99, reverse

sixteenth-century Cretan art[6] as it was transferred to northwestern Greece in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[7] During the cleaning of the icon, it was established that an older layer of painting, possibly depicting the same subject, is preserved below the current layer of painting. The extent of this older layer is unknown. ENT

1. Pallas 1965, pp. 197ff; Belting 1980–81, pp. 5ff.
2. Tsigaridas 1995, p. 347, fig. 2.
3. Vokotopoulos 1995, fig. 124.
4. Tsigaridas 1995, p. 347, fig. 2.
5. Livieratou 1999, no. 11, pp. 77–78.
6. M. Chatzidakis 1969–70, fig. 83.
7. Livieratou 1999, no. 11, pp. 77–78.

References: Livieratou 1999, no. 11, pp. 77–78; Tsigaridas 2002, p. 24, figs. 11–12.

99. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Psychosostria and the Annunciation

Byzantine (Constantinople), early 14th century
Tempera and gold on wood, with silver-gilt and enamel revetment
93 x 68 cm (36⅝ x 26¾ in.)
Inscribed: On the obverse, in the roundels, M[HTH]P Θ[EO]Y (Mother of God) and I[HCOY]C X[PICTO]C (Jesus Christ); in the rectangular plaques, H ΨYXOCΩ[CT]PIA (Savior of Souls). On the reverse, O XAIPETICMOC (The Annunciation), O [AP]X[AΓΓEΛOC] ΓABPIHΛ (The Archangel Gabriel), and M[HTH]P Θ[EO]Y (Mother of God).
Provenance: Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid.
Icon Gallery, Ohrid, FYR–Macedonia (10)

99, obverse

This two-sided icon is a fine example of contemporary artistic tendencies in the Byzantine capital during the Late Byzantine period. The half-length figure of the Virgin appears on the front of the icon. Her solemn, perfectly preserved face expresses a mild severity. She holds the infant Christ, whose head is covered with pale reddish locks. Busts of the archangels Michael and Gabriel are portrayed in the corners at the top of the icon. The entire background and the frame are covered with an elaborate silver-gilt revetment, which is a masterpiece in itself. Together with geometric and floral ornaments, such as stylized rosettes, it is adorned with meticulously cast figures in relief. The image of the Virgin is surrounded by a frame crested in the middle with the bust of Christ Pantokrator, flanked by symmetrically arranged busts of the prophets Aaron, Gideon, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Habakkuk, the righteous Jacob, and an attached medallion of Saint John Chrysostom.

The Virgin bears the appellation Psychosostria, a variation of the Virgin Hodegetria. When Nikodim P. Kondakov wrote about this icon in 1909, he mentioned the existence of a monastery of the same name in Constantinople.[1] According to charters kept on Mount Athos, the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328) bestowed the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Virgin Psychosostria upon Gregory I, archbishop of Ohrid, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is very likely that this icon arrived in Ohrid during the time when the monastery was administered from Ohrid by the abbot Galaktion.

On the back of the icon is the scene of the Annunciation, and it is considered to be among the best achievements of Byzantine icon painting of the Palaiologan renaissance. The figures of the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin are portrayed skillfully. They are set as statues on pedestals in a defined space against a harsh architectural backdrop. A play of contrasts is achieved by setting off the bright garment of the archangel against the Virgin's almost entirely dark maphorion. The visages are enveloped in a soft shadow, barely foretelling a mystery below the imaginary gold heaven. MiG

1. Kondakov 1909, p. 253.

References: Kondakov 1909, pp. 253–55; Dalton 1911, p. 11; Kondakov 1914–15, vol. 2, p. 237, fig. 116; Filov 1924, p. 57, pl. 21; Diehl 1925–26, vol. 2, pp. 869–70; Mazalić 1939, p. 126; Kašanin 1943, pp. 81–82; Snegarov 1943, pp. 27, 35; Ljubinković 1952, pp. 78–79; Ćorović-Ljubinković 1953, fig. 2; Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, pp. 77–78, 82, figs. 88, 97; Ammann 1957, p. 199; Blažić

1957, pp. 23–29, pls. 6–7; Bihalji-Merin 1958, p. 17, fig. 71; Macan 1959, pp. 68–70; Ljubinković and Ćorović-Ljubinković 1961, pp. 121–22; Đurić 1961, no. 14, pp. 83–84, pls. XVII–XXI; S. Radojčić 1962, p. xi; Paris 1965, no. 8; D. T. Rice 1968c, pp. 238–39, figs. 223–224; Balabanov 1969, p. xvi, figs. 24, 26–27; Weitzmann et al. 1970, pp. lxii, lxxxix, fig. 159, Paris 1971, no. 287; Sarajevo 1971, no. 287; A. Grabar 1975b, pp. 13, 38–39, pls. 20–22; S. Radojčić 1975, pp. 65–67; Babić 1980, p. 22, figs. 17–18; Balabanov 1983, pp. 108–9, figs. 47–48, 52; Miljković-Pepek 1984, p. 185; Tatić-Đurić 1984, no. 12; Vatican 1986, no. 16; Balabanov 1995, pp. 191–93, nos. 16–17; Georgievski 1999, p. 7, nos. 18–19; Paris 1999b, no. 26; Rome 1999b, no. 26; Padua 2000–2001, no. 30.

100. Icon with the Nativity

Byzantine, first quarter of the 15th century
Tempera and gold on wood, priming on textile
65.7 x 63.4 cm (25⅞ x 25 in.)
PROVENANCE: Volpi collection, Venice; Peratikos collection, London; the present owner.
CONDITION: The icon is in good condition. An early restoration was responsible for infilling on the gold background and overpainting on the azure sky and the shaded side of the mountain at left. Limited damage has been caused by five vertical cracks, which were filled in during a recent restoration.
Rena Andreadis Collection, Athens

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The central focus of this icon is the reclining Virgin with the baby behind her. The apparently fortuitous shape of the central rock is the vehicle used to structure and display the subsidiary scenes. It forms an unobtrusive but well-defined frontier between heaven and earth, with the angels above and mankind below. The newborn Child, lying in the area between, belongs to both worlds, both doctrinally and pictorially. The cave and the sarcophagus-like cradle make a clear allusion to the future burial of Christ, the Incarnate Word. Another hint of Christ's coming Passion is given by the sword-shaped light-blue ray directed from heaven at the heart of the reclining Virgin, thus illustrating the prophecy of the high priest Simeon: "and a sword will pierce your own soul too" (Luke 2:35).[1]

The circular structure of the scene is given special emphasis by the semicircle of the sky. The azure band along its edge originally contained an inscription in Greek (Luke 2:14), traces of which are still visible.[2] This was later covered by a Latin inscription in large lettering, part of which is still visible, an indication that at some point in its history the icon was kept in a Latin-speaking, probably Catholic, environment.[3]

This Nativity has strong affinities with two wall paintings of the same subject in churches in Mistra: the Nativity in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos (ca. 1370–80)[4] is almost identical in structure, while that in the Pantanassa Church (ca. 1430) displays a comparable chromatic range and dynamic modeling of the figures.[5] Similar stylistic features are also found in Cretan wall paintings dated to the early fifteenth century and in a series of portable icons from the same period, all of which are generally attributed to Constantinopolitan painters.[6]

Affiliations with contemporary Italian painting, evident in details such as the naturalistic treatment of the animals at the manger, and especially their mature and harmonious inclusion in a purely Byzantine canvas, are impressive but not surprising.[7] Similar features in the monuments of Mistra have been explained in the light of the complex social structure of the despotate,[8] and it is reasonable to speculate that a similar cultural osmosis existed in Constantinople itself, where dense clusters of Western merchants had been living for centuries and where mixed marriages between members of the court and members of Western aristocracies were common.[9]

The quality of the painting suggests that it was a commission from a patron both demanding and artistically sensitive, alert to the theological niceties of the iconography and at the same time knowledgeable and receptive as regards the incorporation of features from contemporary Western painting.

AD

1. Maguire 1977, pp. 138–39 nn. 85–86, fig. 19; Maguire 1981, pp. 96–101; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch 1986, pp. 185–87; Baltoyianni 1994, p. 227, no. 62.
2. Drandaki 2002, pp. 24–26.
3. During the same alteration the gold stars were added to the blue sky along with some sporadic infillings.
4. Millet 1910, pl. 118.1–2; Lazarev 1967, pp. 381–82; Buchthal 1975, pp. 169–75; M. Chatzidakis 1981, pp. 77–89, fig. 47.
5. Mouriki 1991b, pp. 220–21, fig. 10.
6. Drandaki 2002, pp. 33–34.
7. Đurić 1972, pp. 288–91; Velmans 1972b.
8. Zakythinos 1953, pp. 4–45, 320ff; Mouriki 1991b, pp. 228–31.
9. Laiou 1972, pp. 57–76, 101–14, 260–77, and *passim*; Origone 1996.

REFERENCES: Garrison 1949, p. 114, no. 293; Lazarev 1967, pp. 407–8, fig. 574; Charleroi 1982, no. 10; Athens–London 1987, pp. 166–67, no. 30; Baltoyianni 1994, pp. 226–28, no. 62; Buckton 1994b, pp. 213–15, no. 228; Drandaki 2002, pp. 24–35.

101. Icon with the Nativity

Central Rus', 16th century
Tempera and gold on wood
59 x 47 cm (23¼ x 18½ in.)
PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collection of A. M. and A. V. Maraev, Serpukhov, Russia.
CONDITION: The icon was subjected to "antiquarian" commercial restoration before it was acquired by the State Tret'iakov Gallery. Some details are repainted, and there are losses of the original painting layer on the borders. The gold on the halos has faded.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (15033)

The narrative elements in this icon are based on texts from the Gospels of Matthew (1:18–25, 2:1–12) and Luke (2:1–20) and the Protoevangelion of James. In many respects the composition follows the Byzantine tradition. The Virgin, shown larger than most of the other figures, lies on a vermilion bed in the center; she looks down at the preparations being made for the ablution. Next to her the swaddled Child lies in the manger within a cave, where an ox and a donkey, symbolizing the Jews and the pagans, worship the Child. Above the cave an angel points out to the magi the star of Bethlehem. The magi are represented as equestrians, following a Byzantine archetype seen, for example, in the twelfth-century Nativity icon from the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, and the mosaics dated 1312–15 from the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike. In keeping with an ancient tradition, the magi are depicted as a gray-haired old man, a bearded middle-aged man, and a beardless youth, their three different ages signifying the infinitude of time. In the icon's upper right an angel worships the Christ Child in the manger and another angel announces the Nativity. The shepherd below them, joyfully blowing his horn, represents rejoicing mankind. Joseph sits on a hillock by the Virgin's feet and listens to the inquiry of an old man before him. At the lower right, two women flanking the font basin prepare for the ablution of the Child. The seated woman wears a head covering with a white band and black stripes, recalling a common attribute of the prophets in icon painting, a detail found on other icons, among them the *Nativity* of the Novgorod school from the second half of the fifteenth century in the collection of the State Tret'iakov Gallery.[1]

A distinctive feature of the present icon is its light turquoise background. The color scheme, relatively rare in Russian icon painting, imparts a festive quality to the work.

YAK

1. Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, pl. 43.

REFERENCES: Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, pl. 192; Moscow 2000, pl. 30.

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102. Icon with Passion Scenes

Thessalonike, third quarter of the 14th century
Tempera and gold leaf on wood, primed with cloth and gesso
51 x 41 cm (20⅛ x 16⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Vlatadon Monastery, Thessalonike, Greece
CONDITION: There is loss of pigment on the border and in certain scenes, some of which (Agony in the Garden, the Flagellation, *Elkomenos*) have been repainted later.
The Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, Thessalonike

Six scenes from Christ's Passion are represented in three registers: the Last Supper and the Washing of the Disciples' Feet in the upper one, the Agony in the Garden and the Betrayal in the middle, and the Flagellation and the *Elkomenos* (Christ being dragged to be crucified) in the lower one. Icons like this are rare,[1] and were probably used for veneration during Holy Week.

The iconography of the scenes avoids the innovations that were introduced in fourteenth-century painting, and in some cases even incorporates archaistic elements.[2] Only the scene of the Flagellation, which includes the small column to which Christ is tied, adopts an iconographic form that appeared in Byzantine painting of the fourteenth century, probably under the influence of Constantinople, where the Church of the Holy Apostles preserved the relics of the column and the whip from Christ's Flagellation.[3]

This icon can be dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century. It has close affinities with some securely dated works, such as the icon of the Incredulity of Thomas and a leaf of a diptych with the Virgin and saints (cat. 24A, 24B), both dated before 1384 on the basis of their portraits of Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina and her husband Thomas Preljubović, despot of Ioannina.[4] It is also close stylistically to a miniature of the Transfiguration in the manuscript containing the theological works of John VI Kantakouzenos, which has been dated between 1372 and 1375 (cat. 171).[5] And finally it closely resembles the frescoes that were discovered at Vlatadon Monastery, dating to sometime between 1360 and 1380, which include a representation of Saint Gregory Palamas, who died in 1359 and was made a saint in 1368.[6] The "outdated" iconography and the miniaturistic rendition of the scenes suggest that the painter was inspired by an earlier illustrated manuscript.

AT

1. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, figs. 49, 66–67, vol. 2, pp. 66–68, 81–82.
2. Tourta 1982, pp. 156ff.
3. Ibid., pp. 163ff; Grozdanov and Subotić 1981, pp. 68ff.
4. Xyngopoulos 1964–65, pp. 53ff; M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, pp. 52–55.
5. D. T. Rice 1959, pl. 39.
6. Mauropoulou-Tsioumē 1985, pp. 231ff.

REFERENCES: Tourta 1982; Athens 1985–86, no. 85, pp. 80–81; Florence 1986, no. 38, pp. 76–77; Athens–London 1987, no. 22, pp. 88, 160; Baltimore 1988, no. 25, pp. 103, 188–89; Athens 1994, pp. 34, 36–37; Vokotopoulos 1995, no. 94, pp. 115–213.

103. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Holding the Christ Child and the Crucifixion

Constantinople, first half of the 14th century
Tempera and gold on wood
103 x 84 cm (40½ x 33⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of Saint Nicholas, Thessalonike.
CONDITION: The icon has been conserved by A. Margaritoff and N. Nomikos. The principal side is badly worn, with paint losses on the busts of the archangels and the borders, especially at the lower right; there are traces of wear on the face and neck of the Christ Child, the lower parts of his garment, and the left hand of the Virgin. On the icon's reverse, the faces of the Virgin, John the Evangelist, and the two angels show traces of wear, and there is paint loss on the lower border.
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (T 169)

On the front face of the icon is a bust-length portrayal of the Virgin holding the Christ Child in a variant of the Hodegetria pose. Her right hand rests gently on the leg of the baby Jesus. She inclines her head toward her son while looking out at the observer with a sad, reserved expression; her grave and noble face, with its symmetrical features, is dominated by large blue eyes. She wears a deep purple maphorion embroidered with gold

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lace at the edges, and the cuffs of her long-sleeved, deep blue tunic are visible at her wrists. Small busts of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, now damaged, flank the Virgin at the top left and right. Christ faces his mother with a blessing gesture and holds a parchment roll in his other hand. Over his ocher-colored tunic is a dense network of gilded lines. This painting was revealed when a later repainting depicting the type of image called Virgin Portaitissa (Gatekeeper) was removed.

The iconographical type of the present icon, which dates to the second half of the thirteenth century and flourished in the fourteenth century, survives in works of monumental painting as well as portable icons.[1] The Virgin's gesture, resting her right hand on Christ's leg, may be seen on a series of icons of the period; a characteristic example is the icon in the Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, of the beginning of the fourteenth century.[2]

In the exquisite, austere Crucifixion painting on the icon's reverse, the symmetrical composition is restricted to the three main figures in the holy drama. Dominant is the figure of Jesus, his body bending slightly and his head resting on his right shoulder. At the left, the Virgin Mary, dressed in a blue maphorion bordered with golden fringe, stands like a pillar. Only her left hand, which touches her face, is visible. At the right, John the Evangelist holds his head in his hand sorrowfully. Two tiny mourning angels hover above the crossarms. The cross stands on the rock of Golgotha, and behind it, the walls of Jerusalem are concisely rendered as a crenellated band. Several trees punctuate the landscape. Like the image on the front of the icon, this composition is set against a gold ground and bordered in low relief.

The sense of reserved grief conveyed by the slender, noble figures and the exquisite painting technique and coloring are among the stylistic elements leaving no doubt that this icon emerged from the workshop of an important Constantinopolitan painter. The landscape depiction is of particular interest, since such elements are not often encountered in comparable representations of the Crucifixion. A landscape with similar large rocks and sparse trees appears on an icon of the beginning of the fourteenth century, attributed to a Constantinopolitan workshop, now at Ohrid (medieval Achris), Greece.[3] The abbreviated representation of the walls of Jerusalem as a narrow band has a parallel on an icon of the Crucifixion dated to the second half of the fourteenth century from the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai.[4] The posture of Mary, as the Virgin Kataphyge (providing refuge), can also be seen on an icon of 1371 in the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia (cat. 117), although that Virgin's hand is covered and her whole figure more robust.[5]

This icon, with its sensitive figures and striking compositions, is one of the finest works of art of the Palaiologan period.

K-PhK

1. London 1998b, p. 77; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, p. 44.
2. Vasilakē-Karakatsanē 1966–69, p. 200.
3. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, p. 46.
4. Vokotopoulos 1995, no. 83.
5. Ibid. 1995, nos. 125–26.

References: Sotiriou 1931, p. 78, no. 169; M. Chatzidakis 1965, p. xxxiii, pl. 55; Vokotopoulos 1995, no. 82; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, no. 10; London 1998b, no. 10; Athens 2001, no. 113.

104. Icon with the Lamenting Virgin

Byzantine (Constantinople?), ca. last quarter of the 13th century
Tempera on cypress board
44 x 33 cm (17⅜ x 13 in.)
Provenance: Collection of P. I. Sebastianov; until 1924; at the Rumiatsevskii Museum in Moscow; transferred at an unspecified date to the Moscow State Historical Museum; transferred to the State Tret'iakov Gallery in 1930.
Condition: The panel is the left-hand side of a diptych; the right-hand side is missing. It has been damaged by worms and has been inserted into a nineteenth-century support. The nimbus, background, and edges of the icon are not preserved. There is a large crack in the upper right-hand corner. Areas of paint have been restored, probably on one occasion during the nineteenth century: areas of new gesso and paint intrude upon the borders of the original painting, namely along the contours of the maphorion, right shoulder, and edge of the left arm. Restorations have also been made on the right

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cheek, from the temple to the chin, and on the left hand and its index finger. The gold stars on the forehead and shoulders are restored. Surviving areas of the original paint are covered with craquelure.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (28834)

Although Valentina Antonova and Viktor Lazarev identify this icon as part of a Deesis composition,[1] it actually once served as a pendant for an image of the dead Christ known as the Akra Tapeinosis (Utmost Humiliation, or Man of Sorrows; see cat. 131).[2] This iconographic type emerged about 1100 and was often paired with an image of the Virgin.[3] The sources for this iconography are varied, but the Good Friday homily attributed to George of Nikomedeia is particularly salient. Focusing on the emotions experienced by the Virgin standing at the foot of the Cross, the rhetorical phrases of this text capture the Virgin's inner musings on the events of Christ's life as she bears witness to his Passion and death. These events underscore a central mystery of the Christian faith: the incarnation of God through the agency of a human woman. A diptych icon such as the one from which this image came would have been on display at the liturgy on Good Friday and Easter Saturday, serving as a powerful visual analogue to the text of the services.[4]

Here, the Virgin disproportionately fills the pictorial plane of the icon, creating an immediate sense of intimacy with the viewer. She wears a dark blue maphorion with three stars and a golden border; the kekryphalos beneath this is blue with dark dainty strips. In the areas of the face that are in shadow, strips of light pinkish ocher were employed to model forms; lines that form contours were created in dark cherry and bright red. The large hands are expressively depicted, with particular emphasis on the individual joints and the knuckles. This last detail may be a further allusion to the importance of George of Nikomedeia's homily, which pays special attention to the hands of the Virgin:[5] "I kiss your mother's hands, for she guided us all through the recent events. Alone she saw to birth as now she has seen to the burial. She took and held the precious child and prepared the undefiled body for the grave."[6]

LAS, IAS

1. Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, p. 373, no. 326; Lazarev 1963, pp. 195–98.
2. A Late Byzantine example of this type of diptych in which both panels have survived can be found at the Monastery of the Transfiguration at Meteora; see Maria Vassilaki and Niki Tsironis, "Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 453–63, pls. 227–228.
3. See Belting 1980–81, pp. 2–10; Belting 1994, pp. 262–65; New York 1997, no. 72, pp. 125–26.
4. Vassilaki and Tsironis in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 461.
5. Ibid., p. 460.
6. George of Nikomedeia, *Oratio in sepulturum Jesu Christi*, in *PG*, vol. 100, p. 1489.

References: Moscow 1958, no. 28; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, no. 952; Moscow 1991b, no. 2.

105. Icon with the Crucifixion

Dionysius
Moscow, 1500
Tempera, gold leaf, and gesso on wood
85 x 52 cm (33½ x 20½ in.)
Inscribed: On the upper arm of the cross, in Russian, **царь славы** (King of Glory); on the reverse, in black paint in a semicursive hand, Расп(ятие) (Crucifixion); below this, a large letter θ scratched into the board.
Provenance: Trinity Cathedral of the Pavlo-Obnorskii Monastery, near Vologda; through the Griazovetskii Museum to the State Museum-Preserve of History, Architecture and Decorative Arts, Vologda, according to documents dated August 8, 1924 (VOKM1249); arrived at the State Tret'iakov Gallery through the State Russian Museum, from an exhibition abroad, in 1934.
Condition: The inscription on the obverse has not survived, but there is an indication where it was originally located. On the right and lower edges the primer is completely lost, and there are major losses on the upper edge. The paint is rubbed off on the body of Christ and on the faces, hands, and clothes of those standing near him. Certain details painted on the gold background are completely lost: the hands of Longinus, the hands of the allegorical figures of the Church and Synagogue, areas of the angels' wings, the small streams of blood coming out of Christ's wounds, the red outline and cruciform inset of Christ's halo, and the outline of the nimbi of the other personages. It is possible that the personification of the Church held some object in her hands, perhaps a goblet.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (29554)

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Originally part of an iconostasis beam,[1] Dionysius's Crucifixion is typical in its general iconography to other portrayals of the theme found in Byzantine and Russian art of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, for example, a Byzantine icon dated to the last third of the fourteenth century from the collection of A. M. and A. V. Maraevy.[2] Significant compositional similarities can be found between the present work and the Crucifixion from the festival row of the iconostasis of the Trinity Cathedral at the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, Sergiev Posad, painted in 1422–25 by a group of masters led by Andrei Rublev and Daniil Chernyi.[3] A group of three Holy Women appears behind the Mother of God on both icons, which also have two figures of weeping angels above the central arm of the cross. The rare gesture of John the Theologian is also shared: he is pressing his right hand against his chest rather than holding his hand against his chin, a gesture of sorrow that was more traditional in earlier Orthodox iconography. The allegorical representations of the Old Testament Church, flying away from the Crucifixion, and the New Testament Church, flying toward Christ, are both small female half-figures accompanied by angels. This motif was relatively uncommon in Old Russian art, whereas it was known in Byzantine art from the eleventh century onward. Usually, the New Testament Church is shown as if gathering the blood coming out of Christ's side, a motif that may have been present in this icon.

Valentina Antonova established the dating of this work and the authorship by Dionysius on the basis of the inscription on the verso of another icon, Christ in Glory, which comes from the same Pavlo-Obnorskii Monastery. She also pointed out the significant similarity of the painting technique here with that of Dionysius's frescoes for the Cathedral of the Birth of the Virgin at Ferapontovo.[4] This attribution has never been questioned. This Crucifixion icon and the Ferapontovo frescoes are largely responsible for contemporary ideas about the style and individual manner of Dionysius, who was one of the most outstanding exemplars of Russian art in the post-Byzantine period.

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1. The same beam contains an icon depicting the Doubting of Thomas (State Russian Museum, inv. 2737) that contains similar inscriptions; see Kochetkov 1980, pp. 261–67. Laurina 1989 was the first to notice the lines on the verso of the icon with the Doubting of Thomas.
2. Kochetkov 1995.
3. Lazarev 1955, p. 529; Orlova 1977.
4. Antonova 1952, pp. 11–13, and later studies.

References: Antonova 1952, pp. 11–13; Lazarev 1955; Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, no. 277; Popov 1975, pp. 98–99, pls. 137–40; Orlova 1977; Lazarev 1980, p. 47, pl. 69; Vilinbakhova et al. 1981, no. 54; Smirnova 1988, pls. 135, 136, p. 288; Kochetkov 1995; Parravicini 2000, p. 56, pl. 33; Dionisii 2002, no. 8; Nersesian 2002.

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106. Icon with the Ascension

Moscow, first quarter of the 15th century (?)
Tempera on wood
71 x 59 cm (28 x 23¼ in.)
Inscribed: $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ $\overline{\theta\text{Y}}$ (Mother of God), $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XP}}$ (Jesus Christ)
Provenance: Collection of S. P. Riabushinskii.
Condition: The contours of the figures and folds of the clothes are repainted as a result of old restorations at the beginning of the twentieth century, before the icon was acquired by the State Tret'iakov Gallery. The unpainted background and borders show craquelure, along with nails and traces of nails; there are major losses of gesso on the borders up to the wood.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (12766)

The sources of this composition are the Gospel texts of Mark (16:19) and Luke (24:50–52) and the Acts of the Apostles (1:9–12), according to which, on the fortieth day after the Resurrection, Christ took the apostles to the Mount of Olives, where he was seen to ascend into heaven. The iconography is very stable in Eastern Christian art, especially in the Palaiologan period. Several elements may vary: the shape of the mandorla around Christ and the number of angels supporting it; the Virgin's gestures (in the orans position, or with open palms of one or both of her hands); the position of the angels at both sides of the Virgin. The general composition and some details of this icon can be compared with famous Palaiologan works: the mosaic diptych from the Florence cathedral[1] and the icon with six feasts that was most probably also a part of a diptych (cat. 129).[2]

The present icon of the Ascension is typical of early-fifteenth-century Russian icons from the cycle of the twelve major feasts as represented on the iconostases of the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, the Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir (Daniil Chernyi and Andrei Rublev), and the Trinity Cathedral of the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, near Moscow (Chernyi, Rublev, and their workshop). The iconographic composition of these icons is identical: the angels in white clothes at both sides of the Virgin and the same gestures of the Virgin as well as of the apostles.

The exact whereabouts of the icon before it was acquired by S. P. Riabushinskii are unknown, but obvious similarities—in material, style, and details of restoration—with the icon of the Nativity (also in the collection of the State Tret'iakov Gallery)[3] indicate that both icons originated in the same place and that both underwent the same restoration

106, detail

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prior to their arrival at the State Tret'iakov Gallery. Riabushinskii was a patron of the arts in Moscow as well as a collector, publisher, and member of the well-known circle of Old Believers. ĖKG

1. Lazarev 1986, pls. 504–505.
2. Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 78.
3. Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, no. 231.

REFERENCES: Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, no. 252 (with bibl.); Alpatov 1967, vol. 1, pp. 170–73, pls. 122–123; Schleswig–Wiesbaden 1988–89, no. 70; London 1998, no. 4.

107. Icon with the Hospitality (Philoxenia) of Abraham

Constantinople (?), late 14th century
Tempera and gold on wood, priming on textile
36 x 62.3 cm (14⅛ x 24½ in.)
INSCRIBED: Above center angel, Η ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ (the Hospitality of Abraham)
PROVENANCE: G. Bay collection, Cairo, no. 223; purchased by A. Benakis, 1922.
CONDITION: Despite traces of oxidized varnish, the panel's condition is good. Conserved by S. Baltoyannis, 1976.
Benaki Museum, Athens (2973)

The story of the Hospitality of Abraham (Genesis 18:1–15) was familiar to the Byzantines from Early Christian art. Abraham was visited unexpectedly by three strangers, whom he recognized as angels. He fetched water for them and offered them food. After they had eaten, the angels told Abraham that his aged wife, Sarah, would bear him a son, and in time the prophecy was fulfilled. The angels are considered to be a symbol of the Holy Trinity, and Abraham's hospitality prefigures the Last Supper.

This icon has a horizontal shape, indicating that like many representations of this eucharistic subject it may have been intended to hang on a church templon, above the offertory door.[1] The composition is structured with strict symmetry around the focal point of the central angel. The figures are set against a background of shallow buildings, reminiscent of stage settings.

The classical beauty of the youthful angelic faces coexists with certain iconographic details, such as the red fabric hanging from the roof on the right and the monochrome mask on the left-hand wall that reflect a revival of interest in Greco-Roman motifs.[2] The lyricism that marks the composition and in particular the light that floods over the central area are in studied contrast to the two aged, black-clad figures of Abraham and Sarah on either side of the central angel. Among the notable features of the icon is the studied treatment of the table setting; the naturalistic fringed, white tablecloth and the cutlery were luxury artifacts that would have been familiar to the Byzantine aristocracy of the time.[3]

The elegant precision of the drawing, reminiscent of manuscript miniatures, links the representation with the icons commissioned by Maria Angelina Palaiologina and Thomas Preljubović (despot of Ioannina, r. 1366/67–84),[4] and the late-fourteenth-century Triumph of Orthodoxy (cat. 78).[5] The strikingly academic nature of the painting, the somewhat loose composition, and details in the execution of faces and drapery suggest an origin for this icon in a skilled workshop, probably in Constantinople, at the end of the fourteenth century.

The iconography of the Hospitality of Abraham was enriched and crystallized during the Palaiologan era in the form displayed in this icon.[6] This development, particularly noticeable after the mid-fourteenth century, has been associated with the doctrines of hesychast theology, which influenced other branches of iconography as well.[7] It is no coincidence that a similar depiction of the theme appears above the double portrait of John VI Kantakouzenos in the well-known manuscript containing the theological writings of this pro-hesychastic emperor (see cat. 171).[8] AD

1. M. Chatzidakis 1962, p. 118; M. Chatzidakis 1977a, nos. 49, 155; Voordeckers 1983, pp. 65–66; Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001, no. B-142.

2. Mouriki 1962–63, p. 101; Mouriki 1980–81.
3. Papamastorakēs and Anagnōstakēs 2004.
4. Xyngopoulos 1964–65; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 320–21, no. 30.
5. Ibid., pp. 340–41, no. 32.
6. Mouriki 1962–63, *passim*; Kalopissi-Verti 1975, pp. 169–77.
7. Mouriki 1962–63, p. 99; Meyendorff 1974b; Tachiaos 1987; Papamastorakēs 2001, pp. 284–97.
8. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. gr. 1242; Belting 1970, pp. 84–88; Đurić 1987b; Paris 1992–93, p. 461, no. 355.

REFERENCES: Xyngopoulos 1936, pp. 4–6, no. 2; M. Chatzidakis 1958–59, p. 37, pl. 24; Skrobucha 1961, pp. 73–75, pl. 6; Mouriki 1962–63, pl. 36.2; Weitzmann et al. 1965, p. XXXIV, pls. on pp. 78–79; Weitzmann 1978, p. 131, pl. 46; Athens 1994, no. 44; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, pls. 446–447.

108. Icon with the Holy Trinity

Circle of Dionysius
Moscow, beginning of the 16th century
Tempera and gold on wood
132 x 104 cm (52 x 41 in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of the Resurrection, Kolomna.
CONDITION: On the background and on the border are large insertions of new gesso, along with losses of the painting layer on the heads, faces, figures, and clothes, all of which are painted over. The original painting layer is faded, and craquelure characterizes the entire surface of the icon.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (20863)

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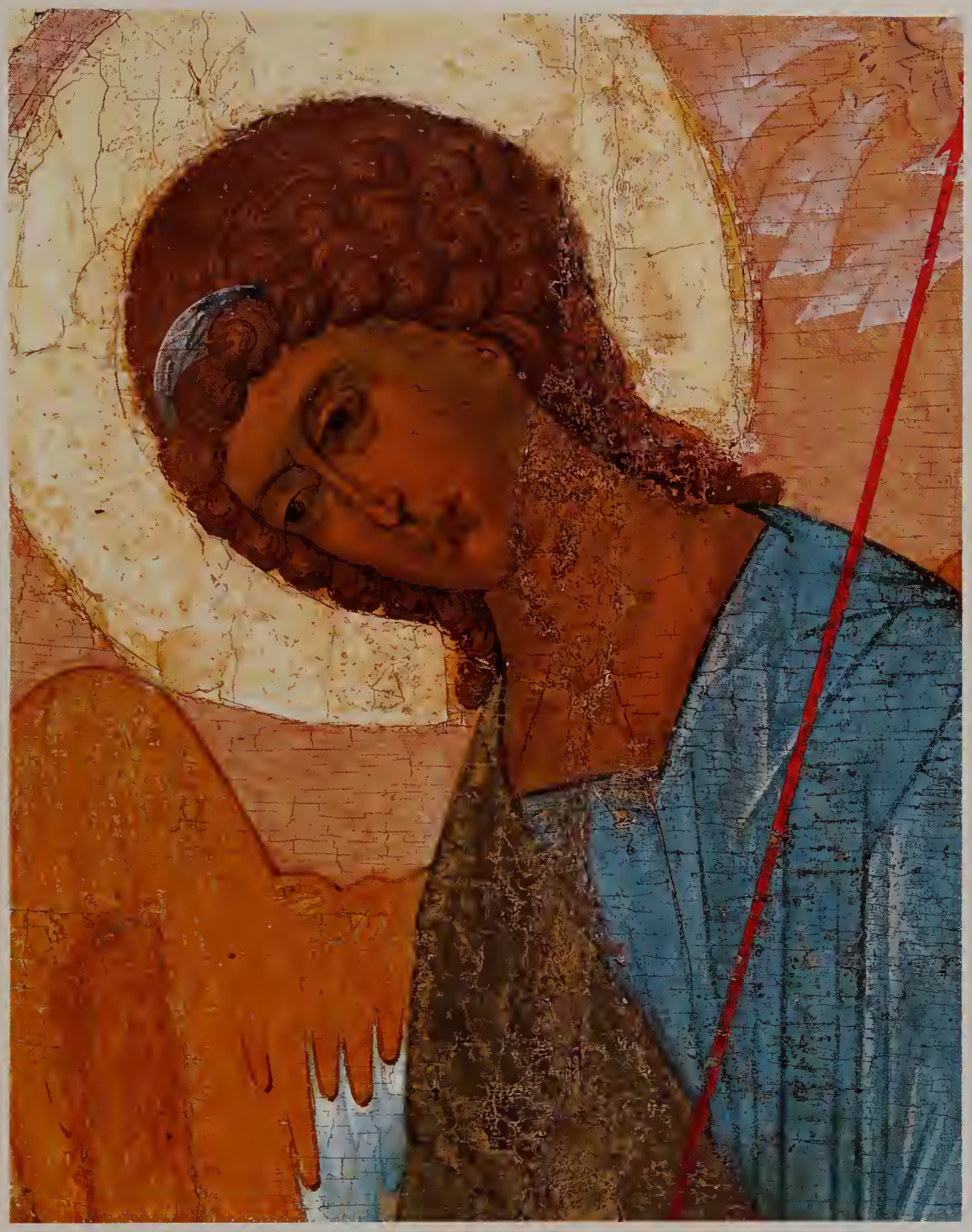
The conception of the Trinity (God is of one nature yet three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) is based on Holy Scripture, particularly the eighteenth chapter of Genesis, which recounts the visit of three angels to Abraham at Mamre. The nature of the Trinity was defined at the First Ecumenical Council, held in Nicaea in 325, soon after Christianity was officially recognized as a legal religion within the Roman Empire.

The Kolomna Trinity replicates the iconography of the Trinity icon by Andrei Rublev, from 1425–27, the major image of the Trinity (Troitskii) Cathedral of the Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery, near Moscow.[1] In both works, three angels represent the triune God—the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This iconographic formula for the depiction of the Trinity replaced an earlier version of "Abraham's hospitality," in which the three angels (thought by Christians to prefigure the Trinity) are shown with Abraham, his wife Sarah, and a youth killing the calf (cat. 107).

Rublev's version, which eliminated the narrative elements of Abraham, Sarah, and the youth, became the most popular depiction of the theme in Moscow during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The same iconography is found at times in Byzantine art, for example, in the manuscript of John VI Kantakouzenos, at the top on the page bearing his double portrait (fig. 1.5).[2] A predecessor of this type of Trinity in the art of Moscow can be seen in the icon of the archangel Michael with scenes of his deeds, dated 1399, from the Archangel Cathedral, Moscow Kremlin.[3]

Evidently a precise drawing of Rublev's Trinity was used for the model of the Kolomna icon since the contours of the figures and wings match very precisely, as do the type of clothes, the gestures of the hands, the shape of the communion table, the seats, and the footrests. Less distinct but possibly also very similar are the residence of Abraham on the left, the oak of Mamre above the middle angel, and the contour of the mountain, though the dark cleft on the mountain's slope does not appear on Rublev's icon. The colors of the clothes, which have symbolic meaning, also resemble those in Rublev's work, but their color palette is more typical of the paintings of Dionysius. Dionysius (1430/40–1503?) was a Moscow painter who created numerous icons and the frescoes of the Church of the Nativity (Rozhdestvenskii) at the Ferapontov Monastery. Whether the chalice, the tabernacle, and the triangular-shaped eucharistic breads were depicted on Rublev's icon, as they are on the Kolomna Trinity, is unclear because the original painting on the communion table is almost entirely lost.

From a stylistic point of view, the icon is related to other examples from Dionysius's tradition, which was followed by his sons, disciples, and members of his workshop



108, detail

(see cat. 123). It is possible that it is related to the work of Bishop Bassian Toporkov of Kolomna (1525–42). Bassian was a nephew of Saint Joseph of Volotsk (b. 1439), the hegoumenos of the Dormition Volotsky Monastery. In 1484–86 Bassian took part as a painter in the decoration of this monastery that was being directed by Dionysius.

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1. Now in the collection of the State Tret'iakov Gallery (13012). See Vzdornov 1981.
2. See Durand 1999, p. 179.
3. From the collection of the Moscow Kremlin, (inv. 22.) See Smirnova 1988, nos. 68–76.

References: Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, no. 283 (with bibl.); Dionisii 2002, no. 49 (with bibl.).

109. Icon with the Synaxis of the Apostles

Constantinople, first half of the 14th century
Tempera on wood
38 x 34 cm (15 x 13⅜ in.)
Inscribed: Η CΥΝΑΞΙC ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣ-ΤΟΛΩΝ (The Assembly of the Twelve Apostles); ΠΕΤΡΟC, ΑΝΔΡΕΑC, ΙΑΚΩΒΟC (Peter, Andrew, James); ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗC), ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC, ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟC, ΘΩΜΑC, ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟC, ΙΑΚΩΒΟC Ο ΤΟΥ ΑΛΦΑΙΟΥ, ΘΑΔΔΑΙΟC, CΙΜΩΝ (John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James the son of Alphaios, Thaddeus, Simon); ΜΑΤ(ΘΙΑC) (Matthew)
Provenance: From the Pantokrator Monastery in Mount Athos; nineteenth century, in the Muravyev Collection, Moscow; 1968, Rumiantsev Museum, Moscow; 1922, History Museum, Moscow; 1932, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.
Condition: The icon is in generally good condition; some damage is found on the upper, left, and lower borders.
State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (2851)

This magnificent icon represents the synaxis, or assembly, of the Twelve Apostles. The most prominent among the group bear individualized features: John, second from the right in the front row, has a receding hairline and a long beard and holds his Gospel book with both hands; Peter, making a gesture of speech toward John, is represented as a middle-aged man with gray hair and a short beard; Matthew, turning toward John, holds his Gospel book open, revealing a text rendered in pseudo-Hebrew letters.[1] Less well-known apostles are relegated to the second row and show more generic characteristics, with the exception of Andrew in the middle, who is set apart by his disheveled hair. The elegant, albeit manneristic, gestures and the stocky shape of the garments combined with slender figures are characteristic of early Palaiologan painting. The diverse poses of the apostles, along with the agitated drapery of their clothing, give an impression of restlessness similar to that evoked by the style of the mosaics and frescoes in the Chora Monastery.[2]

The synaxis of the Holy Apostles is celebrated on June 30.[3] In the tenth-century Constantinopolitan *Typikon of the Great Church* the phrase has a double meaning, referring to the assembly of people for Eucharist to honor a saint or saints, as well as to the actual church or shrine in which the assembly takes place.[4] The Pushkin icon, however, illustrates, quite literally, the name of the feast—"the gathering of the apostles"—instead of the actual meaning of the phrase—"the gathering (of people in honor of) the apostles." Another interesting characteristic of this icon is the absence of Paul, even though he occupies a very conspicuous place in both the synaxarion and the hymnology of the feast day.[5] The inscription in the upper part of the icon follows faithfully the list of the apostles chosen by Christ as given in Matthew 10:2–4, with the exception of Matthias, who replaced Judas Iscariot.[6] This list obviously does not include Paul, who converted after the death of Jesus. It appears, therefore, that the painter of the Pushkin icon wanted to lay emphasis on the "canonical" Twelve Apostles. This idea is even more strongly stressed by the figure of Matthew, represented as if he is reading the names from his Gospel. Furthermore, the first four, and most important, persons in the list—namely Peter, Andrew, James, and John—are the focus of the whole composition. This icon,

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characteristic of the high quality of art in the Palaiologan period, also indicates its complexity and ingenuity. VNM

1. According to tradition, Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew and it was later translated into Greek.
2. Lazarev 1937, p. 250, pl. IIA; D. T. Rice 1959, p. 336; Weitzmann 1978, p. 122, pl. 42.
3. Delehaye 1902, pp. 779–90; Halkin 1957, pp. 53–60; Mateos 1962–63, vol. 1, p. 326.
4. Mateos 1962–63, vol. 1, p. 319; Baldovin 1987, pp. 205–6.
5. Delehaye 1902, pp. 779–80; Orthodox Eastern Church 1888–1901, vol. 5, pp. 402–13; Mateos 1962–63, vol. 1, p. 326.
6. The list of names given in the Synoptics and Acts presents some slight variations; compare Matthew 10:2–4, Mark 3:13–19, Luke 6:13–16, and Acts 1:13. The story of Matthias is related in Acts 1:12–26.

References: Delehaye 1902; Lazarev 1937; Halkin 1957; Bank 1977; Weitzmann 1978; Baldovin 1987.

110. Triptych Wing with Saint Theodore Stratelates and the Living Cross

Byzantine (Thessaly), 13th–14th century
Tempera, gesso, and color lakes on spruce panel; forged iron bracings on the reverse
39.1 x 15.5 cm (15⅜ x 6⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: In red, on the background of the obverse, Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] / ΘΕΟ / ΔΩΡ / ΟΣ / Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΗ / ΛΑΤΗΣ (The Holy Theodore Stratelates); on the reverse, IC XC (Jesus Christ)
PROVENANCE: Nikolai Likhachev collection, Saint Petersburg; Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III (after 1917, the State Russian Museum), Saint Petersburg, 1913–35; transferred to the Hermitage, 1935.
CONDITION: On the reverse of the panel two forged metal bracings and the entire original decoration—a sprouting cross, in brown-red and green paint, with a crown of thorns at its intersection—have survived. When the triptych was closed, symmetrical living crosses, one on each of the two side panels, would have shown, a detail that can be observed on some Sinai icons. The reverse of the panel and two small portions of the image of the saint on the obverse were restored at the Hermitage by Tamara Tchizova in 1990–91. In 2002–3 the panel was restored by Andrej Osetrov especially for this exhibition.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (I–309)

110, obverse

110, reverse

On the narrow panel, the wing of a triptych, the military saint Theodore Stratelates is depicted full length, a sword in his right hand and the scabbard in his left. Behind him is visible part of a round shield decorated with a fret pattern and a geometric design. The warrior is depicted frontally, his figure taking up the entire space on the panel, producing a monumental appearance.

The iconographic type of a representation of a military saint with drawn sword raised over his shoulder is traditional in Byzantine art. Particular to this image is the long garment worn beneath a coat of armor, a style that can be found in works from the twelfth to the early thirteenth century: for example, in the twelfth-century steatite icon at Khersones;[1] in the thirteenth-century painted icons with Saints Theodore Stratelates and George (cat. 231) and Saints George, Theodore, and Demetrios at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai;[2] and in reliefs of military saints decorating the Saint George Cathedral in Yuriev-Polsky, Russia (1230–34).[3] The leather armor reinforced with metal platelets sewn onto it is rendered fairly realistically. Such armor apparently first appeared no later than the late twelfth century and was popular in the thirteenth. The heraldic emblem in the form of a fleur-de-lys on the scabbard can be found in some Italian coats of arms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The image of Saint Theodore, in close-fitting armor with an exaggeratedly slim waist, and with pearls adorning his armor, robe, and hair, evokes associations with the era of the Crusades. The icon was most likely painted in one of the Latin kingdoms or principalities that emerged in the territory of the Byzantine Empire after 1204. The artist used a thin layer of gray priming over which he applied pigments of ocher in various shades, carbon black, whiting, and orpiment, and finally light brown lakes. While his work shows him to have been fairly professional and skilled—there is even a certain elegance to the appearance of the Saint Theodore—his technique and the pictorial devices he used are a long way from the refined works of the Constantinopolitan school and its traditions.

Very close to the Hermitage panel is the icon of Archangel Michael the Guardian from the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora in Thessaly. Only there do we find an analogy with the Hermitage Saint Theodore panel, specifically in the particular cast of the yellow background with red inscriptions and the light brown color of the lakes, the rich decoration of white dots indicating pearls, and the style of the inscription.[4] Miniatures in two manuscripts of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century from the same monastery, now the National Library in Athens,[5] show the familiar red inscriptions and distinctive hues—yellow, light brown, light green. These specific features and the Thessalian origins of these works allow us to conclude that the Hermitage icon has the same provenance and date—Thessaly, thirteenth to fourteenth century.

YP

1. Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 2, no. 614.
2. Manafis 1990, fig. 40; Weitzmann 1983a, p. 234.
3. Vagner 1964b, pp. 36–39, fig. 15, pls. 1, 17.
4. M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, pp. 62–63.
5. Marava-Chatzēnikolaou and Touphexē-Paschou 1985, pp. 119–23, no. 23, pp. 207–13, no. 51.

REFERENCES: Piatnitsky 1994b, pp. 9–10; Piatnitsky 1996a, pp. 215–16; Saint Petersburg 2000, no. B-92.

111. Icon with the Evangelist Matthew

Byzantine (Thessalonike or Ohrid), ca. 1295
Tempera and gold on wood
105 x 56.5 cm (41⅜ x 22¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: Flanking the halo, ΟΑΓ[ΙΟ]C ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟC (Saint Matthew)
PROVENANCE: Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid.
Icon Gallery, Ohrid, FYR–Macedonia (3)

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Composed in a clear and effective manner with powerful shapes, this icon of the evangelist and apostle Matthew has a distinct artistic quality and expressiveness. The author of the first Gospel is portrayed full length and in semiprofile, taking a step forward with his right leg, and holding his own book in his left hand. Against the dark-complexioned face light flickers, and it vividly glows on the rich folds of the garment. Everything is subordinated to the rhythm of the apostle's sturdy walk. The impressive figure is engrossed in his book, bypassing the beholder.

The drawing reveals an excellent knowledge of human anatomy, and movement is felt under the folds of cloth. The coloring—rendered partially intermittent by the green chiton covering the right arm and chest—emanates warmth and harmony. The background, a monochromatic pale ocher, was left unfinished probably because the icon was to be adorned with a revetment.

No doubt the artist relied on the techniques of fresco painting; however, the style clearly reflects general Constantinopolitan tendencies of the last years of the thirteenth century. The manner of the brushwork and the saint's head bring to mind certain fresco images in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, where this icon was originally displayed. Accordingly, it has been ascribed to Eutychios,[1] one of the artists who executed frescoes there. This attribution is quite possible in chronological terms; however, not a single fresco by Eutychios within the church is comparable in its beauty and artistic quality to the icon of Saint Matthew. MiG

1. Miljković-Pepek 1954, pp. 34, 46–47, pl. 5.

REFERENCES: Koco 1949, no. 5; Blažić 1952, p. 82; Miljković-Pepek 1954, pp. 34, 46–47, pl. 5; Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, p. 186; Blažić 1957, pp. 7–12; Macan 1959, p. 74; Bihalji-Merin 1960, fig. 68; Ljubinković and Ćorović-Ljubinković 1961, p. 124; Đurić 1961, no. 7, pp. 78–79, pl. ix; S. Radojčić 1962, pp. x–xi; Paris 1965, no. 8; Miljković-Pepek 1967a, pp. 218–20, pl. 188; Miljković-Pepek 1967b, pp. 297–303; Tokyo–Kyoto 1967, no. 7; Balabanov 1969, fig. 20; Weitzmann et al. 1970, pp. lx, xc, figs. 168–169; Paris 1971, no. 282; S. Radojčić 1971, p. 282, pl. 282; Sarajevo 1971, no. 282; Babić 1980, p. 21, fig. 16; Balabanov 1983, p. 95, figs. 43–44; Miljković-Pepek 1984, p. 186; Tatić-Đurić 1984, no. 10; Vatican 1986, no. 21; Balabanov 1995, pp. 188–89, no. 11; Georgievski 1999, pp. 5–6, no. 10; Paris 1999b, no. 20; Rome 1999b, no. 20; Cracow 2000, no. 3.

112. Icon with Saint Peter

Constantinople (?), first third of the 14th century
Tempera and gold on cedar, priming on linen
68.7 x 50.6 cm (27 x 19⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the scroll, Ἀγαπητοί, [παρκαλῶ] ὡς π[αροίκους καὶ πα]ρεπιδ[ήμους ἀπέχεσθατ τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς] (Beloved, I beseech you as aliens and exiles to abstain from the passions [of the flesh] that wage war against your soul)
PROVENANCE: Discovered on the back of a seventeenth-century icon taken for conservation to Stavros Mihalarias, who first exhibited it in 1983.
CONDITION: This icon was cut down on all four sides and reduced to a thickness of at most 8 mm (⅜ in.) when it was separated from the seventeenth-century icon on the other side of the panel. There

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are areas of surface abrasion and paint loss, especially in the nose, which is entirely modern.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (1983, 0401.1)

This painting is a compelling example of Late Byzantine technique. The proplasmos is relatively translucent; only as white lead paint is mixed into the highlighted areas do they become opaque. Thus the surfaces become palpable to the eye only where they emerge into the light, vanishing again in shadow.[1] Panels were aged before use, and adroit painters utilized their curvature; here Peter's head is deftly placed to incorporate the curvature in the direction of his gaze (reusing a good panel was not unusual). The shape and modeling of Peter's head and the calligraphic glitter of hair and highlights place the work fairly early in the fourteenth century; the anonymous painter of this image is often associated with the Constantinopolitan murals of 1316–21 at the Monastery of Saint Savior in Chora,[2] but his more idiosyncratic forms, like the cloak's scalloped edges, do not appear there.

The icon was surely produced as a despotic icon, one hung between the columns of the templon, and paired a comparable icon of Saint Paul. Such paired images of the apostle-princes survive in fair numbers.[3] In the late twelfth century Peter's scroll began to bear text, usually—as here—1 Peter 2:11;[4] its upright form with both ends curled became characteristic in the fourteenth century.[5] The colors of Peter's robes, like his facial type, are traditional. AWC

1. Exceptionally, the hand does not share the layered technique of the face; it is painted instead with the opaque, burnt sienna of Peter's mantle.
2. Buckton 1994b, p. 205.
3. Weitzmann 1983b, pp. 33–39.
4. The earliest example is offered by a majestic late-twelfth-century icon of 89 x 40 cm (35 x 15¾ in.) at the Protaton on Mount Athos, in which a full-length Peter holds a long but now illegible scroll (Thessalonike 1997, p. 62, no. 2.5). Shortly thereafter, in 1192, the central piers at the Church of the Panagia tou Arakos on Cyprus were frescoed with standing figures of the apostle-princes bearing scrolls inscribed respectively with 1 Peter 2:11 and Galatians 5:22–23 (Nicolaïdès 1996, pp. 114–16).
5. The first example seems to be that painted about 1300 at the Protaton and attributed to Manuel Panselinos (E. Constantinides 1992, vol. 2, fig. 215a).

References: London 1983; Mihalarias and Cormack 1983; Weitzmann 1983b, p. 17, fig. 13; Athens–London 1987, no. 16; Buckton 1987; Cheremeteff 1990, p. 112, fig. 13.

113. Icons from an Iconostasis

Daniil Chernyi and Andrei Rublev
Vladimir, Russia, ca. 1408
Provenance: In the 18th century, these icons were part of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of the Dormition (Uspenskii), Vladimir, Russia; sold to the village of Vasil'evskoe, Shuiskii section, Vladimir province, and placed in the iconostasis of Vasil'evskoe's Trinity Cathedral, 1768; attracted attention after the removal of overpaint, 1918; transferred to the Central State Restoration Workshops, Moscow, 1923; subsequently acquired by the State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.[1]

113a. John Chrysostom
Tempera and gold on wood
313 x 105 cm (10 ft. 3¼ in. x 41⅜ in.)
Condition: The lower part of the icon below the level of the saint's hand has been repainted on new gesso. The upper part contains only fragments of the original painting. The new painting in general reproduces the old one.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (19727)

113b. Gregory the Theologian
Tempera and gold on wood
314 x 106 cm (10 ft. 3⅝ in. x 41¾ in.)
Inscribed: In red letters on the lower part of the icon on new gesso, "Year 1855, by the blessing of Iustin, archbishop of Vladimir and Suzdal', three layers of paint painted in different times were removed and the initial painting was uncovered by the free artist Nikolai Podkliuchnkov"
Condition: There are some losses of the original painting layer and insertions of new gesso with restoration overpaint. The original gesso on the background has been cut out along the figure's contour and redone; parts of the head and shoulders were cut off.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (19725)

113A

113B

The identity of the painters of the iconostasis from the Cathedral of the Dormition (Uspenskii) in Vladimir is surmised from an entry in the Troitsk Chronicle under the year 1408: "The same year, on May 25, the decoration of the great stone cathedral church of Saint Virgin in Vladimir began on the order of the Grand Prince, [by] masters Daniil the icon painter and Andrei Rublev."[2] It is likely that the icons of the iconostasis were painted at the same time as the fresco decoration of the cathedral, and the style of the icons does not contradict this assumption. Opinions of scholars differ regarding the attribution of particular icons to either Andrei Rublev or Daniil Chernyi.

The patron of the works in the Cathedral of the Dormition was Vasilii Dmitrievich, grand prince of Vladimir and son of Dmitrii Donskoi, who famously triumphed over the Tatar overlords at Kulikovo Pole (Field of Snipes) in 1380. Until then the title Grand Prince of Vladimir, which signified supremacy over the other Russian princes, had been granted by edict of the Tatar khan. Vasilii became the first prince to receive the title of grand prince as an inherited domain, by the will of his father. The city of Vladimir, a political and religious center in Russia, is where the ceremonious installations of grand princes and enthronements of metropolitans were held at that time. Thus it was natural that after strengthening his power, Vasilii sponsored the decoration of his principality's main cathedral. The decoration of the Cathedral of the Dormition was intended to symbolize the power of its patron over the Russian lands. The fact that Daniil Chernyi and Andrei Rublev were chosen for this task is an indication of their prestige as artists.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century a Deesis tier of the iconostasis with full-length figures was a novelty, and this one, so huge in size, had no parallels. In Russia, up to the second half of the seventeenth century, the Deesis tier included representations of saints of differing importance. Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, and Nicholas, archbishop of Myra in Lycia, are among the church hierarchs who were depicted on Deesis tiers. The icon of Gregory the Theologian seen here is the most ancient image in Russia of that saint presented as part of a full-figured Deesis tier.

The compositions of these two icons exactly mirror each other. The depiction of hierarchs half-turned to the center, appearing as "officiating bishops," is very widespread in wall paintings on altar apses in the Byzantine world. IK

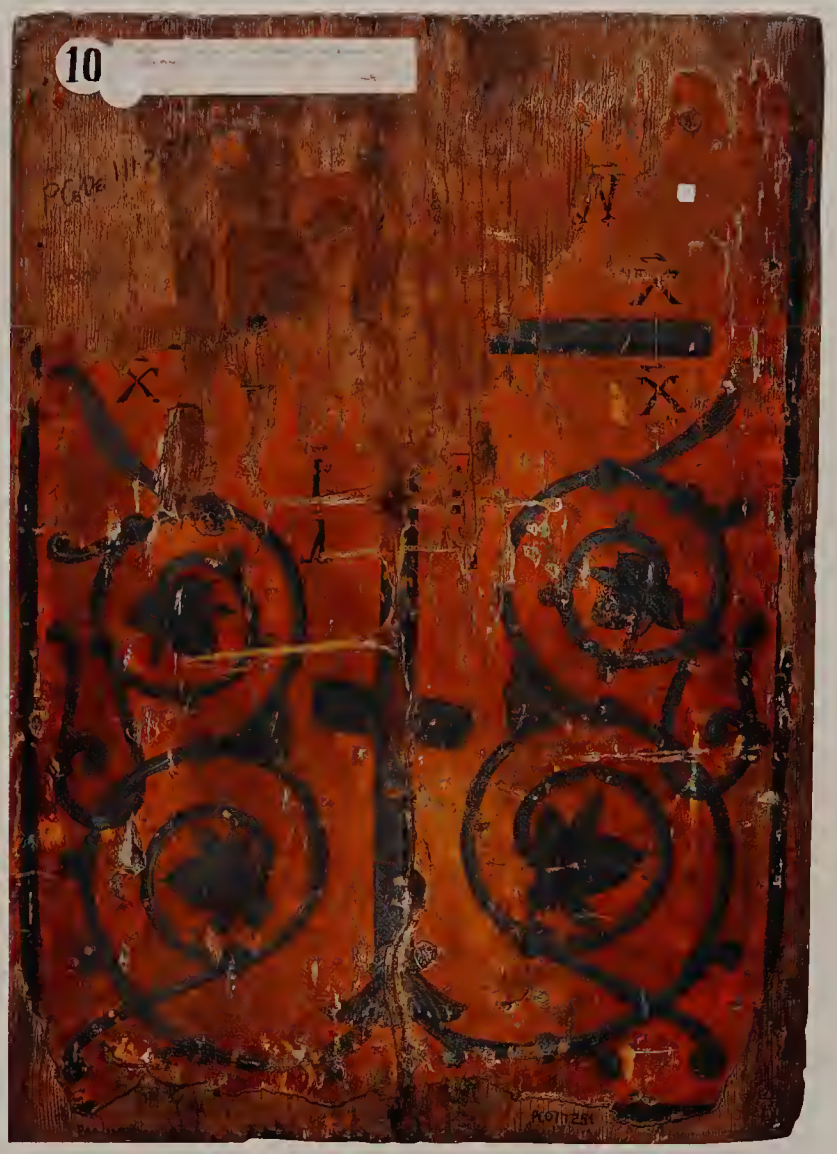
1. There is a theory that the ancient iconostasis from the Cathedral of the Dormition in Vladmir was transferred there from Moscow's Cathedral of the Dormition in 1653 and is the one painted by the workshop of Dionysius; however, it is not supported by most scholars (see Goleizovskii and Dergachev 1986).
2. Priselkov 1950, p. 466.

REFERENCES: Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, pl. 223, pp. 267–72 (with bibl.); Lazarev 1966a, pp. 29–31; Betin 1970; Il'in 1970; Guseva 1971; Plugin 1974, pp. 102–8; Goleizovskii and Dergachev 1986; Briusova 1995, pp. 68–74; Dudochkin 2000 (with extensive bibl.); Plugin 2001, pp. 86–98.

114. Icon of Saint John of Rila

Rila Monastery, Bulgaria, 14th century
Tempera on wood
77.5 x 56 cm (30½ x 22 in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, in Slavonic, Ⱏ(ве)тъı Ꙗ(ан) ρил(с)кн [и]г(у)м(е)нь (Abbot Saint John of Rila). On the reverse, either in Greek, [Ἰ(ησοῦς)] Χ(ριστὸς) Υ(ἱὸς)] Θ(εο)ῦ (Jesus Christ Son of God), [Χ(ριστὸς)] Χ(άριν) Χ(ριστιανοῖς) Χ(αρίζει) (Christ grants grace to Christians),[1] or in Slavonic, [Х(оругва)] Х(ристова) Х(ристияном) Х(вала) (Christ's ensign is the pride of Christians),[2] Р М (?) Д Т (acronym of unclear meaning)
PROVENANCE: Rila Monastery.
CONDITION: There is a vertical crack between the two planks that form the icon's board. On the obverse, there are numerous losses of pigment on the frame and abrasions of the background around the saint's head and shoulders. The figure itself is mostly well preserved. On the reverse, the upper part of the cross and painting along the edge are completely lost. There are horizontal scratches, probably recent, on the painted surface.
The Holy Monastery of Rila, Bulgaria (III.251, formerly 282, and III.213)

114, obverse



114, reverse

Full-length depictions of monastic saints were common in medieval Orthodox art,[3] but bust-length panel icons of them are relatively rare.[4] This one portrays the Saint John who lived as an ascetic in the Rila Mountains of southwest Bulgaria and died in 946. John's remains were moved to Sredec (Sofia) and worked numerous miracles, including one for the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80). In 1183 the invading Hungarians carried the remains off to Esztergom but returned them a few years later to Bulgaria, where in 1195 they were transferred to Tŭrnovo, then the capital. Thereafter John of Rila was venerated as a protector saint of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1193–1393).[5] The earliest surviving images of him, of slightly varying iconography, date from this period.[6] The icon seen here, painted for the saint's own monastery,[7] may have been based on an older portrait made soon after his death.

In the fourteenth century the Rila Monastery was rebuilt by the protosebastos Hreljo (d. 1343),[8] a vassal of the Serbian emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. A fortified tower erected by Hreljo in 1335 still stands.[9] On its uppermost floor is a small chapel that might originally have been dedicated to John of Rila, since its murals contain three scenes from the saint's life.[10] Some scholars attribute the present icon to the painter of these frescoes, which probably date from about 1335–43.[11] The panel would have fitted into the chapel's altar screen, which must have been about two meters long. The cross on the back of the icon would then have faced the altar. Such crosses with acronymic inscriptions were believed to protect against the forces of evil. GRP

1. On these acronyms, see Walter 1997, p. 212.
2. Trifunovič, 1974, p. 127.
3. Tomeković 1989.
4. See Weitzmann 1976, pl. 26, no. B37, fig. 30; Wulff and Alpatoff 1925, p. 123; Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 238; Chrysochoidēs et al. 1998, p. 60, fig. 23; Balabanov 1995, pp. 124, 152, 203–4, 210.
5. Ivanov 1936, pp. 1–109; Kałużniacki 1901, pp. 5–26.
6. Listed and compared in Lecaque 1988, pp. 515–16.
7. On the founding and history of the Rila Monastery, see Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 1, pp. 125–27.
8. On Hreljo, see Dinić 1966; Bartusis 1980.
9. Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos 1997, pp. 234–35 (with bibl.)
10. Đorđević 1994, pp. 136–37 (with bibl.).
11. See esp. Prashkov 1973, pp. 60, 111, nn. 38, 39.

References: Weitzmann et al. 1968, fig. 108, p. lxxxviii; Bakalova 1972, pp. 71–72; Chilingirov 1979, p. 342; Paskaleva-Kabadaieva 1987, pp. 41–42, fig. 12; Bakalova 2000, pp. 127, 134–35 nn. 42–46; Rome 2000, pp. 222–23, no. 85.

115. Two-Sided Icon with Saint Anastasia the Healer (Pharmakolytria) and a Cross

Byzantine (Thessalonike), late 14th–early 15th century
Tempera, gesso, color lakes, silver, yellow varnish on poplar panel
99 x 65.5 cm (39 x 25¾ in.)
Inscribed: On the reverse, in red, IC XC NIKA (Jesus Christ conquers)
Provenance: Said to have come from the Saint Anastasia Monastery near Thessalonike; acquired by the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, between 1898 and 1914; State Hermitage, 1931.
Condition: The icon was restored by Theodor Kalikin in the Hermitage studio in 1932–33.[1]
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (I-471)

There are several Saints Anastasia venerated in the Byzantine church with different feast days.[2] The Hermitage icon represents Saint Anastasia the Healer (Pharmakolytria), a healer of

sickness, both bodily and spiritual, of particular assistance in cases of poisoning, and an exorciser of demons; her feast day is December 22. While the Greek *Painter's Manual* by Dionysios of Phourna lacks a detailed description for the proper depiction of this saint, Russian icon-painting manuals authorize portraying her as a beautiful young woman dressed in a red gown and head covering with a green maphorion; she is to be shown holding a cross and a vessel containing healing balm in her hands.[3] On the Hermitage icon, she is presented according to the Russian formula.

The cult of Saint Anastasia the Healer was widespread in both Constantinople and the Balkans, particularly in Thessalonike.[4] The saint's relics were moved from Sirmium in the late fifth century to Constantinople, where they were lodged in the Church of the Resurrection or Anastasis, and the cult of Anastasia began to be linked to the Resurrection.[5] Russian documents of the seventeenth century contain references to the abbots of "Anastasia Solun' (Thessalonike) monastery," who visited Moscow seeking financial assistance.[6] The State Historical Museum in Moscow has in its collections the charter granting that request, which was written by hieromonk Arsenios, abbot of the Monastery of Christ's Anastasis of the Pharmakolytria), near Thessalonike;[7] the Hermitage icon probably came from a monastery mentioned in this document.

The icon of Saint Anastasia is of an exceptional, spiritually inspired quality, with proportions and color combinations classically balanced in a unified harmony of line and color. The face of the saint is compelling in its nobility and subtle refinement. Her external beauty emphasizes her inner spirituality and power. The monumentality and apparent simplicity of the icon's composition symbolize the steadfast nature of the soul and the unshakable character of the Christian faith. In this icon the heightened emotionalism of early Palaiologan art has all but disappeared. A noteworthy stylistic feature of the Hermitage icon is the contrast between the modeling of the facial features and the flat treatment of the draperies. The flat green expanse of the maphorion is broken by sharp, emphatically decorative folds. In the painting of the face—a tour de force in its subtle execution—the flesh tones have a delicate pinkish hue, shading to a pale yellowish green. The technical virtuosity that distinguishes the Hermitage icon is typical of works of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, such as the Virgin and Child Enthroned in the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, the Virgin Hodegetria from Mount Athos in

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the State Tret'iakov Gallery in Moscow, and the Archangels in the Menil Collection, Houston.[8] The Hermitage icon can also be compared to the Saint George icon of the last quarter of the fourteenth century at the Saint Paulos Monastery on Mount Athos.[9] On both, the saints are shown in monumental calm and impassive frontal poses that emphasize the classical beauty of their faces. Both works employ a combination of the rose and green colors on a silver background with especially delicate painting of the flesh of the figures. Scholars agree that the Saint George icon belongs to the Late Byzantine revival of the painting style of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.[10]

The superior quality of the painting and the classical perfection of the image of Saint Anastasia suggest that it was produced in an area in touch with the art of the capital. The most likely site would be Thessalonike, where Constantinopolitan artists worked continuously throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The silver background and gray gesso of the Hermitage icons support this attribution, as both are especially typical of objects from Thessalonike, Veroia, and Kastoria.[11] The close similarities between the Hermitage icon and that of Saint George from the Saint Paulos Monastery on Mount Athos also confirms the attribution. Despite the use of local materials, the Hermitage Saint Anastasia icon, by the quality of its workmanship and its aesthetic impact, is among the masterpieces of Byzantine painting.

There is a rectangular notch in the middle of the bottom edge of the frame where a handle was attached. This, along with the measurements and proportions of the icon, suggest that it was to be carried in procession. The foliate cross on the back is a typical feature for a processional icon (for examples, see icons of the second half of the fourteenth century, the Christ Pantokrator from Thessalonike and Virgin Glykophilousa from Veroia, both in the Byzantine Museum, Athens).[12]

116, obverse

116, reverse

It is interesting to note that when the Saint Anastasia icon entered the Hermitage collection, it was originally considered a work of the thirteenth century. YP

1. Kostsova 1995, p. 83.
2. Sergii 1997, pp. 514–17, 583, 629; *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg, 1994), vol. 5. pp. 131–33; Vojvodić 1990.
3. Hetherington 1974 (rpt.), p. 63; Zabielin 1873, p. 36.
4. Vojvodić 1990.
5. Majeska 1984, pp. 289, 337.
6. Bantysh-Kamenskii 2001, pp. 61, 83, 108, 111, 124, 153, 172.
7. Fonkich and Poliakov 1993, p. 164, no. 528.
8. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, pl. 222; Moscow 1991b, no. 95; Paris 1995–96, no. 5.
9. Vassilaki et al. 1998, pp. 29–30, figs. 4, 9.
10. Ibid., p. 30.
11. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, nos. 16–18; Papazōtos 1995; Kakavas 1996.
12. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, nos. 14, 17.

References: Lazarev 1967, p. 420; Alpatov 1972, p. 659; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, no. 962; Bank 1977, no. 285; Bank 1985, no. 285; Lazarev 1986, p. 254; Moscow 1991b, no. 94; Piatnitsky 1993, p. 9; Yuri Piatnitsky, "Ikoni" in Saint Petersburg 1994, pp. 87–90; Piatnitsky 1999a, p. 370; Popova 1999, pp. 351–54 n. 27; Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 151–52, no. B-126.

116. Two-Sided Icon with Military Saints

Mediterranean, 13th or 14th century
Tempera and gold on wood
42 x 29 cm (16½ x 11⅜ in.)
Provenance: Monastery of Deir al-Baramus, Egypt
Condition: One side of the icon is framed, with a well-preserved image and inscriptions identifying Sergios and Bakchos. The reverse is not framed, with much of the painting abraded and no inscription to identify the partially preserved figure.
Coptic Museum, Cairo (3560)

This two-sided icon in Byzantine or byzantinizing style was preserved in the venerable Coptic Monastery of Deir al-Baramus in El Faiyûm.[1] On one side are full-length figures of the early Christian military saints Sergios and Bakchos. They are identified by inscriptions and are represented not in the military dress of protectors, but as martyrs in the ceremonial court costumes associated with the celestial hierarchy of the kingdom of heaven.[2] Although the periphery of the image on the other side has been damaged, at the center are the fairly well preserved head and neck of a bust-length figure, probably another military saint. In the upper-left corner are traces of a hand with the fingers curling as if around a staff, in a posture often assumed by military saints. The figure is crowned with a jeweled diadem of a type worn by military saints in, for example, two thirteenth-century icons preserved in the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai. In the first, a Frankish woman, the donor, is shown supplicating Saint Sergios, who is shown armed and on horseback (cat. 229). In the second, another bilateral icon, Sergios and Bakchos are depicted as fully armed equestrian saints on one side and the Virgin Hodegetria appears on the reverse (cat. 230).[3] TKT

1. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "bilateral icon," p. 980, and "Sergios and Bakchos," p. 1879. Deir al-Baramus seems to have flourished during the thirteenth century; see Loon 1999, pp. 61–64; *Coptic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Dayr al-Baramus," pp. 789–94.
2. See, e.g., Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 63–64, for this reading of the costuming of military saints, and Piltz 1994, e.g., p. 65, on insignia and ranking.
3. On these icons, see Hunt 1998, vol. 2, pp. 78–126.

References: Simaika 1937, p. 46; Van Moorsel 1991, pp. 120–21, pl. M.

117, obverse

117, reverse

117. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Kataphyge and the Vision of Ezekiel

Thessalonike, between 1371 and 1393
Tempera and gold on wood
93 x 61.5 x 3 cm (36⅝ x 24¼ x 1⅛ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the side with the Virgin and Saint John, on the gold background on both sides of the Virgin's head, ΜΗΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); to the left of her head, ΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΗ (the Asylum); above Saint John, Ο ΑΓ(ΗΟς) ΙΩΑΝΝΗς Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟς (Saint John the Evangelist); between the figures, [ΕΝ] Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)Ω ΤΩ Θ(Ε)Ω ΠΙΣΤΗ ΒΑΣΙ(ΛΙΕ)Σ(Α) (In Christ God trusting Basilissa). On the side with Ezekiel and Habakkuk, on both sides of Christ's halo, Ι ς Χ ς (Jesus Christ); in the halo, Ο ΕΝ ΤΟ ΛΑΤΟΜΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑ (The miracle in Latomos); on the unfurled scroll in Christ's left hand, in eight lines, ΙΔΟΝ Ο Θ(ΕΟ)Σ ΗΜ(ωΝ) ΕΦ(ΟΝ) ΕΛΠΗΖΟΜ(ΕΝ) Κ(ΑΙ) Η(Γ)ΑΛΙωΜΕΘ Α ΕΠΙ ΤΗ Σ(ωΤΗ)ΡΙΑ ΗΜ(ωΝ). ΑΥΤΟ(Σ) ΔωΣΕΙ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣ(ΙΝ) Τω ΟΙ Κω ΤΟΥΤω (This is our God. In Him we trust and hope for our salvation. He gives peace to this home [Isaiah 25:9]); next to the symbols of the Four Evangelists, Μ (Matthew), Ιω (John), Μ (Mark), Λ (Luke); above the two prophets, ΠΡΟΦ(Ε)Τ ΙΕ[ΖΕ]ΚΙΗΛ (Prophet Ezekiel), [ΠΡΟΦ(Ε)Τ] ΑΒΒΑΚΟΥΜ (Prophet Habakkuk); on the open book in Habakkuk's hand, †ΥΙΕ ΑΝΘΡωΠΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΦΑΓΕ ΤΗΝ Κ(ΑΙ)ΦΑΛΙΔΑ ΤΑΥ(Τ)Η(Ν) (You son of a man! Eat this scroll! [Ezekiel 3:1]).

PROVENANCE: Together with another icon with Saint John the Theologian from the 17th or 18th century and a fragment of an iconostasis from 1620, the icon was brought to the National Museum in Sofia (now Institute of Archaeology with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) from the monastery near Poganovo, on the Erma River.[1] The transfer took place after World War I, as the Bulgarian treasures were evacuated from the region of Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), which was annexed by Yugoslavia according to the postwar peace treaty of 1919.

CONDITION: The icon is in a very good state of preservation. In 1959 it was subjected to cleaning and conservation.

Institute of Archaeology with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Medieval Department, Sofia (2057)

The positions of the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist on one side of this icon from Poganova are reminiscent of a Crucifixion scene. The Virgin bears the rare epithet of Kataphyge (Asylum). Her maphorion gives the impression of austere elegance. Saint John, depicted as an aged man, wears a himation that falls in light-colored folds. John is the patron saint of the monastery church in Poganovo, and his cult is widespread in the region. Because he was considered the protector of local ruling dynasties, many churches were consecrated to him. The iconography of the Virgin Kataphyge is also connected with this region, in particular with events related to the martyrdom of Demetrios, the patron saint of Thessalonike. At the place where Demetrios was caught preaching Christianity in a subterranean asylum, a church was later erected and consecrated to the Virgin.[2] Even in the fourteenth century ceremonial processions in honor of the saint began at that place and ended at the basilica consecrated to him, passing along the via Egnatia by the Church of the Virgin Acheropoietos. The desire for help, asylum, and protection from the Mother of God links the epithet "Asylum" with her standard image and her position in the scene of the Crucifixion.

The other side of the icon presents a rare and unusual scene, the vision by the river Chebar with which the book of Ezekiel opens. On one side of the rock-lined river, in which fish are swimming, stands the prophet Ezekiel, gazing at the divine vision; on the

other side the prophet Habakkuk holds an open book on which are written the opening words of the third chapter of Ezekiel. The expressive and plastically modeled prophets are dressed in sober-colored garments.

In the upper part of the field is a medallion transected by a rainbow, in the center of which sits the imposing figure of Jesus. Though Christ's young face is damaged, the artistic merit of the image is beyond doubt. On the open scroll in his hand are the words of Isaiah (25:9). The inscription in his halo relates the scene to his miracle in Latomos. Symmetrically placed on the outside of the medallion are the symbols of the Four Evangelists.

The iconography is already known from a fifth-century mosaic in the apse of Christ in Latomos Church (now Hosios David) in Thessalonike.[3] The rare subject matter of the icon is also represented in wall paintings that are in some way related to the theme of death, like those in the ossuary in Bačkovo from the twelfth century.[4] In style and artistic merit the icon surely belongs among the masterpieces of the Palaiologian age. It may have been made in a workshop in Thessalonike in the fourteenth century.[5] Certain stylistic features recall the wall paintings in the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos.[6]

A close relationship has always existed between the function of buildings and their pictorial decoration. The wall paintings in the ossuary in Bačkovo represent the Apocalypse of Saint John and the Last Judgment. Similarly, this icon from Poganovo is thought to have been originally placed in a church mausoleum, in which the donors, who belonged to the highest level of the social hierarchy, were buried.[7] The donor's inscription between the figures of the Virgin and Saint John on the icon, which was meant to be carried in religious processions, mentions a ruler bearing the title basilissa. The unusual combination of themes can be explained by historical events in the region and the personal fate of its rulers between 1371 and 1395, when they played an important role in the struggle against the Ottoman invaders. There has been much debate about the identity of the rulers in this part of the Balkans in this period. Three medallions with monograms on the western facade of the Poganovo church contain the names of Constantine, Helena, and Saint John the Theologian, and the beadroll of the monastery also mentions Constantine and Helena, common names among the local aristocracy in the second half of the fourteenth century.[8]

Most scholars tend to identify the donor of the Pagonova monastery, and of the icon in particular, with Empress Helena, wife of Manuel II Palaiologos and daughter of Constantine Deyan, a semi-independent ruler in the lands now constituting modern West Bulgaria.[9] Members of the Deyan dynasty were donors of the monastery near Zemen in the same region, whose church was also consecrated to Saint John the Theologian, who seems to have been the family protector. Another suggestion worth considering is that the icon was commissioned by Helena, daughter of Constantine Dragash and wife of the despot John Uglesha.[10] The fate of Helena and her husband and his search for asylum could well explain the choice of scenes and figures concerning the theme of Last Judgment and Redemption. Although the wall paintings in the church at Poganovo date from the late fifteenth century, archaeological excavations have uncovered the remains of earlier structures that may well belong to the time of its construction and the acquisition of the icon.[11] MV

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1. Naroden Muezi 1922–23, pp. 210–11.
2. Xyngopoulos 1962, p. 348; Grumel 1930.
3. Tsigaridas 1988.
4. Bakalova 1977, pp. 67–68, 70.
5. Xyngopoulos 1935, p. 390.
6. Tsigaridas 1997.
7. Radojičić and Subotić 2002, p. 46.
8. Schmit 1908, p. 123; A. Grabar 1926–27; Ivanov 1915, p. 224.
9. Mavrodinova 1980; Radojičić and Subotić 2002, pp. 24–25.
10. Babić 1987, p. 62.
11. Tomić et al. 1979.

REFERENCES: Gerasimov 1959; A. Grabar 1926–27; A. Grabar 1959; A. Grabar 1962; Xyngopoulos 1962; Essen 1964, no. 249; Paris 1976, no. 20; Rome 1979, no. 14; Praškov 1985, p. 65, nos. 10–12; Babić 1987b, pp. 57–65; Subotić 1993; Vokotopoulos 1995, pp. 218–19; Tsigaridas 1997; Rome 2000, no. 90; Radojičić and Subotić 2002.

118. Icon with Saint Athanasios the Great and Saint Cyril of Alexandria

Byzantine (Mount Athos or Thessalonike), early 14th century
Tempera and gesso on oak panel
43.5 x 34 cm (17⅛ x 13⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: Vertically, beside saints' halos, Ο ΑΓΙ(ΟC) ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC Ο ΜΕΓΑC Ο ΑΓΙ(ΟC) ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟC (Saint Athanasios the Great, Saint Cyril)

PROVENANCE: Acquired from a skete on Mount Athos by Piotr Sevastyanov, 1860; Museum of Early Russian Art at the Academy of Arts, Saint Petersburg, 1861–98; Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III (after 1917, the State Russian Museum), Saint Petersburg, 1898–1935; transferred to the Hermitage, 1935.
CONDITION: The icon is in very good condition.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (I–327)

The wood of the icon is oak *(Quercees sp.)*, which, along with chestnut, was typical for icons of Athonite provenance. The raised border and the proportions of the panel and the pale green painted background of the icon also indicate that it was made in this region. The same background is found in such icons connected with Mount Athos and Thessalonike as the Crucifixion with saints in the borders (State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg), the Last Judgment and the Miracle at Chonai (Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens), Saint John Damascene (Skete of Saint Anne, Mount Athos), and Saint Nicholas (Koutloumousiou Monastery, Mount Athos).[1]

The saints depicted on the icon, Athanasios and Cyril, were known as outstanding theologians and fighters against heresies and were joined in early Christian times by a combined cult and a common feast day, January 18. The elongated proportions of their figures, the combination in the clothing of soft painting and dense gold, and the sculptural rendering of the faces produced with translucent ocher glaze are elements typical of works from the early fourteenth century, including those from the circle of the Thessalonikan Manuel Panselinos.

In its painting, the Hermitage icon inevitably calls to mind early-fourteenth-century mosaics and frescoes in the Chora Monastery in Constantinople and frescoes in the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson.[2] General points of contact can be found with the icon of the Twelve Apostles in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts Moscow (cat. 109), which comes from Mount Athos (and which is dated variously by different authors between the early and late fourteenth century) and the icon of the Three Hierarchs in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, which is dated no later than the second decade of the fourteenth century.[3] All these works are linked by the refined style and high quality of the painting, the convincing communication of high spirituality, and the almost portraitlike features of the saints depicted.

If these parallels indicate the date of the Hermitage icon and the artistic circle to which it belongs, then two icons cited above as having the same background—the icons of Saint Nicholas in the Koutloumousiou Monastery and Saint John Damascene in the Skete of Saint Anne—evidently came from the same workshop and may even have been created by the same artist. In addition to the pale green backgrounds, the three icons are linked by the gold halos around the saints' heads, by the columnar gold inscriptions, by the elongated proportions of the figures, by the drapery glimmering with soft tones and colored highlights, and by faces fashioned in delicate translucent ocher glaze. The painting is of such a high quality and the individuality of the master is so pronounced that his art ranks with the highest achievements of Byzantine painting, irrespective of where he worked.[4]

The opportunity to study directly the icons and frescoes of Mount Athos has convinced us that the Hermitage icon dates from the early fourteenth century, and its style and quality attest to the Constantinopolitan apprenticeship and orientation of the artist, even though he evidently worked directly on Mount Athos or in Thessalonike. YP

1. Moscow 1991b, no. 55; M. Brouskarē 1985, pp. 113–15, 119, 125; Thessalonike 1997, p. 74; S. G. Papadopoulos 1996, pl. 39.
2. Underwood 1966–75; E. Constantinides 1992.
3. Moscow 1991b, no. 16; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, no. 9.
4. S. G. Papadopoulos 1996, pl. 39; Thessalonike 1997, p. 74.

REFERENCES: Likhachev 1902, p. 21; Kondakov 1928–33, vol. 3, p. 174, fig. 133; Myslivec 1947, p. 22, fig. 14; Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, fig. 108A; Moscow 1991b, no. 66; Saint Petersburg 1992, pp. 28–29, no. 14; Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 157–58, no. B-131; London 2000–2001, p. 8, no. 19.

119. Icon with Saints Sava and Symeon

Longin (?)
Serbia, second half of the 16th century
Tempera on wood
32.6 x 26 cm (12⅞ x 10¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: Beside the saints' heads, in Slavonic, г(ве)ты С[ав]а Сръб[скы] (Saint Sava of Serbia), г(ве)ты Сумеонъ Мѵро[т]оточцѣ [*sic*] (Saint Symeon Mirotočivi-Myroblite); on the scroll of Saint Symeon, +Чѣда моя възлюбленнаа, възвѣличите Г(оспод)а съ мною вькупѣ (My beloved children, magnify the Lord together with me)
PROVENANCE: According to an unsubstantiated tradition, the Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece;[1]

entered the National Museum, Belgrade, 1951.
CONDITION: The upper layers of paint are lost, especially on the carnation. The inscriptions beside Saints Symeon and Sava are partly rubbed off, as is the gold ground. A crack across the figure of Saint Symeon is visible on both front and back of the icon.
National Museum, Belgrade (2050)

This icon of Saints Sava and Symeon, which is usually dated to the fifteenth century,[2] has been attributed to the famous Serbian painter and writer Longin by Radomir Nikolić[3] on the basis of its style and paleographic features. Longin was active in the second half of the sixteenth century,[4] and by good fortune autobiographical data and some of his signatures survive. Thus we know that he worked first as a layman and then as a monk in the monasteries at Peć and Sopoćani.[5]

At right Saint Symeon, the founder of the Nemanjid dynasty and of the independent Serbian state, and at left his son Saint Sava, who established the autocephalous Serbian Church and was its first archbishop,[6] are represented in their customary attire: Saint Symeon as megaloschemos, a monk of the highest standing as indicated by his habit, and Saint Sava in a bishop's polystaurion.[7] The inscription on Saint Symeon's scroll is a paraphrase of the thirteenth-century Serbian writer Domentijan's *Life of Saint Symeon*.[8]

The cult of Symeon and Sava had its origins in literary works and saints' lives and service, and it found its reflection in painting in portraits and cycles of lives.[9] Symeon and Sava were first represented together at the beginning of the fourteenth century, on the walls of churches founded by Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321).[10] The inspiration for pairing the two came from the national literature, however, particularly the works of Domentijan and Teodosije.[11]

The oldest preserved icon of Saints Sava and Symeon is this one in the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade.[12] When it was painted, Serbia had fallen under Ottoman rule, and representations of Saints Symeon and Sava signified the ruler and archbishop who obtained the country's political and ecclesiastical autonomy, as well as the patron saints of the Serbian nation and church.[13] Their cult continued to flourish during the Turkish occupation, helping to maintain Serbian identity and encouraging the national struggle for independence.[14] Also during the post-Byzantine era the cult of Sava and Symeon spread far beyond the borders of Serbia itself.[15] AlN

1. The monastery's name does not appear in the inventory of the National Museum, Belgrade.
2. For earlier bibliography, see Nikolić 1969, p. 197.
3. Ibid., pp. 197–202.
4. Ibid.; see also Šakota 1965.
5. Ibid.
6. Before he became a monk and took the name Symeon, Stefan I Nemanja ruled as the great župan of Serbia (1165/68–96), enlarging its territory considerably (Jovanka Kalić in Srejović et al. 1994, vol. 1, pp. 251–62; Sima Ćirković in ibid., pp. 264–65, 303 (map); Nemanja 2000). His son Sava Nemanjić (Prince Rastko before he became a monk) not only was actively engaged in the religious and political life of the country but also was a writer (Đurić 1979; Ćirković in Srejović et al. 1994, vol. 1, pp. 263–65, 270–72; Božidar Ferjančić in ibid., pp. 297–301, 304–5, 308–13). Both men are remembered as founders and donors of numerous churches and monasteries (Vojislav J. Đurić in ibid., pp. 273–78, 284, 286–91, 408–12). Symeon died in 1199 in Hilandar Monastery (Ćirković in ibid., p. 265); Sava died in 1236 in Tŭrnovo (Ferjančić in ibid., pp. 312–13).
7. From the fourteenth century onward, Saint Sava was more often represented in the short-sleeved sakkos than in the polystaurion (see Ćorović-Ljubinković 1958, pp. 85–86; Gojko Subotić in Đurić 1979, pp. 348–49). For the iconography of Symeon and Sava, see S. Radojčić 1953, p. 30; Ćorović-Ljubinković 1958, pp. 80–87; Milošević 1970, pp. 149–86; Subotić in Đurić 1979; Đurić 1997, pp. 135–38; Sreten Petković, "Ikonografija svetog Simeona Srpskog u doba turske vladavine," in Nemanja 2000, pp. 382–92; Branislav Todić, "Predstave sv. Simeona Nemanje, nastavnika prave vere i dobre vlade, u srednjovekovnom slikarstvu," in ibid., pp. 295–304.
8. Domentijan 1988, p. 273; Đurić 1997, pp. 129–30. The text, "My beloved children, magnify the Lord together with me," is based on Psalm 34:3.
9. Ćorović-Ljubinković 1958, pp. 80, 88; Milošević 1970, pp. 149, 153–59, 161, 164–66, 171–81, 183–84.
10. For the portraits in Saint Niketas (ca. 1320), near Skopje, see Milošević 1970, p. 180. For the joint cult of Symeon and Sava and representations of them together, see Ćorović-Ljubinković 1958, pp. 80–81, 86–89; Milošević 1970, pp. 178–86; Todić in Nemanja 2000, p. 303; for the cult and portraits during the years of Ottoman occupation, see Subotić in Đurić 1979 and Petković in Nemanja 2000. The oldest individual portraits of Symeon and Sava are preserved in Mileševa Monastery (ca. 1222–28); see Milošević 1970, pp. 152, 162.
11. Ćorović-Ljubinković 1958, p. 80; Milošević 1970, pp. 179–80; Đurić 1997, pp. 135–38.
12. An icon from Hilandar Monastery with a gold ground and inscriptions that belong to the original layer of paint, older than the figures of saints that were added in the mid-seventeenth century, is an unpreserved, probably older, example of the representation of both saints in a single icon; see S. Petković 1997, pp. 47–48, figs. on pp. 146–47. An icon of Saint Symeon is mentioned for the first time in the inventory of 1281 of the hoard of Župan Desa, son of Serbian king Vladislav (r. 1234–43); see Solovjev 1926, p. 62. Saint Sava is represented alone on the back of a two-sided icon from Hilandar in the mid-fourteenth century. On the front is depicted the Virgin Neoborima Stena, "the rock that cannot be broken"); see Bogdanović et al. 1978, pp. 110, 112, fig. 90; S. Petković 1997, p. 30, figs. on p. 99. For the Hilandar icons of Saints Sava and Symeon, see S. Radojčić 1953.
13. Subotić in Đurić 1979; Đurić 1997. On the joint portraits of Symeon and Sava as founders and donors of Hilandar and other Athonite monasteries and representations of the two saints as safeguards of the Serbian state and church, see ibid., pp. 137–38; Petković in Nemanja 2000, pp. 390–92.
14. Subotić in Đurić 1979.
15. Petković in Đurić 1979.

REFERENCES: Ćorović-Ljubinković 1958, p. 87, fig. 10; Đurić 1961b, pp. 40, 98–99, pls. LIV, LV; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969, pp. 54–55; Nikolić 1969; Milošević 1970, p. 182; Weitzmann et al. 1970, pp. xciii–xciv, fig. 201; Gojko Subotić, "Ikonografija svetoga Save u vreme turske vlasti," in Đurić 1979, p. 349; Belgrade 1980, pp. 31–32; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 143, 198; Đurić 1997, pp. 129–30.

120. Icon with the Dormition of Saint Nicholas

Kastoria, first half of the 15th century
Tempera on wood
40 x 65 cm (15¾ x 25⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: Η ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ (The Dormition of Saint Nicholas)

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PROVENANCE: From an unknown church in Kastoria. Byzantine Museum, Kastoria (496 and 159/72)

The saint on his deathbed, wearing his episcopal vestments and holding a Gospel book in front of his chest, commands the central space in this icon. The foot of the bed is purple in color, the mattress is blue-green, and the background of the icon is pale yellow.

Around the bed are arranged six figures, in two symmetrical groups. At either end is a bishop. One of the two bishops swings a censer, while the other holds a closed Gospel book. Next to them are two young, beardless readers, one of whom is holding candles. Dominating the center of the composition are two elderly figures whose conical hats and gestures are characteristic of cantors. Saint Nicholas and the bishops have rose-colored halos. The absence of architectural depth is striking.

Iconographically the icon does not follow typical representations of the Dormition of Saint Nicholas, which is based on images of the Dormition of the Virgin.[1] Here, the austere, spare figures with unexpressive faces that stand with formality and hieratical rigidity around the deathbed suggest depictions on ancient tombstones or funerary suppers. This sparse depiction, showing the moment of entombment of the saint's body, has as a prototype the fresco of the Dormition of Saint Nicholas in Bojana, Bulgaria (1259).[2] This icon, with its delicate, fleshless, insubstantial figures and the expressionless, almost identical faces, is the work of a local workshop of Kastoria. It should be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, as it displays elements shared by the frescoes of *Saint Andrea of Rousouli,* which are dated around 1430.[3]

The depiction of the dormition of the saint as an independent theme, excerpted from the cycle of his vita, is unusual, and the Kastoria image is one of the first icons to display this scene in isolation. Other examples of this type include one on the reverse side of the double-sided icon of Saint Nicholas, showing scenes from his life, in the Byzantine Museum, Kastoria.[4] The theme also appears in monumental painting, as in the katholikon of the Monastery of Saint Nicholas Anapausas in Meteora, of 1527, and in the parekklesion of Saint Nicholas of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, painted in 1560. ENT

1. Zias 1969, pp. 291–94, pl III; N. Ševčenko 1983, p. 141, fig. 43.1.
2. N. Ševčenko 1983, fig. 10.15.
3. Tsigaridas 1999, pp. 310–11, figs. 176–186.
4. Zias 1969, p. 291, pl. 110a–b.

REFERENCES: Zias 1969, pp. 291–94, pl III; N. Ševčenko 1983, p. 141, fig. 43.1.

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121. Icon with Saint Demetrios

Attributed to Angelos Akotantos
Crete, second quarter of the 15th century
Tempera and gold on wood, priming on textile
92 x 45.8 cm (36¼ x 18 in.)
INSCRIBED: Ο Α(ΓΙΟC) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC
(Saint Demetrios)
CONDITION: With the exception of damage to the upper and lower edges, the condition of this icon is good.
Rena Andreadis Collection, Athens

The inscription identifies the saint as Demetrios, but the curls hanging at the neck and the horizontal arms of a cross, traces of which are still visible on the gold ground beside his right shoulder, clearly indicate that this was originally a representation of Saint Phanourios, who holds a cross and a lamp rather than a spear.[1]

The manner of execution of the saint's face is in a direct line of descent from fourteenth-century Palaiologan icons, such as the one depicting Saint George and the archangel Michael in the Byzantine Museum, Athens,[2] and another of the Pantokrator in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.[3] Similar features are also found in early-fifteenth-century wall paintings, such as those at Sklaverochori in Crete and, from slightly later, in the Valsamonero Monastery on the same island.[4]

The icon has been plausibly attributed to Angelos,[5] a celebrated Cretan painter from Candia (Iráklion) who has been identified

with Angelos Akotantos, an artist known from historical records whose will was registered in 1457.[6] It is one of a series of full-length icons of military saints with common iconographic and stylistic features, which bear the signature of Angelos or are attributed to his hand.[7]

The most striking feature of the icon is the well-balanced combination of Palaiologan iconography—the full-length, frontally posed military saint—with stylistic details reminiscent of contemporary Italian painting. Without sacrificing the spirituality of Byzantine saints, it also has the presence of a living human being, despite the halo and the transcendental gold background. Certain naturalistically executed details also contribute to the figure's humanity—the buttons on the right shoulder, the sword, the sword belt, and the soft boots. A similar conjunction of styles can be found in the representations on an early Cretan polyptych that has now been split up and dispersed among various collections around the world.[8] Both the icons of Angelos and the polyptych panels are superb examples of the flowering of Cretan painting in the first half of the fifteenth century, placing emphasis on beauty of form and compositional balance while adopting from the International Gothic style elements such as the general refinement and the soft, painterly manner of shaping forms.

AD

1. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1980–81.
2. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, pp. 36–39, 50–51.
3. Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001, pp. 148–50, no. B125.
4. Borboudakis 1991, pls. 207–8, KE.
5. Baltimore 1988, pp. 204–5, no. 45 (with earlier bibl.).
6. Cattapan 1977, pp. 199–200, 203; Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1981; Vassilaki 1994.
7. Drandaki 2002, p. 38.
8. Haustein-Bartsch 2000; Kazanaki-Lappa 2000.

REFERENCES: Charleroi 1982, no. 3; Athens 1983, no. 13; Florence 1986, no. 58; Athens–London 1987, no. 37; Baltimore 1988, no. 45; Drandaki 2002, pp. 36–41.

122. Icon with Saint John the Forerunner and the Archangel Gabriel

Northern Serbia, ca. 1512
Tempera on wood
93.2 x 68.5 cm (36⅝ x 27 in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, ѓ(ве)ты Іѡ(ан) Пр(е)дїтечѧ (Saint John the Forerunner), ар҃х(ангел) Гавїиль (sic) (Archangel Gabriel)
CONDITION: The icon is in a good state of preservation.
Krušedol Monastery, Vojvodina, Serbia and Montenegro

The icon of Saint John the Forerunner and the archangel Gabriel is part of a Great Deesis, the icons of which are in a very good state of preservation. They are enclosed in carved-wood frames the upper sections of which terminate in semicircular arches. Christ, depicted at the center of the Deesis composition, holds a book with Matthew's text on the Last Judgment (25:34). In this panel, John the Forerunner on the left, wearing ocher vestments with an olive-green cloak, addresses him with the words written on the scroll he holds in his right hand: "Oh, Lord, please accept the great plea of your Baptist." Christ succinctly replies, "I accept." The archangel Gabriel, with olive-green wings and dressed in a dark red divetesion and an ocher-orange loros, extends both arms toward Christ in a gesture of prayer. He stands on tiptoe, which is an allusion to his incorporeity.

The composition of the Deesis rarely occurred in the period of crisis in Serbian painting after the Turkish conquest. Although the year it was created does not appear on the individual icons of the Krušedol Deesis, the date can be determined with great certainty. The church of the Krušedol Monastery, dedicated to the Annunciation, was built between 1509 and 1512, and the Deesis for the new church must have been painted at the end of construction, around 1512. The iconostasis was certainly not transferred from another church, since its width corresponds to the width of the newly erected church.

The painter of the iconostasis is not known, though it is possible to trace his origin indirectly. The founder of Krušedol was Maksim, archbishop of Belgrade and Srem, from the ruling house of Branković. He was related to Wallachian voivods (princes), in particular to John Njagoje Besaraba. Moreover, the high ecclesiastical title of metropolitan was conferred on Maksim in Wallachia. The icons display inscriptions with the characteristic

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letter "ius," which was not used by the Serbs but by the Wallachians. Thus, we can conclude that an icon painter was sent from Wallachia to Krušedol by the voivod John Njagoje Besaraba to paint the iconostasis. Some scholars detect the influence of Cretan artists, but that does not seem very likely.[1] Surviving frescoes and icons in Wallachia from the beginning of the sixteenth century do not point to a possible author of the Krušedol icons. In all probability, he had a Serbian assistant since some inscriptions on the icons are written in proper Serbian. The duality in the writing of the inscriptions attests to a specific cultural climate in the Balkans, marked by the unity of Orthodox peoples facing the Turkish threat.

Surviving Deesis icons from that period featuring full-length figures of the saints are very rare and have not been dated with any certainty. Since the Great Feasts were not represented on the iconostasis in Krušedol, the patrons could ask the artist to raise the iconostasis in this way. It is only after the second half of the sixteenth century that the cycle of Great Feasts regularly appeared on Serbian iconostases.

The icon is obviously the work of a strong artistic personality. Almost impeccable with regard to drawing, reliable in the proportions of the figures, and convincing in the postures, the unknown Krušedol icon painter can be said to belong among the best painters in the Balkans at the beginning of the sixteenth century. SrP

1. Mirković 1955, p. 102; Đurić 1961b, p. 58.

References: Ruvarac 1903, p. 285; Petrović and Kašanin 1927, pp. 16, 47, figs. 21, 69; Kašanin 1939, vol. 1, p. 449, fig. 14; Mirković 1955, fig. 11; Đurić 1961b, pp. 63–64, 124–25, pl. 88; Milanović-Jović and Momirović 1963, pp. 15–16; S. Petković 1969a, p. 721, fig. 19; S. Petković 1969b, pp. 193–94; Nicolescu 1971, p. 17; Đurić 1982, p. 545.

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123. Icon with Saint John the Theologian on Patmos and Scenes from His Life

Circle of Dionysius
Moscow, late 15th to the beginning of the 16th century
Tempera and gold on wood
93 x 71 cm (36⅝ x 28 in.)

Inscribed: On the central part of the icon is a late inscription, covering some of the losses: Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΙΩ(Α)Ν(ΝΗΣ) (Ο) ΘΕ(Ο)ΛΟΓ(ΟΣ) (Saint John the Theologian). In the scenes are fragments of late, difficult to read pseudo-inscriptions.

Provenance: Collection of Il'ia Semenovich Ostroukhov (1858–1929).

Condition: In some places the pigment and the craquelure are faded. During the restoration a new

123, detail of panel showing John's temptation and healing miracle

gesso was laid on the places where the old was lost, and repainted to resemble the original, including the craquelure. Before it was acquired by the museum, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the icon received an "antiquarian" restoration.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (12027)

The apostle John the Evangelist, also known as John the Theologian, preached the Gospel throughout Asia Minor. The account of his travels goes back to the fifth century, with Greek and Slavic copies extant since the twelfth century. In Rus' this text is included in the Great Menologion under May 8 and September 26, the days commemorating John the Theologian. Multiscene figurative cycles of the apostle's travels were established in Moscow between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in manuscript illumination and hagiographic vita icons. In hagiographic icons the central image, as here, presents the venerated figure. In this example John the Evangelist is surrounded by sixteen scenes from his life.

At the center, the seated John turns his head to hear the voice of God, while his disciple Prochorus writes down his words. They are depicted in a cave on the island of Patmos, where John is believed to have written the Book of Revelation. The composition is similar in iconography to some Gospel miniatures (cats. 165, 167) and to scenes on some royal doors (cat. 124). In wall paintings in churches, images of the seated John without Prochorus are usually represented on one of the pendentives of the dome. Such compositions were later included in scenes related to the Apocalypse.

The present icon is very similar in its iconography to two others from the same period in the collection of the State Tret'iakov Gallery and the State Museum-Preserve of History, Architecture and Decorative Arts, Vologda, and to miniatures in manuscript versions of John's life and journeys from the fifteenth to sixteenth century in the collection of Nikolai P. Likhachev (Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg). The scenes in all three icons have features typical for hagiographic works of Dionysius's circle: the absence of borders separating the scenes in the horizontal bands; architectural structures that are typical of the Palaiologan tradition; and the significant role of landscape in the composition.

It has been suggested that interest in John the Theologian, author of the Apocalypse, was related to the approach of the year 1492, which was thought to represent the year the world would end, seven thousand years after the Creation. This expectation probably explains the production at the end of the fifteenth century of a large icon of John the Theologian with forty-four scenes; originating from the Monastery of Saints Boris and Gleb in Dmitrov near Moscow, the icon included Apocalyse compositions.

The present icon has no apocalyptic images, nor do the two closely related works mentioned above, representing instead the themes of apostolic service, the repudiation of pagan customs, and exorcism. These themes suggest that the icons were intended for the northern Russian lands, where a Vologda-Perm' eparchy was created in 1472. Much effort was required to convert the non-Christian population of this territory to the Orthodox faith and to eradicate paganism. Recognizing the Vologda provenance of the icon helps to explain its stylistic resemblance to paintings by Dionysius (see cat. 108). The famous painter and members of his workshop were active in the north in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and their painting traditions were preserved for a long time in the works of local artists. ĖKG

References: Myslivec 1947, pl. 35; Antonova and Mneva 1963, vol. 1, no. 298 (with bibl.); Moscow 2002, no. 69 (with bibl.).

124. Iconostasis Doors with the Annunciation and the Four Evangelists

Balkans (?), first quarter of the 15th century
Tempera and gold on wood
158 x 51.5 cm (62¼ x 20¼ in.); 158 x 52.5 cm (62¼ x 20⅝ in.)

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124, detail of left center panel showing Saint Matthew

Inscribed: In the scene with John the Theologian, on the sheet held by Prochorus, is a three-line inscription corrected at a later date, Искони бѣ словоо и (сло)бо вѣ (In the beginning was the Word and the Word was . . . [John 1:1])
Provenance: Collection of I. S. Ostroukhov.
Condition: The original pigments have faded. There are major losses of the gesso, and insertions of new gesso have been applied.
State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (12024a, 12024b)

The holy doors, which stand in the center of the iconostasis and open into the sanctuary, represent the doors to paradise. By the fourteenth century such doors had an established shape in Eastern Christian art, with the two upper panels rounded at the top. The doors were decorated with a series of images: a mandatory composition of the Annunciation in the upper panels, and below either the creators of the liturgy, Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great of Caesarea, or images of the Four Evangelists writing their Gospels. The images on the doors are interrelated with the frescoes in the eastern part of the church, where the Annunciation appears on the altar columns, officiating bishops on the walls of the apse, and the evangelists on the pendentives of the dome. The arrangement of scenes on these doors resembles that on the fourteenth-century doors from the Likhachev collection (now in the State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg), which are attributed to Novgorod (cat. 63),[1] and on the doors from the Trinity Cathedral of the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery (Troitse–Sergieva Lavra), dated to the 1420s and believed to have been made by an artist from the circle of Andrei Rublev (now in the Sergiev Posad Museum).[2]

A distinct iconographic feature of the Annunciation on these doors is the image of the standing, not seated, Virgin. The shapes of the architectural structures are also unconventional: for example, the building that arches over the archangel Gabriel or the exedra with stairs behind the Virgin are more commonly found in representations of Mary being fed by an angel in the Temple in Jerusalem. The evangelist scenes are similar to Gospel illumination dating from the fourteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century from a broad circle of works of Greek and Balkan tradition: for example, the Serbian "Radoslav Gospels" from 1429 (cat. 168) and the Gospels from Moldova of 1429 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).[3]

It is difficult to determine an exact attribution, but most Russian researchers believe that the creator of the doors was a Greek or Balkan painter. It has been suggested, based on the typical combination of red, green, and ocher colors and the lavish golden hatching, that the doors belong to the art of Pskov.

ĖKG

1. Popova 1980, pp. 172–213.
2. Nikolaeva 1977, no. 1; Guseva 1998.
3. Ulia 1971.

Reference: Bruk and Iovleva 1995, vol. 1, no. 90 (with bibl.).

125. Sanctuary Doors with Saints George and Demetrios

Crete, second half of the 15th century
Egg tempera and gold on wood
127.5 x 66 cm (50¼ x 26 in.)
Provenance: Church of Saint Demetrios, Karyas, Greece
Museum of the Evangelistra, Tinos, Greece

On the left leaf Saint George is depicted full length against a gold background. He has a youthful face and curly hair that hides part of his face. His dark-colored breastplate with numerous gold touches is supplemented by a double line of leather straps. The saint's sleeved tunic is red with light green highlights, and his dark leggings are marked with white highlights. The greaves are reddish, as is the cloak, and there is a dark-colored semicircular shield behind his shoulder. With his right hand, he grasps a sword, which touches his right shoulder, and with his left, he supports a scabbard tied to a sash around his waist. The saint tramples a light green coiling dragon with red wings, while in the bottom left corner an irregular line of mountains with brown-green shadows and white-edged rocks is visible.

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The young military saint Demetrios is shown standing on the right leaf. He holds in his right hand a spear with its shaft pointing upward, and with his left grasps at a sheathed sword. His dark breastplate bears touches of gold scales, his reddish tunic is decorated with white stripes, and his cloak is dark green. A semicircular dark brown shield hangs behind his shoulder and is tied in front to his chest. The saint's left foot treads on a large scorpion, set off against the background of mountains with brown-yellow shadows and rocks edged in white. Above each saint the hand of God appears from the sky, holding out a pearl-decorated crown for the saints. Curved double arches divide the painted panels from an area with incised wood decorations. Included among these are a border that outlines the two leaves, as well as rosettes and a five-leaf and eight-leaf anthemion.

These doors are notable for the complementary reds in the garments of the saints, the elegance of the postures, the gentleness of the countenances, and the artist's evident love for details of military uniforms. The colors have been distributed to create effective harmonic gradations, while the symmetrical arrangement of each element adds balance to the composition.

The use of iconographic patterns established by Angelos Akotantos, the great Cretan iconographer of the first half of the fifteenth century, the stylistic elements of the work, and the flawless execution all point to a good Cretan workshop of the end of the fifteenth century as the maker of these doors; in fact they have been attributed to the atelier of Andreas Ritzos. Nevertheless, several elements indicate a slightly later date: the deeper emotionalism reflected in the figures, the coarser handling of volumes and drapery, the simplified rendering of the sky, with the sharply incised woodwork, and a certain clumsiness in placing the figures, particularly Saint George, against the background. In either case, the work was clearly made by a particularly skilled artist and is also one of the oldest surviving examples of a sanctuary door of the Cretan school. CP

REFERENCES: Koutelakh 1981, p. 9; Boura 1985, p. 109.

ΥΠΑΠΑΝΤΗ
ΑΓΑΠΗ
ΝΕΚΡΟΣΥΤΑΦΙΑ

Images of Personal Devotion: Miniature Mosaic and Steatite Icons

ARNE EFFENBERGER

The Miniature Mosaic Icons

Alongside wooden panel paintings there is a type of painting that might better be classed among luxury goods: the mosaic icon. Only some fifty examples survive, of which a number are partially destroyed or restored beyond recognition.[1] Almost as many more can be deduced from later inventories, so that in this branch of Byzantine art we must also assume that a great number of examples have been lost.

The extant mosaic icons can be divided into two groups. The first consists of not more than eleven panels of large to medium size,[2] most of which were probably intended as movable "kneeling icons," or proskynetaria, placed for the veneration of the faithful on the pulpits or picture stands in churches and monasteries (fig. 7.2). In some cases they may have been incorporated into the row of pictures on an iconostasis, like the Hodegetria from Herakleia Pontike (present-day Ereğli; cat. 126) or the Paris Saint George tondo (cat. 137). The technique involved was virtually no different from that employed in making wall mosaics, with the exception of the use of wax and mastic as bedding and for binding the tesserae to the wood panel. Since the mosaics were to be seen up close, the placement of tesserae had to be much denser to create delicate modulations of color and the illusion of painting.

The second group consists of often very small examples that were intended, like other miniature icons of steatite, ivory, or enamel, as "portable" icons for use in private devotions (fig. 7.3).[3] Strikingly, no fewer than thirty-four of the surviving mosaic icons date from the Palaiologan period.[4] This large number cannot be accidental, but clearly suggests that these very small mosaic pictures with their subtle compositions made up of pin-size colored stones or gilt-copper rods were especially popular in Late Byzantine times,[5] even as they ceased to be produced by the second half of the fourteenth century.[6] From the very beginning, miniature mosaics were mounted in wood frames that were covered with chased and gilt silver, and this covering was embellished with figural and ornamental reliefs, enamels, or filigree.[7]

Nothing in the written sources informs us where mosaic icons were produced; we do not even know the Byzantine name for them.[8] In his ekphrasis, or description, of the city of Nicaea (ca. 1290), the scholar Theodore Metochites, who was the last restorer of the Chora Monastery (now Kariye Camii) in Constantinople, praises the splendor of its churches as well as the brilliance of its sacred icons made entirely of precious stones,[9] doubtless referring to mosaic icons.[10] In general it is assumed that, given their great value, such miniature mosaics were created in the court ateliers of Constantinople that were responsible for the production of luxury articles.[11] They would have been commissioned by members of the imperial household or the Byzantine upper class. Such an assumption is mainly based on the occasional evidence of mosaic icons in the possession of persons of high rank. In 1394, for example, Nicoletta da Antonio Grioni (d. 1409), the Venetian widow of an official (kubikularios) at the court of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54), willed a feast-day diptych (fig. 7.1 and cat. 129) to the Florentine baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, together with relics of Eastern saints.[12] It is said that the emperor had removed the diptych from his palace chapel to give to his confidant, which suggests that it was made in Constantinople. It has also been proposed that mosaic icons were produced not only in Constantinople but also in Thessalonike or on the Balkan Peninsula, even on Mount Athos.[13] Because of the sizable number of mosaic icons in Sicily or with a Sicilian provenance (see cat. 130), it was long thought that there was a separate regional workshop, but that thesis has proven untenable.[14]

We simply do not know enough about the private use of icons of any kind or about how they were venerated. Theoktiste,

Fig. 7.1. Diptych icon with scenes from the Life of Christ and the Virgin (cat. 129, detail). Mosaic on wood panel with silver-gilt and enamel frame, 1300–1350. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence

Fig 7.2. Icon with the Virgin Episkepsis. Mosaic, late 13th to early 14th century. Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas.

mother-in-law of the Iconoclast emperor Theophilos (r. 829–42), is said to have placed the icons that she otherwise kept hidden in a chest "on the faces and lips" of her five grandchildren to awaken in them a love of the holy images.[15] When Theophilos quizzed his daughters, the youngest one related in all innocence what her grandmother was doing with her "dolls," thereby sending the emperor into a rage. Irene, wife of Leo IV (r. 775–80), is said to have hidden her icons under her pillow.[16] All such stories are later inventions, of course, since—contrary to what is commonly believed—there was no true cult of images before the eleventh century. However, they do confirm *how* people later venerated icons. Everyone knew how icons were used, which is why they are almost never mentioned in the written sources. In procession protocols from the *Book of Ceremonies* of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (r. 945–59), we read over and over of the kissing of crucifixes, the holy scriptures, altar cloths, and liturgical vessels, but only rarely is anything said about the veneration of images, which was essentially limited to proskynesis, or supplication, before specific miracle-working icons.[17] Only in the liturgical calendars, or typika, of monastic foundations from the eleventh and twelfth centuries do we encounter rules specifying how icons were to be carried in processions and venerated during divine services:[18] it was customary to light candles in front of the icons, to kneel down in front of them, and to kiss them. Smaller portable icons—regardless of what material they were made—must have been venerated in much the same way, except worshipers could pick them up, touch them to their foreheads, and kiss them. This intimate contact reflected the needs of private devotions.

Byzantine mosaic icons probably found their way to churches and monasteries outside the capital at an early date. Those from Asia Minor or the immediate environs of Constantinople, we can assume, were produced in the capital (figs. 7.2, 7.3; cats. 126, 133). It cannot be coincidental that several examples, in both larger and smaller formats, either are preserved in the monasteries of Mount Athos or are known to have come from them.[19] Several ended up at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, at Sinai, Egypt, probably presented as votive gifts by eminent donors (cats. 206, 207).[20] Churches and monasteries kept icons and precious liturgical objects in their treasuries, or skeuophylakia. Thanks to the few surviving inventories of such repositories and to donor dispositions, we have some idea of what they contained.[21]

Mosaic icons must also have been in use in Slavic countries, especially Russia, long before the fall of Byzantium.[22] A number of sources speak of the popularity of small-format examples, especially in the West, from which sources we can also discover by what means and through which persons they first found their way, especially to Italy. Together with panel paintings and precious art objects in ivory, steatite, or enamel, they attest to a certain influence wielded by Byzantine art during the Renaissance.[23] In this connection it is important to bear in mind that large parts of Italy were still under the sway of Byzantine culture until well into the fourteenth century and that it was only gradually that Byzantine artifacts became objects of purely antiquarian interest. It is unlikely that mosaic miniatures had any significant influence on the art of the early Renaissance.[24] According to Vasari, the only Italian artist to interest himself in mosaic icons was the painter Gaddo Gaddi (early fourteenth century), who used eggshells to produce small images.[25]

The influx of Byzantine treasures, among them numerous mosaic icons, appears to have been especially great in the fifteenth century, in the period immediately before and after the fall of Byzantium in 1453. No longer did they arrive in the traditional manner as gifts, dowries, pilgrimage souvenirs, or stolen objects; they came instead in the baggage of emigrants from Byzantium fleeing to Italy with their libraries and valuable artworks. One opportunity for the transfer of Byzantine mosaic icons and other treasures could have been the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), attended by not only Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431–47) but also the emperor John VIII Palaiologos (r. 1425–48; see cats. 319–21) and numerous Byzantine churchmen and scholars.

Fig. 7.3. Icon with the Annunciation. Mosaic, early 14th century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig. 7.4. *Cardinal Bessarion with the Staurotheke.* Gentile Bellini, tempera with gold and silver on panel, 1464. National Gallery, London (NG6590)

One of the most prominent participants in the council was the onetime archbishop of Nicaea and later Roman cardinal, humanist, and statesman Bessarion (ca. 1403–1472), who worked in vain for the union of the Greek and Latin churches and finally left Byzantium for good in 1443 (cat. 324).[26] On May 31, 1468, he gave 482 Greek manuscripts and 264 Latin manuscripts from his collection to the Republic of Venice, thereby laying the foundations for the famous Biblioteca Marciana.[27] Bessarion also owned a number of Byzantine artworks, for example a staurotheke, or reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross, that he presented to the brotherhood of the Scuola della Carità on his initiation into the order in 1463 (see fig. 7.4 and cat. 325),[28] and perhaps a reliquary casket from Trebizond (cat. 74). According to a list drawn up by Giacomo Grimaldi in 1621, Bessarion gave seven mosaic icons to Saint Peter's in Rome between 1462 and 1467, among them two "ex opere mosayco minuto" (of the smallest mosaic)—one with an image of the archangel Michael and another showing Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.[29] An inventory from 1489 tells us that he also presented to Saint Peter's a great many more icons, mostly painted ones, presumably, as well as liturgical treasures.[30] Like so many objects of Byzantine origin mentioned in the sources, these have long since disappeared. It has often been suspected (but cannot be proved) that the small mosaic icon of Christ Pantokrator given by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) to Philippe de Croy, and later donated to the church in Chimay (fig. 7.5A, B and cat. 132), came from Bessarion's collection.

From an inventory of 1457 we learn that the Venetian cardinal Pietro Barbo, later Pope Paul II (r. 1464–71), already owned, in addition to numerous painted icons and other smaller art objects, a full twenty-five Byzantine mosaic icons, among them several "cum musaico parvenissimo" (in the tiniest mosaic), mounted in gilt-silver frames lavishly ornamented with enamels and chased figures and in some cases containing relics (see cat. 130).[31] Such a large number of mosaic icons with varied subject matter suggests that the cardinal was particularly fond of such works and had collected them a long time, doubtless taking advantage of the continuing flow of small Byzantine artworks into Italy. As for papal collectors, we are probably correct in

Fig. 7.5B. Cover of the Christ Pantokrator icon showing the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece (cat. 132). Parish of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul, Chimay, Belgium

Fig. 7.5A. Mosaic icon with Christ Pantokrator in a silver case (detail, cat. 132). Parish of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul, Chimay, Belgium

assuming that they still valued the miniature mosaics as devotional images and thereby honored their original cult function. The mere fact that the objects came from Byzantium—often accompanied by legends detailing their great antiquity, authenticity, and imposing provenance—assured that they were highly valued in the West (cat. 128).[32] In any case, a number of mosaic icons now preserved in museums were almost certainly once in Western churches, along with a number of panel paintings of Byzantine origin, which were venerated, especially in Rome, as miraculous images.[33] Two mosaic icons are still in Roman churches. One, depicting the Akra Tapeinosis (Man of Sorrows), adorns the so-called Saint Gregory Altar in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome (cat. 131). It is said to have been acquired, like the Christ icon in Galatina, from the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai by Raimondello Orsini del Balzo, later prince of Taranto, on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1380–81, and presented to the Roman church in about 1385–86.[34] The second, in Santa Maria in Campitelli, depicts a standing Christ, but it is impossible to thoroughly trace its provenance.[35]

Secular admirers and owners of Byzantine mosaic icons or other smaller objets d'art would have valued these foreign genres primarily as curios. An inventory from 1512 of the rich collections of Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico (1449–1492), for example, lists no fewer than eleven mosaic icons.[36] Among other objects in the "camera della sala grande detta di Lorenzo" (alcove of the so-called Great Hall of Lorenzo) in the Medici Palace in Florence were two icons of Christ and three portraits of saints "di musaicho" (of mosaic).[37] The large-format Late Komnenian panel with a depiction of the Pantokrator, already in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence by 1605, could have come from the Medici collections and would have resembled a surviving example now in Berlin (fig. 7.6).[38] Local tradition has it that the Demetrios icon in Sassoferrato (cat. 139) once belonged to the humanist Niccolò Perotti (1430–1480), who came from Sassoferrato and was a member of the circle of friends around Cardinal Bessarion; however, it can be demonstrated that the icon was still in Venice at the end of the seventeenth century.[39]

Steatite Icons

Beginning in the tenth century, small icons were also made from a normally light green sedimentary stone now generally known as steatite. In antiquity, however, and especially in Byzantium, it was called ἀμίαντος λίθος, or "unblemished stone."[40] Monastery inventories do not expressly mention the technical properties of miniature mosaics, which is why none of the works presented here can be identified from those sources, but icons made of stone (which cannot have been marble) are

Fig. 7.6. Icon with Christ Blessing. Mosaic on wood, first half of the 12th century. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin

Fig. 7.7. Icon with Saint Demetrios. Steatite with wood backing and silver-gilt frame, late 13th to early 14th century. The Kremlin, Moscow

frequently listed.[41] Like painted icons and miniature mosaics, steatite reliefs could also be mounted in silver-gilt frames (fig. 7.7 and cat. 141). They were occasionally combined to form a diptych (cat. 140), integrated into panel paintings, or assembled into other types of programmatic compositions (cat. 143), all of which gives some idea of the considerable value accorded to them. In their artistry, perfection of detail, and surface refinement, they are fully comparable to works in ivory (although they were by no means seen as a substitute for works in that medium). In the late eleventh century, ivory carving gradually died out, presumably because the trading routes with India and Africa were blocked. This is why we find so few examples in ivory from the Palaiologan era (cats. 5, 147). Steatite, by contrast, was readily available, and icons made of it would have been less expensive than those crafted from semiprecious stones, enamel, or ivory. The large number of surviving steatite icons surely justifies the conclusion that they were produced in great quantities.

In the Middle Byzantine era, Constantinople appears to have been the sole production center for works carved of steatite. In the Palaiologan period, however, a greater variety of artistic, stylistic, and iconographic features indicates the existence of multiple centers of production, within the periphery of the capital or in countries directly influenced by Byzantine culture (see cat. 140).[42] Archaeological finds suggest that steatite icons were destined mainly for the private sphere,[43] as readily portable votive images used in worship at home. The activity of private donors can be assumed from the large number preserved in or traceable to monasteries.

Steatite icons have been associated with the Byzantine upper class.[44] According to tradition, the Demetrios icon (fig. 7.7) came from the property of the Muscovite grand duke Dmitrii Donskoi (1350–1389), to whom it was given by the Byzantine emperor after the duke's brilliant victory over the Tatars at Kulikovo Pole (Field of Snipes) in 1380. A lost fourteenth-century pangiarion from the Panteleemon Monastery on Mount Athos was inscribed with two prayers for intercession in Byzantine dodecasyllabic verses, each of which mentioned Alexios Komnenos Angelos, meaning, however, Alexios III Komnenos, emperor of Trebizond (1349–90);[45] it is the only known example to have carried a definite historical reference. In an obvious allusion to steatite's green color, the Virgin is praised in the verse inscriptions as a λειμών (meadow) on which the prophets stand like "trees" that are "rooted" in Christ. The Palaiologan court poet Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–ca. 1345) celebrated precious works of art—icons, books, and reliquaries—in the collections of the emperor or the Byzantine nobility in his numerous poems.[46] In addition to icons made of various semiprecious stones, he mentions those composed of steatite, metaphorically invoking the qualities of the stone—its light green color, its resistance to fire, and the spotlessness ("unblemished") expressed in its name, ἀμίαντος λίθος—in characterizing the images on the icons, especially that of the Theotokos (Mother of God).

As icons made of steatite appear to have arrived in the West at an early date and in large numbers, it is not surprising that several examples are known to have been in the collections of Cardinal Pietro Barbo. One "icona greca da lapide, in qua sunt sculpta miracula et opera domini nostri" (Greek icon of stone with the miracles and works of Our Lord in relief)[47] was possibly embellished with illustrations of the Great Feasts, and a second depicted four military saints.[48] Though "stone" here could also refer to a semiprecious stone such as chalcedony, amethyst, or heliotrope, it is more likely that both pieces were carved from steatite. In any case, it would be futile to try to locate them. Like mosaic icons, they had little influence on the Renaissance art of the West; they were typical collectors' pieces, frequently changing hands, easily mislaid because they were so small, and only rarely attracting the attention of earlier scholars.[49] Most of them, robbed of their silver mountings and often only in fragmentary condition, have survived in museums.

126. Mosaic Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria

Constantinople, between 1300 and the end of the first quarter of the 14th century
Mosaic of small gold and polychrome smalt tesserae (up to .5 cm on average) on wood, set in wax
98 x 80 cm (38⅝ x 31½ in.); with frame 105 x 81.5 x 7 cm (41⅜ x 32⅛ x 2¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: Flanking the Virgin, $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ Η ΟΔΗ ΓΗΤΡΙΑ (Mother of God, the Hodegetria); above the head of Christ: $\overline{\text{IΣ}}$ $\overline{\text{XΣ}}$ (Jesus Christ)
PROVENANCE: During World War I a Bulgarian soldier rescued the icon from a fire in the Church of Saint George in Ereğli (not far from Istanbul). In 1918 he brought it to the National Museum in Sofia (now Institute of Archaeology with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences). The icon might originally have come from the bishop's church in the ancient metropolitan bishopric of Heraḱleia (ancient Perithos, modern Ereğli).
CONDITION: In an in situ description at the end of the nineteenth century Strzygowski noted damage to the lower part and the borders of the icon.[1] The original state of the icon is known through a photograph in the archives of the École des Hautes Études (no. C 2562).[2] The icon was cleaned and subjected to conservation and restoration after World War I at the National Art Gallery in Sofia by the painter Asen Belkovski. That restoration used colored plaster to replace the missing tesserae. The most recent conservation, which took place in 1999–2000, was carried out in the studio of the National Art Gallery, Sofia. The surface was cleaned, and the plaster additions were refreshed.
Institute of Archaeology with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Medieval Department, Sofia (2513)

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This portable mosaic icon is comparatively large. It was probably produced for placing between the columns of a templon.[3] The Virgin, depicted in bust length, supports the infant Jesus with her left arm, while she holds her right hand before her breast. The face, turned to the right, reveals soft, exquisite features. The crosses on the maphorion, small and equal-armed, are made of white pearls. The gold tesserae within the thin incised line framing the halos are arranged in a direction different from those that form the background. Gold tesserae are also used for modeling the garment of the infant.

The icon is thought to be a replica of the original, which was kept in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople. According to legend, that miraculous icon was the work of the apostle Luke, which was sent to Pulcheria, sister of Theodosios II, by the empress Eudokia in the fifth century. During times of emergency or trouble or on other important occasions, both for Constantinople and for the empire, the icon would be carried in processions as part of public ceremonies. Special liturgical services were devoted to it in order to seek its protection and intercession.[4] Since the iconographical scheme of the icon enjoyed great popularity and is attested in a number of replicas from different periods, it is difficult to date with precision the example from the Institute of Archaeology with Museum in Sofia. Moreover, evidence concerning its history is insufficient.

The well-proportioned figures are expertly modeled. There are no sharp divisions or marked graphicity. Instead, the colors—there are several shades of blue, green, white, ochre, pink, and red—gently change and merge into one another, greatly contributing to the delicacy of the contours. The emotional and expressive images, as well as the aristocratic

126, detail

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features of the Virgin, find good parallels among luxury works of art from the earlier phase of the Palaiologan age and point most probably to the time of Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328).

The masterly combination of warm and cold shades of color adds particular picturesqueness to the composition.[5] The exquisite workmanship reveals similarities with the mosaic icon of the Virgin Episkepsis (early fourteenth century) from the region of Brusa, now kept at the Byzantine Museum, Athens.[6] The range of colors and the arrangement of the tesserae also point to this early period. Close parallels are to be found among the different mosaic representations of the Virgin with the infant Christ, dating from about 1320, at Chora Monastery.[7] These works are considered representative of contemporary art in the Byzantine capital. Therefore it seems reasonable to suggest that the icon was brought or donated by a high-ranking person belonging to the court or to the aristocracy. Owing to its proximity and close relations with the capital, the metropolitan bishopric of Herakleia occupied a prominent position throughout the Byzantine period. The precious but already damaged mosaic icon of the Virgin Hodegetria may have been shifted to the much later Church of Saint George after the destruction of the old metropolitan bishop's church.[8]

MV

1. Strzygowski 1898.
2. Bakalova 1992, p. 57.
3. O. Demus 1991, pp. 56–57.
4. A. Grabar 1974, p. 77.
5. Bakalova 1992, p. 59.
6. O. Demus 1960, pp. 15–18, pl. 1.
7. Underwood 1966–75, vol. 2, pp. 21–22, 38, 40, 68, 89.
8. Bakalova 2000, p. 221, no. 84.

References: Strzygowski 1898; Kondakov 1915, vol. 2, pp. 198–99, fig. 91; Diehl 1925–26, p. 870; Bettini 1938, p. 15; O. Demus 1960; Underwood 1966–67, vol. 2, pls. 21–22, 38, 40, 68, 89; Dirimtekin 1967; Lazarev 1967, pp. 284, 336; Glasberg 1974, p. 34, fig. 9; Rome 1979, no. 8; Darrouzes 1981, pp. 205–7, 248; Grossmann 1982, pp. 145–46, fig. 50; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 83–85, 103, 109, 111, fig. 48; Geneva 1988, no. 150; O. Demus 1991, pp. 56–57; Bakalova 1992, pp. 54–62; Babić 1994; Rome 2000, no. 84.

127. Mosaic Icon with the Virgin Eleousa

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 13th–early 14th century; Venice, 19th century (painted frame)
Micromosaic of colored and silver tesserae, embedded in wax, on a wood board
10.8 x 7.3 cm (4¼ x 2⅞ in.) without frame; approx. 21.6 x 17.1 cm (8½ x 6¾ in.) with frame
Inscribed: In tesserae, flanking the Virgin, $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$ (Mother of God); on the left side of the Virgin's head, Η ΕΛΕΟVCΑ (The Eleousa); on the right side of Christ's head, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ)
Provenance: Donated in the seventeenth century to the Church of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice, by Matteo Bon; since June 1971, Patriarchal Seminary of Venice.
Condition: The background of the icon is missing large portions of silver tesserae. There are also areas of loss on the figures, but they are fairly well preserved despite some cracks in the icon.
Basilica di Santa Maria della Salute, Patriarchal Seminary, Venice

The Venetian nobleman Matteo Bon donated this mosaic icon of the Virgin Eleousa to the Church of Santa Maria della Salute during the seventeenth century.[1] Its provenance before this point is questionable, although the verso displays a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century illustrated parchment claiming that the icon was made in March 1115 by a Master Theodosius of Constantinople and later given to the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80).[2] This apocryphal history probably was attached to the icon at the time of its donation in order to guarantee the object's antiquity and noble provenance.[3] The work was initially attributed to the twelfth century based on this data,[4] but scholars, commencing with Viktor Lazarev, have argued that it was actually produced during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Technical and stylistic analysis led to this conclusion,[5] and the small size of the icon and the employment of microtesserae do exemplify the production of this later period.[6] Currently the icon is displayed in a nineteenth-century painted frame decorated with figures of saints; four thin veneers of marble punctuate each corner. Although most of the silver tesserae background has become detached from the wax matrix, the figures themselves are in good condition, with some areas of loss.

The Virgin wears a dark purple maphorion with highlights picked out by single bands of white tesserae; she inclines her head toward the Christ Child as she gazes intently at him. Christ sits within the crook of her arm, in a maroon himation and chiton, while holding a rotulus in his left hand. The large halos contain a decorative lozenge pattern in red, white, and gold. The icons of Saint Anna and the Virgin at Vatopedi and the Christ Chalkites at Esphigmenou, both on Mount Athos, show a close affinity to this icon in both technique and style. ECR

1. Furlan 1979, p. 76; Ravenna 1990, no. 38, p. 104.
2. The original Latin inscription is quoted in its entirety in Ravenna 1990, p. 104.
3. For the Italian response to Byzantine relics and icons, see Cutler 1995.
4. Lorenzetti 1926, p. 502; D. T. Rice 1933, pp. 265–66.
5. Lazarev 1937, p. 250; O. Demus 1960, pp. 94–95; Furlan 1979, p. 76; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 100–101; Ravenna 1990, no. 38, pp. 104–5.
6. For a breakdown of portable mosaic icons by size and format, see Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 108–9.

REFERENCES: Venice 1974, no. 85; Ravenna 1990, no. 38.

128. Icon with the Virgin Eleousa

Byzantine, early 14th century
11.2 x 8.6 x 1.3 cm (4⅜ x 3⅜ x ½ in.)
INSCRIBED: To the sides of the Virgin's head, $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ (Mother of God), and above the Christ Child's halo, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ). On the reverse, in Latin in a humanist hand of the second half of the fifteenth century (with <> brackets identifying scribal abbreviations and [] brackets denoting illegible letters), Tabella sancti heremitae [Al]exandrini qua<m> dedit s<an>ctae v<ir>gini Catharinae: eam in fide fideli<um> informans: Et fuit prima effigies sibi in christianitate v[is]a: Coram<m> qua agnovit Christum unigenitum dei patris. JESUS : MARIA (A small painting belonging to the holy hermit Alexandrinus which he gave to the holy Virgin Catherine: [as he was] initiating her [Catherine] in her devotion to the faith; And it was the first image seen [by her] in [her] Christianity: in the presence of which she acknowledged Christ [as] the only begotten son of God the Father. Jesus Mary)[1]
PROVENANCE: The mosaic first became known to the scholarly world in the late 1980s, when it was in the possession of an English collector. It was sold by his estate to a private collector.
CONDITION: The miniature mosaic was recently treated in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation. During conservation, misaligned blocks of tesserae were oriented into their original positions and losses integrated into the whole in a manner approximating the original. Compensated areas include elements of the Child's left hand, sections of the Virgin's and Child's garments, the upper left portions of the gilt background, and the left side of the Virgin's halo. The $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$ of Mother of God in the inscription is a new replacement. The parchment paper on the back with its inscription is in the condition at the time of sale.
John C. Weber Collection, New York, 2002

The mosaic is set into a gilt wood support, with a central carved-out recess with beveled edges retaining the image. Gilding was applied over an umber-colored ground, with the edge beneath the icon painted red.[2] Colored marbles were used for the flesh tones, Christ's hair, and the linear details, while pure calcite was used for highlights. The maroon and orange in the cloaks of the Virgin and Christ are lightly fired claylike materials.

128, obverse

128, reverse

Malachite was used for the greens in Christ's gown and sections of the nimbi; lazurite interspersed with calcite for the edging of the Virgin's cloak at her forehead and right cuff; and orange-red glass in Christ's nimbus.[3] Silver gilt coupons highlight details of drapery and illuminate the field around the figures.[4] The tesserae and coupons are set into a beeswax substrate.[5]

Losses to the icon revealed a square grid engraved into the recessed cavity of the support.[6] The tip of the veining tool used to incise the pattern was also used to create a seemingly erratically placed mark within each square.[7] The precise quality of the design and its spacing suggests a transfer technique: a preexisting image was "squared up," allowing it to be more easily copied onto a freshly prepared grid of the same size or smaller.[8] The thin layer of translucent wax, spread over the recess and flattened and worked into intimate contact with the wood, would not have obscured the pattern, so that the artist was able to work directly from the model to the wax.[9]

Replication experiments indicate that a lightly scribed line in wax provided sufficient initial tooth to hold a row of tesserae in position; the placement of the tesserae could then be adjusted before setting with light pressure. With the outlines placed, the interior spaces were then filled. In the robes of the Virgin and Child, tesserae of a single color served as the infill and would have been set quickly, even allowing for their being oriented to suggest a drapery pattern or a form. The flesh tones were more subtly modeled, with the colors of the polished tesserae carefully modulated and more narrowly spaced; the interstices were dusted with white and pink powders to tint the dark amber color of the natural beeswax and thus minimize any visual dissonance with the adjacent tesserae.[10]

When the mosaic was placed in the sun or heat was directed across its surface, capillary action would draw the softened beeswax up around individual tesserae and the gilt coupons, thereby saturating and securing them without subsuming them beneath a layer of wax. With the tesserae projecting above the wax bedding, the textural contrasts of the polished marble of the flesh tones, the rough contours of the malachite and clay garments, and the warm reflectance of the gilt silver accents were preserved.[11] PD

This image of the Virgin of Compassion, or Virgin Eleousa, is a remarkable addition to the limited number of surviving miniature mosaic icons, a medium first popularized in the Late Byzantine era.[12] The intimate gesture of the Christ Child, his head pressed to his mother's cheek, is one of the most beautiful images in Byzantine art. The poses of the heads and the position of the Christ Child's hand (partially restored) are remarkably similar to a less sophisticated, painted icon of the Virgin and Child in the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, where the Christ Child also has light brown hair (cat. 209). Another icon from Sinai, which has five small images of named icons including one labeled the Blachernitissa, echoes the head poses and hand gesture seen in this work.[13] An icon donated to the Church of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice, in the seventeenth century (cat. 127) and dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century offers a related pose in its exquisite Virgin with an elaborate halo, although the image of the Christ Child differs, as do elements of the design, including the details of the face.

The Venice icon and the fourteenth-century mosaic icon of Saint Theodore Teron in the Vatican (cat. 138) also possess inscriptions in Latin identifying the images. Here the inscription identifies the work as the icon that inspired the conversion in the fourth century of Saint Catherine of Alexandria. The saint's vita describes the event: "Then the ascetic gave her an icon on which was depicted the All-holy Theotokos holding the Divine Child in her arms, and said to her . . . take this to your home . . . pray all night . . . the maiden . . . beheld in her vision, the Queen of the angels, just as she was depicted with the Holy child . . . [the maiden] marveling at this vision . . . received from [the ascetic] Holy Baptism."[14] The desire to possess the icon by which the saint was converted attests to the popularity of Saint Catherine in the West in the Middle Ages. Though the image of the Virgin and Child displayed here was of a type that became popular in the Middle Byzantine centuries, the Latin inscription indicates that Westerners tended to believe that such Byzantine images of the Virgin and Child were copies of works of a much earlier age, if not originals from the fourth century. It cannot be determined if this icon came to the West with a pilgrim from Sinai, where mosaic icons survive today (cats. 206, 207). The Man of Sorrows mosaic icon at Sante Croce in Gerusalemme, in Rome (cat. 131), is said to have been brought to Rome from Sinai. The miniature mosaic at Galatina in Italy is housed in a church dedicated to Saint Catherine of Alexandria.[15] There was also a church dedicated to Santa Caterina de' Sacchi in Venice, which was established in 1150 and survived in various forms until 1806.[16] It is tempting to think that this work came from the site where Saint Catherine's relics are venerated. HCE

1. I thank Johnathan G. Alexander for his suggestions concerning the dating of the script and the translation of the text.
2. X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) analysis indicated the presence of lead and mercury, suggesting the pigment is a lead white tinted with vermilion.
3. Displaced tesserae were mounted whole in the Gandolphi camera to identify crystalline forms with X-ray diffraction (XRD) using a Philips PW 1729 X-ray generator and a cobalt source. XRD patterns were identified against the JCPDS powder diffraction files with the use of the Fein-Marquart Associates micropowder diffraction search/match program. The same samples were then analyzed by M. Wypyski using energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (EDS) in the SEM to determine their elemental compositions.
4. XRF confirmed the presence of mercury, indicating the amalgam gilding of the silver coupons. Coupons were made by hammering flat gilt silver wire, accounting for the rounded edges of the coupons, their variable profile, and the gilding on both sides and edges. Coupons average 50 microns in depth and from 0.2 to 2.8 mm in length.
5. Using the Digilab FTS 40 spectrophotometer, G. Wheeler performed infrared spectroscopy analysis of the wax substrate. Spectra were manipulated using WIN-IR software and searched against the IRUG database. The tesserae in the flesh tones average 0.5 mm, while the maroon, terracotta, and green tesserae average 0.7 mm.
6. Kovalenko 1978 suggests that the diamond-shaped grid on the Saint George icon illustrated in Furlan 1979, fig. 14, served only to enhance the adhesion of the wax. A similar pattern can be found on the Icon of the Standing Christ in the Great Lavra in M. Chatzidakis 1973–74, pl. 53. A square grid is visible on the Icon of the Prophet Samuel from the Hermitage illustrated in Krickelberg-Putz 1982, fig. 54, p. 88.
7. It is possible that the marks relate to the transfer technique, providing a point of orientation within each square or indicating a specific transition within the imagery.
8. Tracing and pouncing have also been suggested as techniques for transferring the outlines of an existing image to the wax; see Farneti 1993, p. 93.
9. The depth of the beeswax substrate below the level of the tesserae averages 0.5 mm.
10. The variance in the degree of finish between the flesh tones and the broader areas suggests the possibility of two different hands—the master and the apprentice. Ovchinnikova 1968 and Kovalenko 1978 suggest encaustic paints were used to block out the image on the wax prior to placing the tesserae, and it is this color that is visible under magnification in the interstices.
11. O. Demus 1960, p. 109, draws attention to the impasto or raised technique visible in the modeling of the figures in the Icon of the Forty Martyrs in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, where the white tesserae used as highlights are set above the surface.
12. Krickelberg-Pütz 1982.
13. Carr 2002, figs. 1–2.
14. Sinai 1999, pp. 13–15.
15. Ravenna 1990, no. 40, pp. 108–9.
16. I thank Lyle Humphrey of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, for the information on the church and monastery of Santa Caterina de' Sacchi.

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129. Mosaic Diptych with Cycle of Feast Days

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1300–1350
Miniature mosaic (colored tesserae and gilt-copper rods embedded in wax and mastic) on wood panel; frame of standardized silver-gilt stampings and enamel plates
Mosaics: each 27 x 17.7 cm (10⅝ x 7 in.); outer frame (15th century): each 37 x 28 cm (14⅝ x 11 in.)[1]
Inscribed: On the left panel, Ο ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΜΟC (The Annunciation); next to the angel in two panels, Ο ΑΡ̄Χ̄(αγγελος) Γ̄ΑΒΡΙΗΛ (Archangel Gabriel); next to the Virgin in two medallions, M̄H̄P̄ Θ̄Ȳ (Mother of God), Η ΓΕΝΝΗCΙC Τ̄(οῦ) Χ̄Ν̄ (The Nativity of Christ), Η ΥΠΑΠΑΝΤΗ (literally "The Approaching," the Presentation in the Temple), Η ΒΑΠΤΙCΙC (The Baptism [of Christ]) [Η ΜΕ]ΤΑΜΟΡΦΩCΙC (literally "The Transformation," the Transfiguration); next to Christ in two medallions, ῙC̄ Χ̄C̄ (Jesus Christ), Η ΕΓΕΡCΙC Τ̄(ο)Ῡ ΛΑΖΑΡ(ου) (The Raising of Lazarus); above Christ, ῙC̄ Χ̄C̄ (Jesus Christ)
On the right panel, Η ΒΑΪΟΦΟΡΟC (literally "Carrying the Palm Branch," the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem); above Christ, ῙC̄ Χ̄C̄ (Jesus Christ), Η C(ταύρ)ΩCΙC (The Crucifixion); next to the Virgin in two medallions, M̄H̄P̄ Θ̄Ȳ (Mother of God); next to John in two panels, Ο Α(γιος) Ι ω̄(αννης) Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟ(C) (John the Theologian), Η ΑΝΑ(σ)ΤΑCΙC (The Anastasis, The Resurrection, showing Christ's Descent into Hell); above Christ, ῙC̄ Χ̄C̄ (Jesus Christ),

129, detail of miniature Anastasis

Η ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙC (The Assumption [of Christ]), Η ΠΕΝΤΕΚΟ(στ)Η (Pentecost), Η ΚΩΜΗCIC ΤΗC (Θεοτο)$\overline{\text{Κ(ο)Υ}}$ (The Dormition of the Mother of God); above Christ, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ)

PROVENANCE: According to tradition, donated by Nicoletta da Antonio Grioni of Venice to the baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, Florence, along with relics of Eastern saints, 1394.[2]

CONDITION: The diptych is very well preserved, with a few fine hairline cracks and a few losses.

Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence

The scenes distributed across the two panels follow the canonical sequence of the twelve Great Feast days (dodekaorton) in the ecclesiastical year. What particularly distinguishes the panels is that each combines six square miniatures (roughly 9 x 9 cm [3½ x 3½ in.]) that could stand as independent pictures. Down to the smallest detail, all the figures and the landscape and architectural staffage are most carefully composed. The result is a classical balance of the highest order, which by itself is evidence of the extraordinary artistry of the miniatures. Among surviving mosaic icons, the Florentine diptych marks the high point of the so-called Palaiologan renaissance. The only comparable mosaic icons are the London Annunciation, the almost completely destroyed mosaic icon of John the Precursor (Ioannes Prodromos) in Venice,[3] and the somewhat earlier Berlin Crucifixion (cat. 130).

AE

1. Dimensions from Becherucci and Brunetti 1970 (but imprecise).
2. The sole source is Gori 1759, vol. 3, p. 327. See the essay by Arne Effenberger in this publication.
3. Furlan 1979, p. 86, no. 33, pl. 33; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 53 (repr.), 87–89, p. 134 n. 358 (bibl.).

REFERENCES: Becherucci and Brunetti 1970, pp. 279–81, no. 37, pls. 247–251; A. Grabar 1975b, p. 60, no. 31, pl. 40, figs. 66–67 (both panels with frames); Furlan 1979, pp. 81–82, no. 30 (bibl.), pl. 30; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 58, 62, 67–70, 99–100, 105 (frames), 128 n. 284 (bibl.).

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130. Mosaic Icon with the Crucifixion

Byzantine (Constantinople), end of the 13th century
Miniature mosaic (colored glass chips and pale gold embedded in wax and mastic) on wood panel; wood frame
Icon 26 x 19.5 cm (10¼ x 7⅝ in.), frame 36.9 x 30.3 cm (14½ x 11⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED: Above the arms of the cross, Η CΤΑΒΡΩCIC (The Crucifixion); above the Virgin, $\overline{\text{ΜΗΡ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ (Mother of God); above John, [ὁ] Α(γιος) $\overline{\text{Ιω}}$(άννης) Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟ(ς) (John the Theologian)

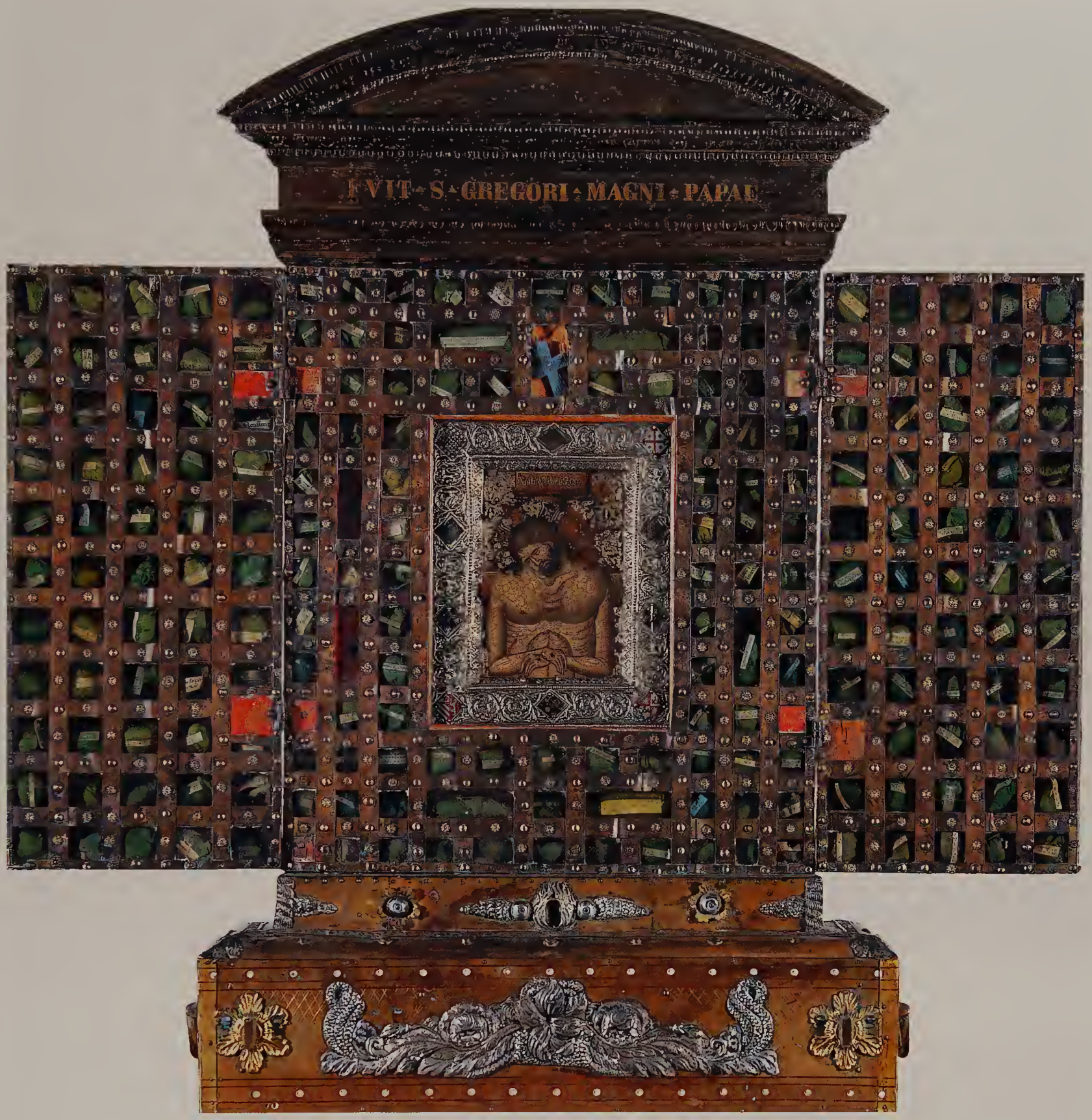
PROVENANCE: From Nicosia, Sicily;[1] known to have been on the art market in Catania, 1901;[2] acquired from unknown private property, 1904.

CONDITION: There is a vertical crack through the top and bottom of the frame as well as the mosaic; a number of horizontal cracks have been cemented and retouched; there are also numerous gaps and modern retouchings.

Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (6431)

This miniature mosaic is one of the most precious examples of the genre, and in its artistic quality equal to the best works of the "Palaiologan renaissance." Despite its Sicilian provenance, it was unquestionably made in Constantinople. Typical of the gradually evolving Palaiologan style in painting are the compact, volume-defining figures; the stiff, restrained postures; and the bizarre draping of the garments. The S-shaped body of the dead Christ, who seems not to stand but to hang by his extremely long arms from the cross, is expressive of exaggerated pathos, to which the Virgin responds by quietly turning toward him. John stands to the side with controlled mourning. In sharp contrast to the somber yet rich palette are the applied highlights, a stylistic device effectively employed here to suggest emotional turmoil.

The wood frame of the icon was cut down in the West, at top and bottom, and later restored with added strips. It has ten



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round depressions, some of which still contain particles of relics. On the back of the frame are the Latin names of the relevant saints—all Roman—added in ink in recent times.[3] The many nail holes came from the former metal fittings. Unfortunately, it can no longer be determined from which Sicilian church the mosaic came or what its function there may have been.

AE

1. Label pasted on the back of the panel with the ink inscription "Di Proprietà . . . Nicosia." The crucial section indicating the provenance or prior owner has been scratched off.
2. Orsi 1923, pl. 14 (as per its condition in 1901).
3. On this evidence Buschhausen 1995, p. 59, feels it is likely that the icon found its way to Sicily from some Roman, even papal, collection.

131. Mosaic Icon with the Akra Tapeinosis (Utmost Humiliation), or Man of Sorrows

Mosaic icon, Byzantine, late 13th–early 14th century; icon of Saint Catherine (reverse), late 13th–early 14th century; case, late 14th–17th century[1]

Mosaic icon, various colored stones, silver, and gold on wood; case, wood, metal, paper identification and silk wrappings for the relics

Icon 13 x 19 cm (5⅛ x 7½ in.) without frame, 23 x 28 cm (9 x 11 in.) with silver frame; case 98.7 x 97.1 cm (38⅞ x 38¼ in.) open, 98.7 x 62.4 cm (38⅞ x 24⅝ in.) closed

Inscribed: On the case, across the top, Fuit S. Gregori

References: Volbach 1930, pp. 172–73, pl. 12; Otto Demus, "The Style of the Karije Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, p. 144, fig. 18; Furlan 1979, pp. 24, 63–64, no. 17 (bibl.), pl. 17; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 56, 62, 70, 71, 73, fig. 37, pp. 124–25 n. 226 (bibl.); Buschhausen 1995, p. 59; Paderborn 2001–2, pp. 108–10, no. I.24 (bibl.).

131, obverse

131, reverse

Magni Papae (It is [the vision] of Pope Gregory the Great); on mosaic icon, O BACIΛEYC THC ΔOΞHC (King of Glory); on headpiece of cross at sides of Christ's head, $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ).
PROVENANCE: Said to have been taken from the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, to Italy by Raimondello Orsini del Balzo, 1380; thought to have been donated by him to the Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, 1385–86.[2]
CONDITION: The icon and the case in which it is housed have been restored and are in good condition. An image of Saint Catherine of Alexandria was discovered on the back of the icon during the restoration in 1960.
Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome (89)

Hans Belting has shown that the image of the Akra Tapeinosis (Utmost Humiliation), called in the West the Man of Sorrows, developed in Byzantium in the twelfth century in response to changes in the liturgy for the Passion Week.[3] While often paired with images of the Mournful Virgin (see cat. 104), the Man of Sorrows is also found as an independent icon (see cat. 80, where it is placed on the chest of the dead Saint Ephrem).[4] The present work, as well as a similar Byzantine mosaic icon of the same subject surviving at the Monastery of Tatarna in Greece, may have originally been used as an individual icon.[5]

The military figure Raimondello Orsini del Balzo, count of Lecce, is thought to have taken this icon to Italy from the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, where he had gone on pilgrimage in 1380. Coats of arms associated with his family are on the icon's silver frame.[6] Del Balzo claimed to have also taken back the finger of Saint Catherine from Sinai, which he gave, along with another miniature mosaic, to the church dedicated to the saint that he founded at Galatina.[7] While the painting of Saint Catherine on the reverse of the icon shows her in byzantinizing, not Byzantine dress, it supports the connection of this work with the Monastery of Saint Catherine,[8] which today still houses a number of mosaic icons (see cats. 206, 207).

Del Balzo probably gave this icon in 1385–86 to the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, where it was identified as a sixth-century work depicting the vision of Christ seen by Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604). It is housed in a wood case dating to the late fourteenth century, with later additions, and containing the relics of many saints. While this mosaic icon was not the first depiction of Man of Sorrows in the West, its presence as a major pilgrimage image in Rome increased the popularity of the theme in the West (cats. 329, 332).[9]

HCE

1. See Bertelli 1967, pp. 40–43, for the most complete study yet published on the condition of the case and the restoration of the mosaic image.
2. Ibid., for a detailed reconstruction of its connections to del Balzo.
3. Belting 1980–81.
4. Os 1978, p. 74, pl. 15, shows a late-fourteenth-century fresco from the Church of Saint Dimitrije (Demetrios) at Peć that shows an image of the saint accompanied by a single icon of the Man of Sorrows; Belting 1980–81, p. 8, notes the presence of the single image at Peć and in funerary icons of saints.
5. The present work displays the hands of Christ with the stigmata; that at Tatarna does not. Bertelli 1967, p. 42, effectively refutes the theory that the stigmata were a Western addition to the Byzantine iconography. Stubblebine 1969, p. 5, identifies the Man of Sorrows as one of the most popular new images of the early fourteenth century in the West, but fails to recognize the existence of a twelfth-century Man of Sorrows on a processional icon from Kastoria. See Belting 1980–81, p. 4, for the significance of the Kastoria image; New York 1997, no. 72, pp. 125–26, for the Kastoria icon.
6. The coats of arms—of the Anjou and Orsini-Montfort

families—are found on the seven surviving enamels on the frame. The other enamels depict scenes from the Passion of Christ; see Bertelli 1967, pp. 43–44.

7. Ibid., pp. 44–45; Belting 1994, pp. 339–41.
8. Bertelli 1967, pp. 42–46, 55, associates the depiction with Sinai, following a suggestion by Weitzmann, while also noting connections with Apulia, the homeland of del Balzo. Serena Romano, in Ravenna 1990, no. 41, p. 110, supports a Puglian origin for the image. The diaper background is similar to that on a byzantinizing manuscript from Bologna (cat. 282), a city known to have connections with Crusader art.
9. Bertelli 1967.

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132. Mosaic Icon with Christ Pantokrator

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1300–1350; frame and case Hainaut or Burgundy, 1475–76
Miniature mosaic (copper rods covered in gold leaf, terracotta, enamel in plaster and waxlike adhesive) on wood panel;[1] frame and case silver chased and gilt
Icon 12 x 10.6 cm (4¾ x 4⅛ in.); frame 20.5 x 18.6 cm (8⅛ x 7⅜ in.); case 23.5 x 22 x 8.5 cm (9¼ x 8⅝ x 3⅜ in.)
Inscribed: $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ); niello donor inscription of three hexameter lines around the edge of the lid of the case, EFFIGIEM CHRISTI FIERET QVAM CARNEVS ANTE / HANC MAGNI FICTAM DEDIT IN PIGNVS [SVI] AMORIS / NANQVE CROY LEGATO SIXTVS PAPA PHILIPPO (This image of Christ before he became a mortal man was given to the legate Philippe de Croy as a pledge of his great love by Pope Sixtus)[2]
Provenance: Gift from Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) to Philippe de Croy, 1475.
Condition: There are several gaps in the gold background that have been filled in with wax, a horizontal crack in the face, and major gaps in the area of the nimbus on the right; the framing design has been partially restored by painting.
Parish of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul, Chimay, Belgium

While most bust images of the Pantokrator or other holy figures generally fill the picture space of small-format mosaic icons, with the nimbus almost always touching the top edge or even cut off by it, this slight half-figure of Christ seems almost a bit lost against the generous gold background. Also striking is the picture's graphic quality, created by the juxtaposition of brownish sections of drapery with little variation in color, here rendered in an encaustic substance, and by the "chrysography" formed of simple rows of gilt rods placed next to each other. The hair and face also show no attempt at subtler painterly effects. The chessboard background pattern of the cross-shaped nimbus dominates the arms of the cross, each of which is emphasized with a large, rhomboid "jewel." One gets the impression of a mild and gentle Pantokrator, similar to monumental depictions from the earlier part of the fourteenth century, among them the mosaic above the door in the narthex of Constantinople's Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii). The mixed technique of mosaic and encaustic painting is also found in other mosaic icons.[3]

Philippe de Croy (d. 1482), count of Chimay in the Hainaut and a knight of the Golden Fleece from 1473,[4] was sent to the court of Ferdinand of Aragon, king of Naples, as an ambassador of the duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold. During his sojourn in Rome in 1475, he was given the icon by Pope Sixtus IV. It cannot be proved, however, that this mosaic is the one that Cardinal Bessarion had presented to the pope between 1462 and 1467 (see the essay by Arne Effenberger in this publication) or to Saint Peter's, though in the inventory of Bessarion's donation there is mention of a small mosaic icon "cum effigie Salvatoris et reliquiis sanctae Rufinae virg[inis]" (with image of the Savior and relics of Saint Rufine the Virgin).[5] The high value Philippe de Croy placed on the papal gift is evidenced by the fact that he commissioned a new silver frame and silver case for the icon and had the lid of the latter adorned with his coat of arms framed by the Golden Fleece. In his will, dated September 1, 1476, he left the work (elevated in the will to a reliquary) to the Collegiate Church of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Chimay, together with two keys: one has been kept ever since by the custodian of the church's treasury, the other by the dean of the Collegiate Church of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul.[6]

AE

1. As per the laboratory analysis in Brussels 1982, p. 38 n.
2. German translation by Anton von Euw in Cologne 1985, p. 163.
3. See two additional examples in Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, p. 104.
4. A wonderful portrait of Philippe de Croy by Rogier van der Weyden is in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp.
5. According to Furlan 1979, p. 20, who refers to the inventory (after Grimaldi) in Müntz 1886, p. 232 n. 3; however, the icon brought to Chimay contains no relics of any kind. Cutler 1995, p. 252 n. 98, also expresses skepticism.
6. For Philippe de Croy and the donation of the mosaic icon, see Hagemans 1866, p. 230.

References: Weale 1864, pp. 98–99, nos. 555–56; Furlan 1979, p. 80, no. 29, pl. 29 (bibl.); Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 92–93, fig. 58 (icon), 59 (case), 104 (technique), 135–36 n. 371 (bibl.); Cologne 1985, vol. 3, pp. 162–63, no. H65; Buschhausen 1995, p. 60.

133. Portable Mosaic Icon with the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 13th century
Miniature mosaic set in wax on wood panel, with gold and multicolored stones (not analyzed)
22 x 16 x 2.3 cm (8⅝ x 6¼ x ⅞ in.)
Inscribed: OI A[ΓIOI TEC]CAPAKONTA (The Holy Forty)
Provenance: Said to have come from Asia Minor; Segredakis collection, Paris; Danon collection, Paris; Hayford Peirce collection, Paris.
Condition: The icon is badly damaged with multiple cracks. Three large losses in its upper third were repaired with wax and gilded; a thin layer of wax covers most of the mosaic. The largest loss originally contained the bathhouse, the deserting soldier (only his loincloth can be seen), and the guardian (only his right arm survives). Part of the inscription is also missing. The martyrs below are well preserved.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (BZ.1947.24)

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133, detail

Almost as popular as the biblical Feast Cycle is the scene of the collective martyrdom of forty Roman soldiers who were condemned to stand naked and die on a frozen lake in Lesser Armenia if they did not recant their Christian faith. They are vividly depicted in varied poses of suffering: shivering from the cold, hugging themselves for warmth, or clasping hands to their faces or wrists in pain and despair. In an image typical of the iconography, an older man has succumbed and is supported by a younger man. A warm bathhouse, now missing, tempted the fainthearted. When one soldier gave up and entered the bathhouse, however, he disappeared into the air, an event which so impressed the pagan guard that he joined the others on the lake to make up the number forty. Crowns of martyrdom descend in three horizontal rows from the hand of God in heaven, represented in a segment at the top. The expressiveness of the image and the graphic portrayal of human suffering and despair, though otherwise unusual in Byzantine art, are typical for this scene.[1] Certain of these figure types may have served as models for images of the damned in scenes of the Last Judgment, such as those in Torcello (Italy), Dečani (Serbia), and, to a lesser degree, the parekklesion of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii, Istanbul).[2]

Of superb quality, the mosaic is executed in the tiniest of tesserae (less than 0.5 mm), which model the faces and musculature in delicate color gradations simulating painting (see cat. 131). Flickering white highlights that model the figures and garments enhance the sense of agitation. The faces are all differentiated, their gazes piercing. Most

notable are the classical elegance of the poses and gestures and the beautiful youthful faces, features characteristic of the so-called Palaiologan renaissance of the later thirteenth century.[3]

SAB

1. Maguire 1981, pp. 34–42; O. Demus 1960, p. 106.
2. O. Demus 1960, pp. 106–7, figs. 16–18; Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, pls. 398–403.
3. O. Demus 1946, pp. 115–16; see also Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 144–45.

REFERENCES: O. Demus 1960, pp. 87ff., esp. 96–109, figs. 1–3 (with bibl.); Ross 1962, pp. 103–4, no. 124, pl. 60 (with bibl.); Furlan 1979, pp. 67–68, no. 19, pl. 19 (with bibl.); Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 90–91, fig. 57, p. 135 n. 366 (with bibl.).

134. Portable Icon with Saints John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Nicholas the Miracle Worker, and Gregory the Theologian in Frame with the Deesis and Seven Saints and Their Holy Relics

Icon
Byzantine (Constantinople), early 14th century
Marble, jasper, lapis lazuli, stone, gilded copper, silver, pearls, glass, wax, and resin on wood
16 x 11.5 cm (6¼ x 4½ in.)
Frame
Byzantine or Russian (Moscow), 14th century (?)
Tempera and gesso on lime wood, Italian and Chinese silks
32 x 25.7 x 3 cm (12⅝ x 10⅛ x 1⅛ in.), frame; 34 x 28 cm (13⅜ x 11 in.), Italian silk; 35 x 29 cm (13¾ x 11⅜ in.), Chinese silk

INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, in gold on the holy relics, С[вятого] Луки, с[вятого] [Мат]фея, с[вятого] [Ніколая], с[вятого] Спиридона, с[вятого] Флора, с[вятого] [Лавр]о[са], с[вятой] Анастасии (Saint Luke, Saint Matthew, Saint Nicholas, Saint Spyridon, Saint Floros, Saint [Lauros], Saint Anastasia)

PROVENANCE: Collection of Nikolai P. Likhachev, before 1913; following his arrest and exile to Astrakhan, icon confiscated and transferred to the Museum of the Institute of Books, Documents, and Letters of the Academy of Sciences (founded in 1918 by Likhachev with his personal collections, library, and house), Leningrad, 1930; Museum of the Institute of Books, Documents, and Letters closed and icon transferred to the Hermitage, 1938.

CONDITION: In 1938 Hermitage Museum conservator Theodor Kalikin began work on the mosaic, cleaning the half-figure of Saint John Chrysostom and removing the silver revetment around this saint. Conservation work was halted by the Second World War. It was resumed in 1954–57 by Pavel Kostrov in the Hermitage studio. Since he believed that all parts of the icon (mosaic, painted frame, holy relics, silver revetments, silks) had been assembled by antiquarians in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century to make it salable at a higher price, it was decided to break up the mosaic and remove from it all the foreign elements, such as the silver plating, glass beads, and pearls. At this time the background and glass-bead frame were covered with gray paint. The silks were removed from the back. In 1978, during the next restoration campaign, Tatiana Vasilenko cleaned some parts that had been painted over, removing the gray color from the background and the glass-bead frame. Fragments of small metal platelets were found on the background, and impressions of platelets were clearly visible in the wax ground. The wax ground was covered with a special restorative wax background using the encaustic technique, thus creating an imitation mosaic and destroying the impressions of the tesserae in the original background, preserved until 1978, which could have served as a basis for further study.[1] In 1990 the Italian and Chinese silks were cleaned and restored in the Hermitage studio and are now stored separately. In 2000 the mosaic was returned to the painted frame.

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (W-1125)

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The icon consists of two parts: a miniature Byzantine mosaic and a painted frame with fragments of sacred relics next to images of the saints to whom they relate. Slavonic inscriptions in gold on the relics give the names of the saints. The reverse of the icon was covered with two layers of fabric (called jackets), the under layer of sixteenth-century Italian silk, the outer of seventeenth-century Chinese silk.

The small mosaic depicts four Church Fathers, Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great, Saint Nicholas the Miracle Worker, and Saint Gregory the Theologian. Their images are of tesserae of lapis lazuli, jasper, and multicolored marble. Geometric patterns worked in stone frame each saint and the entire icon. The background behind each saint, now lost, was made of gilded copper platelets. The technique is exceptional as are the artistic aspects of the icon: the individualized faces

of the saints show psychological nuances and the vestments are simple and elegant.

Where the mosaic tesserae in the borders around the saints became worn, they were replaced with glass beads. The mosaic tesserae of the books held by the Holy Fathers were lost and were covered by silver revetments embellished with pearls and glass beads. Around the figures the lost mosaic background was covered with four silver revetments engraved to imitate mosaic (the revetments were removed during the 1954–57 restoration and lost). The modern background imitating mosaic was made during the 1978 restoration.

In his letters to the Moscow numismatist Alexei Oreschnikov, Nikolai Likhachev wrote that he planned to study and publish this icon, a project he did not realize. Leonid Matzulevich, curator at the Hermitage, examined this mosaic icon in 1934 and attributed it to a Constantinopolitan workshop in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.[2] The object was first published by Alisa Bank in 1960, who ascribed it to a workshop in Constantinople in the early fourteenth century. After Bank's publication, the icon was included in literature on Byzantine portable mosaics with a date in the first third or first half to the middle of the fourteenth century. Its closest correspondence is with two mosaic icons, mentioned by Bank: the Saint John Chrysostom icon at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (cat. 135), and the Hermitage mosaic icon with Saint Theodore Stratelates (cat. 136). This suggests a date for the portable icon of the early fourteenth century, as I indicated in the 2000 Hermitage exhibition catalogue.[3]

As for the iconography, these four hierarchs were often represented together for they were protectors and intercessors in difficult situations and state affairs.[4] John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory the Theologian shared a feast day, January 30, established in 1084 in Byzantium, which symbolized the equal importance of these three Holy Fathers of the Church;[5] later, Nicholas the Miracle Worker was conferred the same status.

The rulers in Moscow often appealed in their prayers for help from these ecumenical hierarchs, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when they began to consider themselves successors of the Byzantine emperors, and Moscow a new Constantinople. At the end of the fourteenth century the Russian chronicles mention the protection of ecumenical hierarchs during the invasion of Timur Aksak (Tamerlane). It was thought that Moscow was rescued during the earthquake of 1460 and during the Tatar invasions in 1481 and 1521 because of their intercession. During the war with Novgorod in 1471 Prince

134, detail of center panel

Ivan III asked the hierarchs and the archangel Michael and holy warriors for help. This explains why the ecumenical hierarchs are represented together with the Moscow metropolitans on the diptych icon in the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin that dates from the fifteenth century and is the holy protector of the Moscow rulers.[6] Thus when the Byzantine mosaic with the portraits of the four hierarchs came to Moscow, it was thought to be a holy icon by the Russian czars.

The painted frame shows the Deesis at the top, Saint Luke and Saint Nicholas on the left, Saint Matthew and Saint Spyridon on the right, and Saints Floros, Lauros, and Anastasia along the bottom. Relics of the saints are inserted in the borders with their images, and they are identified by Slavonic inscriptions in gold. The features of figures on the left do not correspond with those of Luke and Nicholas but instead, according to iconographic type, are those of Saint Mark the Evangelist and Saint John Chrysostom. Near all the figures of saints there are small fragments of original inscriptions in red on the gold background. It has not yet been determined whether the holy relics were added to the frame when it was painted or whether they were inserted in the sixteenth century when the frame and the mosaic icon were combined. Some examples of Byzantine Palaiologan icons with half images of saints in the borders are the Virgin of Tenderness with saints from the second half of the fourteenth century in the Hermitage; the diptych of Thomas Preljubović from 1367–84 in the Cathedral of Cuenca, Spain, and others from 1382–84 preserved in Meteora

(cat. 24); and an icon with the Crucifixion and saints from the fourteenth century in the State Russian Museum in Saint Petersburg.[7] The diptychs in Meteora and Cuenca are the icon reliquaries—both contain relics of the saints depicted.

The painted frame is Byzantine in style and unquestionably of high quality. However, it is not necessarily a product of the Constantinopolitan school, for this level of painting also characterized the work of other artistic centers of the Palaiologan period, such as Thessalonike, Mistra, Thessaly, and Epiros. In addition, it cannot be established that the icon was not made in Russian territory, since Greek artists were actively working there at the time and their Russian pupils frequently produced icons as fine as the best Greek ones. The frame's good state of preservation supports the possibility of a Russian provenance. I remain of the opinion that the painted frame was probably created in Russia by either a Greek or a Russian master. At present I have not arrived at a precise date for the frame and so suggest a general fourteenth-century date.

The use of precious silk for the jackets demonstrates that the icon was decorated, restored, and very much venerated. Oriental and Western single-color silks were the ones most used in Old Russia, where they were called *camka,* as mentioned in numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents. The word was taken from the Persian name for single-color silk damask.[8] Active Russian trade and diplomatic contacts with West and East influenced the use of silk at the Moscow court. Large rolls of valuable foreign cloths were acquired and kept in government storehouses where they were distributed with economy over many years.[9] Silks were used for embroidery, to line tomb palls, and for liturgical objects and garments, as well as for covers for the backs of precious family icons.

Italian silk is most often found on Old Russian objects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The highest quality, called in Russian *kufter',* had large designs of pomegranates, pineapples, heraldic crowns, or vases of flowers. The piece of light green-blue silk woven with a medallion containing a pomegranate design from the back of the Hermitage icon belongs to this group. The same silk was also used as the background for embroidery made in the workshop of Czarina Irina, wife of Czar Fyodor, son of Ivan the Terrible, for example, the pall showing Saint Alexander of Svir', 1582 (State Russian Museum), and the pall showing Saint Nikon of Radonezh, 1586 (Museum of the Trinity Monastery, Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, Sergiev Posad).[10] It was used for embroidery in the family workshops of the boyars Godunov—small purificators with figures of Saint Demetrios, Saint Ipaty of Gangr, the apostle Philip, from the late sixteenth century, in the Ipatievsky Monastery, Kostroma.[11] Small fragments of the silk were also used at the end of the sixteenth century in the workshops of the Stroganov family, as decorative frames on embroidery scenes, such as the podea with the Dormition of the Virgin in the Sol'vychegodsk Museum.[12]

Chinese silk was not widely used in Russia until the seventeenth century when close trade contacts had been established with China. The stock of Chinese silk acquired was so large that it was used until the first decade of the eighteenth century. The high-quality Chinese ocher-yellow silk with the design of a blossoming plum tree and flowers that was on the Hermitage icon is seen frequently on objects dating to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The same silk was used as a lining for the tomb pall of Czarina Natalia Kirillovna (d. 1694), in the collection of the Moscow Kremlin.[13] The Chinese silk was put over the Italian silk on the back of the Hermitage icon in the second half of the seventeenth century after restoration of the icon and installation of silver revetments on the background of the mosaic and the books held by the hierarchs.

We think that the icon belonged to one of the Moscow czars or czarinas, who handed it down through generations. It was usual for the holy protector of the donor to be shown at the bottom right of an icon. For that figure on the present icon, Saint Anastasia, we know of only one donor from the czar's family with whom it could be matched—Anastasia Romanova (d. 1560), the first wife of Ivan the Terrible. In any case, I believe that the Byzantine mosaic was put into the painted frame with relics, and then the back covered with Italian silk, in Moscow in the time of Ivan the Terrible (r. 1533–84) or his son Fyodor (r. 1584–98), that is, mid- or late sixteenth century. YP

1. Sheinina 1991, p. 51.
2. Yuri Piatnitsky, "Orzyv L. A. Matsulevicha o vizantiiskoi mozaichnoi ikone iz sobraniia Ėrmitazha," *Sbornik Gosudarstvennyĭ Ėrmitazh* (forthcoming).
3. Saint Petersburg 2000, no. B-124.
4. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, no. 12; Vokotopoulos 1995, no. 29; Bank 1985, pls. 145, 190–193.
5. Sergii 1997, p. 46.
6. Nikolaeva 1974, pp. 172–74.
7. Saint Petersburg 2000, no. B-128; Athens 1964, nos. 211–12; M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, pp. 54–55; Moscow 1991b, no. 55.
8. V. Klein 1925, pp. 50–56; Sobolev 1934a, pp. 251–53, 381–83; Markova 1971, pp. 4–5.
9. Vishnevskaia 1999, p. 281.
10. Pleshanova and Likhacheva 1985, no. 104; Manushina 1983, no. 14; Maiasova 1976.
11. Maiasova 1984, p. 42, fig. 5.
12. Silkin 1999, pp. 253–62, fig. 3.
13. Markova 1971, p. 4; V. Klein 1925, p. 55.

REFERENCES: Bank 1960b, pp. 185–93; Bank 1966, nos. 251–52; Lazarev 1967, p. 414; Glasberg 1974, no. 213; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, nos. 932, 943; Bank 1977, no. 263; Furlan 1979, no. 38; Bank 1985, no. 263; Lazarev 1986, p. 251; Moscow 1991b, nos. 14, 40; Yuri Piatnitsky, "Vizantiiskaia i postvizantiiskaia ikonopis'," in Saint Petersburg 1991a, pp. 77, 82, no. 224; Sheinina 1991, pp. 51–54; Piatnitsky 1992, pp. 71–72, fig. 3; Piatnitsky 1994a, p. 108; Piatnitsky 1996a, pp. 212–13; Piatnitsky 1999c, pp. 222–24; Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 146–48, no. B-124; Vokotopoulos 2000, p. 6, fig. 1; Yuri Piatnitsky, "Orzyv L. A. Matsulevicha o vizantiiskoi mozaichnoi ikone iz sobraniia Ėrmitazha," *Sbornik Gosudarstvennyĭ Ėrmitazh* (forthcoming).

135. Portable Mosaic Icon with Saint John Chrysostom

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1325 or slightly later
Miniature mosaic set in wax on wood panel, with gold, gilded copper (?), and multicolored stones (not analyzed)[1]
18 x 13 x 2.3 cm (7⅛ x 5⅛ x ⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: Iω(ANNHC) O XP(YCO)CT(O)M(O)C (Saint John Chrysostom)
PROVENANCE: Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos; gift of the monastery to Count Alexander Nelidov (then Russian ambassador to the Sublime Porte) in 1894; Nelidov collection, Istanbul and Paris.
CONDITION: The condition is excellent except for small losses to the gold ground and numerous vertical cracks. Wormholes in the wood panel have been filled with wax, and the back and sides are covered with a gauzy fabric heavily coated with wax. An openwork silver frame, acquired with the icon, was removed in 1954.[2]
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (BZ.1954.2)

Saint John was a brilliant preacher whose renowned oratorical skills earned him the epithet *chrysostomos,* "golden mouthed." Named bishop of Constantinople in 398, he is shown wearing episcopal vestments—a white polystaurion with red crosses, and a white omophorion with large blue crosses, the crosses outlined in gold. His large, cross-decorated halo is distinctive because it is rendered in relief—a unique instance among surviving miniature mosaics. This highly individualized portrait conforms to the ascetic image of the saint as an emaciated older man that was established as early as the eleventh century.[3] Characteristic are the high, wrinkled forehead, balding head, sunken cheeks, and short, sparse

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forked beard. White highlights that project higher than the tesserae of the flesh tones emphasize his deeply furrowed brow. By the Palaiologan period, these features had become exaggerated, as here (for example, cat. 134).

Given their technical virtuosity and the use of precious materials, miniature mosaics were most likely made in, and for, a court milieu. It is widely assumed that they were connected with the patronage of the imperial family (or high court officials), either as gifts (for example, cat. 129) or as donations (cat. 139). A recent, but unsubstantiated, hypothesis is that this icon was a gift of John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54) to the Vatopedi Monastery.[4]

Despite the small size of the icon, the saint has a monumental quality. His voluminous garments create an impression of physical weight, despite their geometric patterning, which flattens any true sense of three-dimensionality. The icon reflects the fully developed Palaiologan style, and Otto Demus's dating of the icon to the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century is convincing.[5]

SAB

1. Under magnification, two types of gold tesserae were identified: gilded copper (?) for the garments and book cover, and what appear to be thin gold plaques with beveled edges for the background. The identification of gilded copper tesserae ("plaques") was first published in Kovalenko 1978, pp. 63–66, following the conservation and technical analysis of a miniature mosaic from Georgia; see also Buschhausen 1995, p. 57.
2. For the frame, see Dumbarton Oaks 1955, no. 291, fig. p. 150. Because neither of the scholars who studied the icon shortly after it left the monastery mentioned the frame (Ainalov 1899, pp. 75–76, pl. 11; Kondakov 1902, pp. 116–17, pl. 16), it was probably made after 1902.
3. O. Demus 1960, p. 114.
4. Piatnitsky 1999c, pp. 214–16, esp. p. 216.
5. O. Demus 1960, p. 118.

References: O. Demus 1960, pp. 110–19, figs. 22–23; Ross 1962, pp. 104–5, no. 124, color frontispiece, pl. 60; Furlan 1979, pp. 91–92, no. 37, pl. 37 (with bibl.); Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 96–97, fig. 65, p. 137 n. 387 (with bibl.); Piatnitsky 1999c, pp. 214–16.

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136. Portable Mosaic Icon with Saint Theodore Stratelates

Byzantine (Constantinople), early 14th century
Wood; tesserae of marble, jasper, lapis lazuli, stone, and gilded copper; wax, resin
9 x 7.4 cm (3½ x 2⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: In four rectangular cartouches, O AΓ[IOC] ΘEOΔωPOC O CTPATHΛATHC (Saint Theodore Stratelates)
PROVENANCE: Collection of Alexander Bazilewsky, Paris, by 1874; bought with the Bazilewsky collection by the Russian government, 1884; transferred to the Hermitage, January 1885.
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (W-29)

The miniature half-length frontal depiction of the holy warrior Saint Theodore Stratelates was produced using minute tesserae of semiprecious stones such as lapis lazuli and jasper, marble for the face, and gilded copper for the background and details of the garments and armor. The wood base was hollowed out and filled with wax-polish coating, over which the artist executed an underpainting and then laid the mosaic. He added separate details using wax-based paints.

The miniature technique and the refined style of this icon, unquestionably a masterpiece of Byzantine art, place it among Byzantine portable mosaics of the highest artistic quality. It is certainly from the Constantinopolitan court workshop, for Byzantine portable mosaic icons are thought to have been distinctive insignia of imperial power and to have belonged exclusively to the emperors and members of their families.[1] The first owners of the Hermitage icon were probably representatives of the Palaiologan dynasty, who had reestablished the Byzantine Empire with Constantinople as the capital in 1261.

In almost all literature on the subject, the Hermitage icon is dated no later than the first half of the fourteenth century (Viktor Lazarev, Alisa Bank). Italo Furlan (1979) dates it to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and the catalogue of the Byzantine art exhibition in Leningrad–Moscow (1975–77) suggests a date in the first third of that century. I assigned it to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[2] In establishing attribution of the portable mosaic, attention should be paid to such details as the placement of the inscriptions in rectangular cartouches, which was known in Byzantine portable mosaics in the eleventh century (the Saint Nicholas the Miracle-Worker icon on Patmos) but is more characteristic of works from the Palaiologan period. A group of portable mosaics with inscriptions composed of metallic plates on a lapis lazuli ground and a checked border, like the Hermitage icon, includes the Annunciation in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the diptych in Florence (cat. 129), and the Saint John the Baptist icons in Venice and the Hermitage, all of which have this distinctive feature.[3] I believe that all these icons were produced in Constantinople court circles in the first quarter of the fourteenth century and that their style is consistent with such classic monuments of Palaiologan art as the mosaics in the Church of the Virgin Pammakaristos in Constantinople (first decade of the fourteenth century). The portable mosaics mentioned above and the Saint Theodore at the Hermitage probably all came from the same workshop, one active in the Byzantine capital in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

YP

1. Piatnitsky 1999c, pp. 216–19.
2. Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 145–46, no. B-123.
3. Piatnitsky 1999b; Furlan 1979, no. 16, pp. 30–33.

REFERENCES: Darcel and Basilewsky 1874, no. 18; Müntz 1886, p. 18; Kondakov 1891, p. 237; Schlumberger 1896–1905, vol. 1, p. 309; Dalton 1911, p. 433; Diehl 1925–26, vol. 2, p. 565; Bettini 1938–39, vol. 1, p. 17, vol. 2, pp. 28–29; Lazarev 1947, pp. 221, 361, pl. 289d; Edinburgh–London 1958, no. 199; Bank 1960a, no. 99; Bank 1960b, p. 192; Beckwith 1961, p. 137, fig. 182; Bank 1966, no. 250; Beckwith 1967, p. 94, fig. 206; Lazarev 1967, p. 368, pl. 470; Lazarev 1971, p. 331; Glasberg 1974, no. 212; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, no. 931; Bank 1977, no. 264; Furlan 1979, no. 32; Bank 1985, no. 264; Lazarev 1986, pp. 164, 250, fig. 507; Moscow 1991b, no. 3; Sheinina 1991, pp. 51–54; Piatnitsky 1992, pp. 71–72; Piatnitsky 1996b, pp. 254–55; Piatnitsky 1998b, pp. 40–41; Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 145–46, no. B-123.

137. Mosaic Icon with Saint George Slaying the Dragon

Byzantine (Constantinople), early 14th century
Miniature mosaic (gold- and silver-plated copper rods, marble, and glass chips embedded in wax and mastic) on wood panel; copper frame (modern)
Diameter 22 cm (8⅝ in.)
PROVENANCE: From Florence; gift of Baron Charles Davillier, 1883.[1]
CONDITION: The mosaic has numerous fine cracks and major gaps on the neck of the horse; otherwise there are only minor losses.
Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris (OA 3110)

The round form of the medallion was traditionally reserved for frontal half figures, notably images of the Pantokrator and Theotokos as well as depictions of saints and emperor portraits. Only rarely do we find in round formats (including cameos, rings, and seals) either full-figure portraits or scenic depictions like Saint George's battle with the dragon. While there is no label on this mosaic identifying the military saint on horseback thrusting his lance down the dragon's throat, we appear to be justified in taking him to be Saint George, even though Theodore Stratelates was often depicted in the same way. The outstanding artistry of this mosaic tondo is evident above all in the superb composition and the delicacy of the painterly details. In the presentation of the dramatic event, the closed round format is skillfully exploited. The rearing steed and the twisting dragon in a rocky landscape are virtually parallel shapes; the golden spear serves as a diagonal accent, which at the same time underscores the great strength behind the thrust. The wildly fluttering chlamys provides an effective contrast to the saint's concentration, in the process setting off the figure from the dark background.

This is the only tondo among surviving mosaic miniatures. It is unclear how and where this round image was used. If it was once mounted in a frame, we can presume that it was not intended to be a portable icon. Jannic Durand has proposed that it might have been incorporated into an iconostasis, which is indeed a plausible solution.[2]

AE

1. Courajod 1883, pp. 205–6.
2. See Paris 1992–93, no. 364.

REFERENCES: Furlan 1979, p. 94, no. 39 (bibl.), pl. 39; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 65–66, fig. 34, pp. 127–28 n. 279 (bibl.); Paris 1992–93, p. 472, no. 364.

138. Mosaic Icon with Saint Theodore Teron

Byzantine (Constantinople), 14th century
Miniature mosaic (gold and colored tesserae embedded in wax) on wood panel
14 x 6.4 cm (5½ x 2½ in.); with added piece at bottom, 17.5 x 6.4 cm (6⅞ x 2½ in.)
INSCRIBED: ὁ ΓΙΑΟC ΘΕΟΔωΡΟ[C] ὁ ΤΥΡωΝ (Saint Theodore Teron)
PROVENANCE: Unknown;[1] in the Museo Sacro (established by Pope Benedict XIV) from 1756.
CONDITION: Fine cracks are filled with wax; there are only minor gaps in the mosaic.
Vatican Museums, Vatican City (1191; formerly 632)

Saint Theodore Teron was venerated in the East at an early date, especially in his legendary hometown of Euchaita (Theodoropolis) in the Pontos. The sobriquet Teron means "Tiro" or "Recruit" and distinguishes this Theodore from the later saint called Stratelates, or "General" (see cat. 136).

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Although the subject is clearly identified, one of the Western owners of the icon confused the two warrior saints, as can be seen in the inscription ὁ ἅγιος Θεοδῶρος ὁ στρατηλάτης (Saint Theodore, the General) on the label in the lower right corner of the mosaic background. Theodore Stratelates is in fact a hypostasis of Teron; beginning roughly in the ninth century, his legend was grafted onto that of the earlier Theodore and then embellished. The splitting of the saint into two separate figures led to the need to give each a distinct physiognomy, especially since by the Middle Byzantine era both were depicted as warriors and were even represented together. Here Theodore appears in the manner prescribed for the Recruit in the painter's handbook from Mount Athos: with a black pointed split beard, his hair stopping short of his ears.[2] His costume consists of the warrior's standard leather cuirass, chlamys, leggings, and boots, and his weapons are a lance, shield, and sword. This virtuosic mosaic portrait is in no way inferior to painted icons in its richly modulated coloring and wealth of detail. The somewhat flat, awkward figure and a composition that nearly bursts out of the available space suggest that it was produced in the late fourteenth century. The groove around the edges once secured it in its frame. The strip of wood attached to the bottom with the inscription "S. Theodorus Milit. Dux. & Mart. In Musivo VI. Sæc." (Saint Theodore the General and Martyr. In mosaic VI. [*sic*] century) probably derives from the first exhibition of the icon in the Museo Sacro in 1756. AE

1. The 1498 inventory of Saint Peter's, Rome (see Müntz and Frothingham 1883, p. 112), lists among the gifts of Cardinal Bessarion an "Icona cum uno santo armato cum lancea in manu, ornata argento sculpto ad rosas et alia folia" (Icon of a warrior-saint with a lance in his hand, decorated with silver-chased roses and leaves). It is unclear whether this is the Vatican's mosaic icon.
2. Trenkle 1960, p. 138 §406.

REFERENCES: Furlan 1979, p. 95, no. 40 (bibl.), pl. 40; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 74, 99–100, fig. 68, p. 129 n. 301 (bibl.); Ravenna 1990, no. 43; Hildesheim 1998, p. 114, fig. 101, pp. 120, 158, no. 59 (bibl.).

139. Mosaic Icon with Saint Demetrios and Reliquary

Thessalonike, 13th–14th century (ampulla); Constantinople, beginning of the 14th century (mosaic); Italy, mid-15th century (metal revetment)
Mosaic set into wax on a poplar board, paint, silver-gilt (frame), lead (ampulla)
24.3 x 16 cm (9⅝ x 6⅜ in.); mosaic (unframed), 12.5 x 5.5 cm (4⅞ x 2⅛ in.); height of lead ampulla, 5.2 cm (2 in.)
INSCRIBED: On the mosaic within two star-shaped cartouches in which the letters are arranged in the shape of a cross, at the left, O AΓIOC (Saint) and, at the right, [ΔH]MH[?]TPIO[C] (Demetrios); on the ampulla, on the recto, O A ΔM (Saint Demetrios) and, on the verso, H AΓIA ΘEOΔOPA (Saint Theodora); on the upper frame panel are two crosses, each quarter of which is articulated by the letter B (tetrabasileion), the first letter of the word Βασιλεύς (emperor), and $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ N[ί] $\overline{\text{KA}}$ (Jesus Christ Conquers); on the bottom panel, AΓIOC (saint) repeated twice; on the right vertical panel is an inscription placed within four superimposed connected lozenges; ("This ampulla bears holy oil drawn from the well in which the body of the divine Demetrios reposes, which gushes here and accomplishes miracles for the entire universe and for the faithful") another inscription, displayed in the same manner, now missing, occupied the left panel:[1] ("Oh Great Martyr Demetrios, intercede with the Lord that he may help me, I, Your faithful servant, the basileus of the Romans, Justinian, to conquer my enemies and subjugate them beneath my feet")
PROVENANCE: Offered to the city of his birth, Sassoferrato, in 1472, together with a collection of reliquaries by Niccolò Perotti (1430–1480), secretary of Cardinal Bessarion, archbishop of Siponto, and placed with these in deposit at the Monastery of Santa Chiara de Sassoferrato; confiscated with other reliquaries by the municipality in 1861; the collection was stolen in May 1894 and recovered in October 1895, after having suffered a number of mutilations, and immediately returned to the Commune of Sassoferrato.[2]
CONDITION: The icon was still intact in 1894, as a photograph taken before that date indicates.[3] The theft resulted in the complete disappearance of the left silver-gilt panel of the frame; the metallic revetment of the upper panel (which had hidden the lead ampulla) had been partially torn off; and, on the lower panel, a cameo set at the center representing a saint in bust length, holding a cross, had also disappeared, as had a small amethyst intaglio depicting a beardless head, perhaps dating from antiquity, attached to the revetment, just under the ampulla. Ten rubies set in gold at the exterior edges of the frame and the sapphire cap of the ampulla are also missing. The icon was scientifically investigated and conserved in 1995 at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence, and a carbon-14 analysis of the support was undertaken at that time. The ampulla, which had been supported by two nails, was reversed to display the side devoted to Saint Demetrios; since the conservation it has been held by four silver-gilt tenons.
Museo Civico, Sassoferrato, Italy

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The icon is made out of a wood plank slightly excavated at its center to accommodate a micromosaic representing Saint Demetrios, the martyr from Thessalonike, standing against a gold background and a tiled ground. The saint, in military garb, holds a lance with his right hand and, with the left, a blue shield decorated with a heraldic white lion against a ground strewn with gold stylized flowers. The end of the sword's sheath can be seen between the saint's legs. On the frame, once entirely covered by gilt silver, a small opening at the center of the upper panel still shelters a lead ampulla. On the shoulders of the ampulla are remnants of the two handles that survived the removal of the frame, but the cap that closed it has disappeared. The ampulla shows a bust-length image of Saint Demetrios, while the reverse face is occupied by a bust-length image of Saint Theodora,[4] a nun who died in 892 at the Monastery of Saint Stephen at Thessalonike, an establishment that became more celebrated during the fourteenth century under the name Saint Theodora.[5] Pilgrims collected holy oil from the tomb of the latter saint, as they did at the monument of Saint Demetrios within his basilica. The ampulla thus contained oil from the two great myrobletes (myrrh-gushing) saints of the city. Moreover, the metal plaque that covered the ampulla before 1894 (one that fully suggested its form) bore the inscription ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΥΡΟΝ (the holy Myrrh). Of a crude and archaicizing style, the ampulla belongs to a group attributable to the thirteenth or fourteenth century of local artisanal manufacture.[6]

The mosaic itself is a work of high quality. The mineral and metallic materials used for the creation of the tesserae are of a remarkable wealth and variety. The technique shows skill and complexity: on the background, on the legs of the saint, and on his cuirass, the density of the tesserae fluctuates from 14 to 16 by 14 to 16 per square centimeter. It is even denser on the face, arms, and dalmatic. The saint is faithful to Palaiologan-period models, such as those that appear in the mosaics of the Church of Christ in Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), Constantinople, from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The figure of Saint Demetrios is distinguished by the elegance of the pose, the elongated, nearly Mannerist proportions, and the meticulous detail of his military accoutrement. The subtle combinations and contrasts of color and the use of the chrysography recall not only some of the mosaics at Chora, but also the perfection attained by the creator of several Constantinopolitan micromosaics dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, notably the Annunciation from London[7] and the Great Feasts (cat. no. 129). Finally, execution of the mosaic at the beginning of the fourteenth century is buttressed by carbon-14 analysis dating of the wood support between the end of the thirteenth and the first decade of the fourteenth century. In other respects, the hypothesis of a Constantinopolitan origin for the icon appears likely. It is true that the white, rampant lion on the blue background of the shield recalls the coat of arms of Niccolò Perotti, the owner of the icon in the mid-fifteenth century, though this is not sufficient evidence to retard the dating of the icon by more than a century. In fact, this area, which has suffered damage, seems to have been clumsily repaired long ago, and above all, on Perotti's coat of arms, the lion is climbing a golden ladder on a red background.[8]

On the other hand, the silver-gilt revetment, despite the Greek inscriptions and its Byzantine appearance, probably has to be assigned to an Italian atelier working in the middle of the fifteenth century. The long Greek inscription, as many authors have noted, is curious: it invokes in an unexpected way the saint's protection of Justinian, probably Justinian I, the great sovereign of the sixth century. In addition, the simply formed letters, many of which adopt an antiquating script,

such as the C and the Φ, seem to have been intentionally based on antique models of different periods. The work thus appears to have been conceived for use by a circle enamored of antiquity, namely, the philhellenic humanists of whom Niccolò Perotti, secretary of Cardinal Bessarion after 1447, was one of the most brilliant figures.[9] A nostalgia for antiquity was further revived by the end of the Christian empire of the East and the fall of Constantinople. In this context, the presence of imperial symbols (the tetrabasileion, the two-headed eagle) is not surprising, even if they belong to the period of the Palaiologans and not that of Justinian. But Perotti also loved relics, particularly those of Greek origin, as is demonstrated by his collection, still preserved today at Sassoferrato.[10] Consequently, the transformation of a precious mosaic icon into a reliquary could date back to Perotti's time, as suggested, notably, by the unique arrangement of the ampulla attached to a frame obviously too small for it. The mosaic icon could have been given by Bessarion to his secretary, as has been theorized, or by any one of his humanist friends, including Pope Nicholas V. On the other hand, the addition of the ampulla and of the precious metal revetment may have been a personal choice of Perotti himself, who may have wanted to express his admiration for everything dealing with the Greek East. In any case, the icon from Sassoferrato displays in brilliant fashion the fertile exchanges between Greek and Latin humanists in Italy during the mid-fifteenth century.

JD

1. Boeckh 1828–77, vol. 4, no. 8642.
2. See Barucca 1992.
3. Bettini 1938–39, vol. 1, fig. 9. The photograph corresponds exactly to the design drawing of the icon executed in 1772, preserved in a manuscript at the library in Savignano sul Rubicone (Barucca 1992, fig. 2, p. 22), minus the ampulla with its handles and cap.
4. Halkin 1957, nos. 1737–41.
5. Janin 1975, p. 374.
6. See New York 1997, no. 118.
7. Buckton 1994b; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, p. 109, fig. 35.
8. As in Ms. Vat. lat. 6848, fol. 8.
9. Mercati 1925; Cosenza 1962, vol. 5, p. 1365.
10. See Barucca 1992.

140. Two Panels with Christ Pantokrator and Theotokos Hodegetria, Surrounded by Scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin

Byzantine (?), 14th century; frame and applied stucco, Italian, 17th century
Steatite (?),[1] securely mounted in a frame of wood and stucco, partially gilt
Approx. 19.7 x 14 cm (7¾ x 5½ in.); frame 34 x 32.5 cm (13⅜ x 12¾ in.)
Left panel: Pantokrator (center) with ten scenes from the life of Christ: 1. Nativity; 2. Baptism; 3. Entry into Jerusalem; 4. Transfiguration; 5. Crucifixion; 6. Descent from the Cross; 7. Lamentation (Entombment); 8. Resurrection; 9. Ascension; 10. Pentecost
Right panel: Theotokos Hodegetria (center) with ten scenes from the life of the Virgin: 1. Meeting of Anne and Joachim outside the City Gate; 2. Nativity of the Virgin; 3. Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple; 4. Annunciation; 5. Betrothal; 6. Visitation; 7. Ordeal of the Virgin ("cursed water"); 8. Presentation of Christ in the Temple; 9. Announcement of the Virgin's Death; 10. Dormition (Koimesis)
INSCRIBED: Next to both Christ and the Christ Child, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ); $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ (Mother of God)
PROVENANCE: Said to be from the Barberini collection;[2] in the collection of Sir Thomas Carmichael (d. 1926); purchased on the art market, 1902.
CONDITION: The stucco reliefs (angels) are extensively damaged.
Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (2721)

The cycle of feast-day images consists of ten or—in its canonical form since the eleventh century—twelve scenes (dodekaorton). As a rule the arrangement follows the sequence of the major feasts of the ecclesiastical year (see cat. 129). The Berlin diptych diverges from this in many respects, in that ten pictures are disposed around a central full-figure portrait, of Christ (left) or the Virgin (right). In addition, the Christ panel lacks the Raising of Lazarus. In its place some new feasts have been added (the Descent from the Cross, the Lamentation), while other feasts are now on the Mary panel (the Annunciation, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Dormition). Some iconographic confusion appears on the latter panel: the scene of "Mary's First Steps" is referred to as her betrothal to Joseph. It was not until the fourteenth century that the Lamentation was inserted into the cycle of feasts.[3] The Virgin collapsing in a faint in the Crucifixion scene exemplifies the tendency toward emotionalism

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and the dramatization of events that became characteristic from this time. We cannot rule out the possibility that the panels were produced in some Western workshop, possibly Italy.[4] The mounting in its present form dates only from the seventeenth century.

AE

1. Described in the literature as "lithographers' stone" or "fine limestone"; a petrographic analysis is needed.
2. Not in the 1628 inventory of the Barberini collection; see M. Lavin 1975.
3. Elisabetta Luccesi Palli, "Festbildzyklus," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1967–), vol. 2, col. 30.
4. Michael Nitz, "Marienleben," in ibid., vol. 3, col. 216, fig. 4, seeing here an independent Mary cycle, attributes the work to the Western artistic sphere.

REFERENCES: Volbach 1930, pp. 122–23, pl. 2; Effenberger and Severin 1992, pp. 256–57 (bibl.), no. 156 (fig. flopped); Hildesheim 1998, p. 105, fig. 86, p. 157, no. 46 (bibl.).

141. Icon with Saint Demetrios

Panel
Constantinople, end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century
Steatite
10.4 x 6.7 cm (4⅛ x 2⅝ in.)
Frame
Balkans, second half of the 16th century, or ca. 1600
Repoussé silver, engraved and stamped on wood core
17.5 x 13.5 cm (6⅞ x 5⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the steatite, Ο ΑΓ(ιος) ΔΗΜΗ (τριος) (Saint Demetrios). On the frame, at the top and center, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$, $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ and Ιω(άν)Ν(ης) (for Christ, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist); on the borders, arranged clockwise, are the letters $\overline{\Pi\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{MA}}$, $\overline{\Lambda}$, $\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{B}}$, $\overline{\Theta}$, $\overline{\Phi}$, $\overline{\text{IA}}$, $\overline{\text{C}}$, $\overline{\text{M}}$, $\overline{\text{Iω}}$, and ($\overline{\Pi}$), the initials of Paul, Mark, Luke, Andrew, Bartholomew, Thomas, Philip, James, Simon, Matthew, John the Theologian, Peter
PROVENANCE: The Sarropoulos collection, Thessalonike; Béhague and Ganay, Paris.
CONDITION: The steatite is damaged (clefts, losses, and shards); there are losses to the silver revetment (at the corners).
Musée du Louvre, Département des Ojects d'Art, Paris (OA 11219)

The icon consists of a wood board, hollowed out at the center to receive the sculpted steatite plaque. A silver sheet worked in repoussé has been fitted over the panel: folded over the edges and nailed to the sides of the board, it is cut out at the center to follow the contours of the steatite and grip onto the beveled edges of the stone. This silver revetment was added to the steatite after it had been broken, as it hides the gaps in the upper-left and right corners. Nevertheless, the beveled edge of the steatite suggests that the plaque was originally intended to be inserted into a similar frame.

The plaque is completely occupied by the standing figure of Saint Demetrios, identified by the fragmentary inscription. Wearing a military costume, he holds a lance in one hand and bears a bow on his left shoulder. Three arrows in his left hand and the shield behind his legs complete his weaponry. The armed image of the saint conforms to the grouping of important military saints to whom he belonged: the two Theodores, Prokopios, Merkourios, and George, whose representations were ubiquitous during the Palaiologan dynasty.[1] The softness of the relief, the meticulous treatment of the cuirass and the weaponry, the full face with the subtly striated, thick hair, and the large halo bring to mind the representation of Saint Demetrios on horseback from the Kremlin in Moscow (fig. 7.7), though they are executed here with less assurance. The attraction to picturesque detail and the obvious effort of the sculptor to give the figure depth and volume with the help of superimposed planes are characteristic of Byzantine art under the Palaiologans, at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, and particularly recall the procedures utilized by painters and mosaicists of the Chora Monastery. Finally, some naturalistic traits that seek to animate the representation (the slight contrapposto of the figure, the border of the mantle pulled in front of the figure) betray the assimilation of elements borrowed from Gothic art, which one notes in Constantinopolitan sculpture[2] and in some other steatites (cat. 142).

The frame follows the traditional iconography associated with the Deesis (Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist) surrounded by Saints Peter and Paul (at the top) and the Four Evangelists and six apostles (on the sides and the lower part of the frame). The repoussé reliefs stand out against the stamped background. The schematically rendered full drapery and the ovoid heads of the figures place this frame among a group of objects of post-Byzantine precious metalwork, dating to the second half of the sixteenth century or to about 1600. Originating in the Balkans and probably emanating from Bulgaria, this

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production lasted until the seventeenth century.[3] It is represented by the bookbinding for the Gospels of Krupnić from the Rila Monastery (ca. 1577), the Gospels from Cerepis at Vraca (ca. 1618), and the productions of the school called Ciprovtsi, in the northwestern part of Bulgaria. JD

1. Walter 2003, pp. 41–109.
2. A. Grabar 1976, pp. 19–21.
3. See Paris 1980, nos. 437, 517; Drumev 1976, pp. 138, 147.

References: P. Papageōrgiou 1892, pp. 479–87; Schlumberger 1902; Froehner 1905, pl. 1; Paris 1931, no. 156; Edinburgh–London 1958, no. 104, pl. 13; Athens 1964, no. 122; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 126, pl. 162; Paris 1992–93, no. 324.

142. Icon with Saint Demetrios

Constantinople (?), 14th century
Steatite, with traces of polychromy
10.1 x 5.4 cm (4 x 2⅛ in.)
Inscribed: AΓ(ι)O(ς) ΔHMHTPIOC (Saint Demetrios)
Provenance: Inventoried in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1857.
Condition: The feet of the saint are broken; some pieces of the steatite are missing along the outer edges.
Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris (N1125)

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The figure of Saint Demetrios, sculpted in high relief, occupies a setting provided with a raised border. The reverse of the plaque is smooth, so that the icon must originally have been mounted on a painted box made of wood or, more probably, of a precious metal whose blades would attach to the border. The standing figure of this military saint occupies the whole height of the plaque. Wearing a breastplate, a short tunic, and a long cape, Saint Demetrios has a small round shield hanging from his shoulder. With vigor he holds his lance aloft with his right arm, whereas his sheathed sword, with its pendant strap, held lightly in his left hand by the handle, is a sign that the saint is resting. The realistic execution of the armor is usual for the representation of military saints.

The relief is exceedingly accentuated, and the exaggerated musculature of the legs testifies to a sense of plasticity that, under the Palaiologoi, occasionally characterizes monumental sculpture, notably in Constantinople. The slight difference in proportions between the body and the hands also suggests the predominant elegance in the capital in the fourteenth century. Conversely, some features seem to have been deliberately borrowed from the Gothic art of the West. This is the case with the smile, exceptional in Byzantine art, and the sinuous gesture of the hand that holds the sword, which recalls the attitude of fourteenth-century French or Italian versions of Saint Catherine. Perhaps the awkward double contrapposto of the figure is the result of a failed interpretation of Gothic statuary conventions. The icon exemplifies the difficulties that Byzantine artists faced in appropriating elements that were profoundly foreign to them. JD

143. Icon with Christ Pantepotes (Overseer of All) and the Choir of Saints

Byzantine, 1300–1500
Steatite
Central plaque 8.8 x 6 cm (3½ x 2⅜ in.); small plaques, each about 3.5 x 2.7 cm (1⅜ x 1⅛ in.)
Inscribed: On the central plaque, I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C O ΠANTEΠOTHC (Jesus Christ, Overseer of All); EΓ(ω) EIMI TO Φω(C) TOY KOCM(OY) (I am the light of the world [John 8.12; inscribed in the open book held by Christ]); XAIPETICMOC (Annunciation); H ΓEННCIC (Nativity); YΠAΠANT(I) (Presentation in the Temple); H BAΠTICIC (Baptism); H EΓEPCIC (Raising [of Lazarus]); H BAIOΦOP(OC) (Entry into Jerusalem); H METAMOPΦ(OCIC) (Transfiguration); O TAΦOC (Entombment); H ANACTACIC (Anastasis); H ANAΛHΨIC (Ascension)
On the smaller panels, identifying the figures, in Greek (here offered as a single line of continuous text), O XOPOC TωN ΠPOΦHTωN/TωN AΠOCTOΛωN/TωN IEPAPXωN/ CT (KAI) MAPTYPωN/ O AΓI(OC) KωN(CTANTINOC)/ H AΓ(IA) EΛEN(H)/ OI AΓIOI ANAΓYPO(I)/ OI AΓIOI TPEIC ΠAIΔEC (The Chorus of Prophets, Apostles, Fathers of the Church, Martyrs, Saint Constantine, Saint Helena, the Holy Anargyroi [Medical Saints] and the Three [Hebrew] Children [in the fiery furnace])
Condition: The icon is in good condition overall, with the exception of the loss of a small number of figures (a Church Father in the small panel with Church Fathers; and several busts of archangels in the Nativity, Crucifixion, and Deposition scenes, and flanking the enthroned Christ), as well as the loss of select details (the heads of Christ and of an apostle in the small panel with apostles). Minor past repairs were made in wax.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1963 (63.68.1–13)

The carvings on the thirteen steatite plaques of this icon, representing more than a hundred figures within a complex composition, are

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143, detail

among the most intricate and miniaturized reliefs in this medium to survive from the Late Byzantine period. In the icon's original form, the thirteen plaques were most likely joined together in a frame of precious metal, like those seen in a contemporary steatite icon representing Saint Demetrios (cat. 141).

In the central panel is the enthroned Christ, identified by a Greek inscription as the Pantepotes, or, Overseer of All. Literary evidence for a monastery dedicated to Christ Pantepotes in Constantinople suggests the popularity of Christ Pantepotes in the Palaiologan capital,[1] and this predilection may have extended to other territories of the Byzantine world. On the Gospel book in Christ's hand is inscribed "I am the light of the world" (John 8:12). Forming the border of the central image are twelve scenes from Christ's life—the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Metamorphosis (Transfiguration), Crucifixion, Deposition, Empty Tomb, Anastasis, and Ascension—with each scene and grouping of saints identified by a Greek inscription above.

The choir of saints frames the central icon, with each panel showing Christ Emmanuel blessing a different group of saints framed by a round arch supported on columns. The top row shows the prophets; the second row, apostles; the third row, Church Fathers; and the last row, martyrs, Saints Constantine and Helena, anargyroi (healing saints), and the Three Children in the Furnace. The inclusion of this last scene of Old Testament deliverance—the rescue of the three Hebrew children from the fiery furnace—is noteworthy and perhaps was intended, in the eyes of the icon's patron, to emphasize Christ's role as savior.

STB

1. Janin 1975, pp. 513–15; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985.

Reference: Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 168, pp. 230–33.

144. Carved Icon with Saints Boris and Gleb

Russia, 1569
Carved bone, with silver-gilt revetment, in wood base with red taffeta backing
20.5 x 15 x 2 cm (8⅛ x 5⅞ x ¾ in.)
Inscribed: On the front, in Russian, о а(гиос) Бо[рисъ], о а(гиос) Гл[ебъ]; on a paper label stuck to the back, in cursive, . . . Бориса и Глеба резан на кости обложен серебром дан . . . [по] Федоре Васильевиче Супонове да по Федоре Ондреевиче . . . (. . . of Boris and Gelb carved in bone [and] covered with silver [was] given . . . [of] Fodor Vasil'evich Suponev and of Fedor Ondreevich . . .)
Provenance: Saint Cyril–Belozersk Monastery, Vologda Oblast, Russia
Condition: The wood base is curved, and the revetment is torn in places. There are also small losses of bone and revetment.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (drk-101)

The bone-carved figures of the princes Boris and Gleb are embedded in wood under keel-shaped arches. The ground is covered with strips of gilt-ornamented silver. The saints' names are inscribed on small bone plaques beside their heads.

Full-length frontal portrayals of martyr saints go back to works of Byzantine art, such

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as the tenth-century carved ivory triptychs that show Early Christian martyrs, military saints, and apostles presenting themselves before the Lord. In Rus', images of Boris and Gleb holding a cross and sword (attributes of martyrs and warriors) are known since pre-Mongol times. In the present icon, Boris and Gleb are portrayed in rich princely attire related to Byzantine court costume. A peculiar detail, rarely found in such images, is the princely mantles, draped over their shoulders and bearing a cross-shaped pattern resembling priestly phelonia. At the time of Czar Ivan IV (the Terrible, r. 1533–84), a proponent of strong centralized government, these cloaks were perhaps a means of emphasizing the divine origins of princely power. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, the emperor of the Macedonian dynasty (r. 945–59), who wrote several works on the empire's administrative system, Byzantine emperors held the ecclesiastic rank of deacon.

This icon was obviously part of a diptych. Its pendant, an icon with bone-carved images of the healing saints Cosmas and Damian, is also kept at the State Russian Museum. The manner of carving—linear, meticulous, and dry—is characteristic of the archaizing trend in sixteenth-century Russian relief sculpture. The small heads and hands, the figures' exaggeratedly elongated proportions, and their immateriality echo the early-sixteenth-century art of Dionysius (see cats. 108, 123). These characteristics, as well as the heightened ornamentality (for example, the pupil-shaped curls of the saints' hair), suggest the work of carvers from the Saint Cyril–Belozersk Monastery. A paper label attached to the back of the icon bears a cursive dedicatory inscription. An old inventory of the Belozersk Monastery preserves the full name of the small icon's donor, Antonida Karpova, and the precise year it was made, 1569. The icon was presented to the monastery in memory of the deceased father and husband of Antonida (whose maiden name was Suponeva). The icon's elegant silver revetment imitates precious filigree with chasing along the edges. Similar ornamentation of the central field is found in Moscow filigree revetments of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century, including the luxurious cover of the so-called Christophorus Gospels, presented to Belozersk Monastery by Prince Basil II the Blind (1415–1462) in the mid-fifteenth century. The filigree-like metal strips along the edges bear a pattern that goes back to Eastern ornament, specifically Iranian art of the second half of the sixteenth century and Georgian metalwork of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Such influences attest to the extent of sixteenth-century Russia's cultural contacts.

SB

REFERENCES: Pleshanova 1989, p. 240 (repr.); Athens 1994, p. 278, pl. 163, no. 80; Petrova 1997, p. 41; Vicenza 2000, pp. 207–8, no. 72.

145. Panagiarion with the Virgin and Christ

Crete (?), ca. 1450–1550
Tempera on ivory disk, gilding, and later metal surround
Diameter 11 cm (4⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: On either side of the Virgin's head, Η ΠΑΝΤΑ/ΝΑССΑ (the Pantanassa); on both sides of Christ's head, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ)
CONDITION: The inscription $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ (Mother of God) is missing, as is part of the inscribed cross within Christ's halo; some traces of gilding have flaked off along the edges. The whereabouts of the other half of the panagiarion are unknown.
Private collection, London

The panagiarion originated as a type of paten bearing the image of the Virgin Orans.[1] Typically made of precious materials, such as jasper, steatite, gold, or gilded silver,[2] it was utilized as a container for a special particle of bread dedicated to the Virgin at the orthros (matins) service and on other occasions.[3] By the fifteenth century it had taken the form of a round diptych, which could also be worn by prelates as an honorific pendant.[4] Contractual records note that the Cretan icon painter Nikolaos Ritzos (d. before 1507) was manufacturing large numbers of panagiaria; an example attributed to him and to his studio consists of two hemispheric hinged wood elements, one portion depicting the Virgin, the other containing an image of the Trinity.[5]

The present work is unfortunately missing its pendant. The Virgin is shown with her arms raised in a gesture in prayer; she wears a dark red maphorion, with a star on her forehead and one on each shoulder. Christ is depicted in front of his mother, making a gesture of blessing with both hands; he wears a dark yellow chiton and himation, decorated with chrysography. The artist has managed to render a sense of delicate plasticity by the use of modeling in chiaroscuro, which is particularly evident on the right side of the Virgin's face. An attribution to a Cretan atelier would be consistent with stylistic and historical events, since in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople, Crete became a flourishing center for the production of icons under

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Venetian rule.[6] Artists on Crete upheld Byzantine artistic traditions but were cognizant of artistic trends emerging in Renaissance Italy. ECR

1. On panagiaria, see *Proskynetarion tes Basilikes kai sebasmias mones megiste aghion lavras tou aghiou Athanassiou tou en Atho* (Venice, 1772), p. 32; T. Uspenskii 1902; M. Chatzidakis 1985, pp. 64–65; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, pp. 1569, 1991; Kominis 1988, pp. 115, 148, 362.
2. See Radojković 1977b, p. 11; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 204–8.
3. On the service of the Panagia, see Yiannias 1972; also *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, p. 1569.
4. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, p. 1569. Radojković notes: "for the Virgin symbolically represents the church, and the dignitary bears it upon his heart" (Radojković 1977b, p. 10).
5. M. Chatzidakis 1985, p. 64. There are a number of Serbian examples that share this iconography; see Radojković 1977b, figs, 22, 23, 25, 26a, 26b, 29. For an approximately contemporary Russian example in metal, see Lazarev 1959, p. 294.
6. M. Chatzidakis 1985, pp. 24–28, 57.

Reference: Sotheby's 1980, p. 17.

146. Pendant Icon with Christ Emmanuel

Byzantine, late 13th–14th century
Steatite
2.9 x 2.22 cm (1 1/8 x 7/8 in.)
Inscribed: $\overline{IC}$ (Jesus) $\overline{XC}$ (Christ); by the shoulders, the inscription EMAN HA "Emmanuel"
Provenance: Derek Content, Israel, n.d.; Benedicte Oehry, Zurich, until 1987.
Condition: The highly polished medallion is in good condition except for minor chipping on the inscription and the back and evidence of wear on the nose of Christ.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, William Kelly Simpson Gift, 1987 (1987.23)

Small religious images carved in steatite that were meant to be carried or worn were popular in the Late Byzantine world. On this delicately carved medallion, a youthful Christ Emmanuel is shown raising his right hand in a preaching, or blessing, pose while holding a large scroll, a symbol of the Word, in his left. Depictions of Christ Emmanuel symbolize the Word made incarnate, the preexistent logos made man. While long established as a theological concept, depictions of the type first became popular in the Middle Byzantine era. The emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) used the image on his coins, presumably as a reference to his own name.[1] On a variant of icons of the Virgin Blachernitissa, Christ Emmanuel appears in a medallion on her breast to symbolize the Incarnation.[2] Another name associated with this image is the Virgin Nikopoios. At the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, the type came to be called the Virgin of the Burning Bush, as the bush in which God had appeared to Moses was considered a prefiguration of the Virgin who had also contained God (see the image on the upper border of cat. 214).[3] A thirteenth-century icon of the Virgin at the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine (cat. 212) shows Christ Emmanuel with a single curl behind each ear. The three curls to each side of his head on this medallion suggest that it dates slightly later, to the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.[4] The intricate carving of the details of the drapery and of the cross arms of Christ's halo retain their original crispness. His nose has been worn down, probably by centuries of being touched in veneration. HCE

1. "Types of Christ," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 1, p. 438; Evans et al. 2001, p. 60.
2. Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, pp. 40–41. The presence of Christ Emmanuel on the breast of the Virgin symbolizes the Incarnation, or coming of Emmanuel, as foretold by the prophecy of Isaiah (7:14) and repeated by an angel to Joseph in a dream (Matthew 1:20–23).
3. "Virgin Blachernitissa," "Virgin Nikopoios," "Virgin tes Batou," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, pp. 2170–71, 2176, 2177–78.
4. New York 1999, p. 94; see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, p. 190, fig. 114, for a related work in the Cleveland Museum of Art.

References: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *One-Hundred Seventeenth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1986, through June 30, 1987*, p. 34 (repr.); New York 1999, p. 94; Evans et al. 2001, p. 60.

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147. Enkolpion: Cameo of an Archangel (Michael?)

Byzantine (Constantinople?), probably 14th century
Sardonyx
Overall 2.8 x 2.1 x .4 cm (1⅛ x ¾ x ⅜ in.)
Provenance: L. Seligmann, Cologne (sale catalogue, Ball and Graupe, Berlin, 1929, no. 52); Milton Weil, until 1940.
Condition: The border is chipped in several spots, and the figure's face seems worn.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Milton Weil Collection, 1940 (40.20.58)

This small oval cameo, which probably depicts the archangel Michael,[1] was once most likely set into a metal frame to be worn suspended from its owner's neck.[2] The cameo almost certainly served an apotropaic function, and Michael's role as the commander of the angelic host, a miraculous healer, and psychopompos (conductor of souls) would make his depiction on a phylactery a logical choice.[3]

The artist has skillfully used the material to contrast the low white relief of the saint against the rich dark red background of the matrix. The archangel is seen standing upon a suppedaneum. Dressed in full military costume, he grasps his sword sheath with his left hand and holds his sword upright with his right. This emphasis on Michael's martial role is noteworthy, for depictions of the saint more frequently show him wearing a chiton and himation.[4] This choice may indicate the patronage of a member of the Byzantine military aristocracy.[5] Instead of gazing intently at the viewer, the archangel focuses his gaze to the right, which gives an impression of vigilance and prevents a sense of stasis from dominating the composition. The artist has further underscored that the figure is not in absolute repose by positioning the right wing to indicate that Michael has just alighted; the same narrative detail is seen in the figure of the archangel Gabriel in a fourteenth-century icon of the Annunciation, now in Ohrid (cat. 99). This attempt at creating a sense of movement and the figure's incongruously wide hips (a feature also seen in steatite carving)[6] both suggest an attribution to the fourteenth century.

ECR

1. According to Putzko 1975, pp. 173–79, the archangel Michael was a popular choice for depiction in small-scale sculpture.
2. For further examples of Byzantine cameos depicting the archangel Michael, see Wentzel 1960.
3. On the iconography of the archangel Michael, see Wiegand 1886. On his functions, see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), pp. 1360–61.
4. Images of Michael in military costume first appear during the reign of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81). This iconography reappears, on lead seals and coins, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Michael is less frequently depicted thus in monumental art, though he is costumed in military fashion in a fresco by the Constantinopolitan painter Manuel Eugenikos at the katholikon at Calendžicha, Georgia, dated 1384–96 (Lazarev 1967, p. 374, fig. 522), in a fresco at the Manasija (Resava) Monastery in Serbia, 1407–28 (D. T. Rice 1968a, p. 183, fig. 160), and in an icon painted by Andreas Ritzos (active 1421–92; see Manafis 1990, p. 126, fig. 79).
5. Putzko 1975, p. 177.
6. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, p. 204.

References: Kris 1932, p. 13, fig. 4; Remington 1940, pp. 77, 80, fig. 4.

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148. Intaglio Gemstone with Saint Theodore Teron Slaying a Multi-headed Dragon

Byzantine, 1300 or later
Black agate chalcedony with red-brown striations
3.4 x 2.6 cm (1⅝ x 1 in.)
Inscribed: On obverse, in Greek, O AΓIOC / ΘEOΔ/OROC O/ TIP/ω/N (Saint Theodore Teron [the Recruit]); reverse, I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C / K(YPI)E BOH/ΘI CON TON/ ΔOYΛON COY/ O CIΓI NO/ O KIC (Jesus Christ, O Lord, Come to the aid of your servant, [he whom you know, O Holy One ?] . . .)
Provenance: Acquired by Dikran G. Kelekian, between 1893 and 1910.
Condition: The gemstone is in good condition overall; there is a small chip in the upper right-hand corner of the intaglio on the obverse.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Nanette B. Kelekian, in memory of Charles Dikran and Beatrice Kelekian, 1999 (1999.325.227)

The carving of gemstones for personal adornment and for use as seals for documents is an ancient art form that was continued throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire.[1] This oval agate stone is carved in the intaglio technique, with its figural design and Greek inscriptions hollowed out of the stone surface

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(see cat. 149 for a gemstone figure carved in relief). The saint's identifying label on the stone's obverse, naming him as Saint Theodore Teron "the military recruit," and the prayer on behalf of the gem's owner on the reverse are executed in retrograde (reverse) script, confirming that the gemstone would have been used to make a positive impression in wax or a similar material. The figural decoration on the gemstone's obverse depicts a contest between a multiheaded dragon and the armed military saint Theodore Teron, the third-century Roman soldier from the Pontos region (on the southern shores of the Black Sea) martyred for his Christian faith under the Roman emperor Maximian (r. 286–305, 306–8).[2]

The style and iconography of this private work of art, which would have functioned both as a miniature icon and as a personal seal, suggest classical inspiration. The saint's realistic body proportions, balanced stance, and vigorous activity resemble those of classicizing figures popular in the Late Byzantine period. The dragon with its multiple heads—seven or eight, plus the end of the tail—is rare in Byzantine iconography and seems to recall classical images of Herakles slaying the Hydra.[3] Late Byzantine comparisons between military saints and the Greek hero Herakles are attested, as in the epigram for an icon composed by Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–ca. 1345), the renowned court poet of Constantinople.[4] This representation of one of the most popular military saints of the Late Byzantine period illustrates the continuity of Theodore's cult into the empire's final centuries, as well as the ongoing popularity of classicizing styles and ancient art forms in the period.

STB

1. New York 1977–78, nos. 393, 395, 398; New York 1997, nos. 126–35; Holmes 1934.
2. "Theodore Teron," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), pp. 2048–49.

3. On Herakles in ancient literature and art, see *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1886–90), vol. 1, pp. 2997–3002.
4. I wish to thank Robert Hallman for bringing this text to my attention and providing me with his translation of the relevant passages to follow. Miller 1967, CLXXI, cf. lines 1–4. The epigram is written in the voice of the icon's patron, Theodore Komnenos Palaiologos: "I painted the champions [Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates] armed,/ so that Satan, humbled, may turn his back/ and may not assault us boldly./ 'not even Hercules,' they say, 'is a match for two.'"

REFERENCE: Evans et al. 2001, p. 60.

149. Enkolpion-Reliquary with the Metropolitan Arsenios of Serres

Byzantine, mid-16th century
Enkolpion: Gold, amethyst, rubies, emeralds, peridots(?), turquoise, blue frit or ambergris, pearls, and niello;[1] cross-reliquary: gold, pearls, and niello
Enkolpion: 8.4 (with loop and pearl) x 7 (with pearls) cm (3⅜ x 2¾ in.); Cross: 5.1 (with loop) x 3.4 cm (2 x 1⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: On enkolpion (in niello), † ΑΡCΕΝΙΟΥ ★ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΥ ★ ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ★ CΕΡΡΩΝ ★ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡΤΙΜΟΥ ★ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΕΠΕΧΟ(Ν)ΤΟC ★ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑC ★ ΚΑΠΑΔΟΚΙΑC ★ ΚΙΡΗΟC ΒΟΥΘΟC ★ (Arsenios, the most holy metropolitan of Serres and hypertimos [and] substituting for [the metropolitan of] Caesaria–Capadocia, God the Helper); on the cross-reliquary (in niello), Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C Χ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C (Jesus Christ); Ο Β(Α)C(Ι)Λ(ΕΥC) Τ(ΩΝ) Ι(ΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ) (King of the Jews); ΕΞΗΓΟΡΑCΑC ΗΜΑC ΤΩ ΤΙΜΙΩ C/ΟΥ ΕΜΑΤΙ ΤΩ CΤ(ΑΥ)ΡΩ ΠΡΟCΗΛΩΘΕΙC (Thou redeemed us with Thy Holy Blood, being crucified); engraved on the sides of the cross-reliquary, † ἀ / φιε / ροθ(η) / πα / ρα / του υερ/οτα/ (του) / μῖ/τρὸ / πο/λει/του σε/ρον / κιρ / αρ/σεν/ιοῦ / εν / τει / μι/ονει / τῆς / αγι/ας (τρια)΄δος / τῆς / ονο / μα / ζομε / νῆς / εσο / πτρ / οῦ εν / Χα / λκι / τη / νῆσο (Dedicated by the most holy metropolitan of Serres, Arsenios, to the monastery of the Holy Trinity called Esoptron on the island of Chalke)
CONDITION: Except for the hinge rings missing from its cover, the enkolpion and the cross are in excellent condition.
Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland (57.1511)

The front, back, and sides of this enkolpion-reliquary are studded with gemstones and covered with dense filigree; in addition, the front has an amethyst cameo of the Virgin and Child, of the Blachernitissa type. The interior reveals a cavity for a reliquary-cross and six smaller compartments, possibly for relics; these are set into a flower-strewn field and framed by an inscription in niello. The reliquary-cross held a relic of the True Cross, and shows a Crucifixion in niello on the back; Christ's head falls onto his right shoulder, his body turns and curves to his right, and a banderole curls above his head. The cross retains pearls on its hinge pin.

Two inscriptions naming the donor give this reliquary its exceptional character. The one on the cross names Arsenios, metropolitan of Serres, as dedicator of the cross to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity on the island of Chalke; the second, on the enkolpion, also names Arsenios as metropolitan, adds his honorific title of hypertimos,[2] and indicates that he was *in loco tenens* for the metropolitan of Caesarea-Cappadocia.

Arsenios lived toward the mid-sixteenth century and is known from other inscriptions: two from the Monastery of Saint John the Prodromos (Baptist) near Serres and one from the Monastery of Castamonitis.[3] Thus, this jeweled enkolpion is a rare example of a Late Byzantine work that is associated with an individual, a place, and a time, although its place of manufacture remains unknown.

The amethyst on the enkolpion is framed as an icon, surrounded by precious stones and filigree.[4] A pendant in Dumbarton Oaks cited by Marvin Ross and Basileios Laourdas,[5] with a filigree frame but missing its precious stones, is related to the Walters example. More closely related is the twelfth-century cameo of the Virgin set into a fourteenth- to fifteenth-century filigree frame set with stones, attributed to Russia.[6] These examples lack pearls around the edge like those on the Walters pendant; pearls are, however, similarly used on a sixteenth-century octagonal enkolpion in the Benaki Museum.[7] That work is also a composite jewel, with an eleventh- to twelfth-century rock-crystal cameo set in a later frame of rubies and emeralds. Though it does not have filigree, the Benaki enkolpion provides a substantial comparison to the Walters enkolpion-reliquary in both overall design and date. SZ

1. The stones were examined by Meg Craft of the Walters Art Museum.
2. See Grumel 1948.
3. The following sources were cited by Ross and Laourdas 1951, p. 183: Stratēs 1926; P. Papageōrgiou 1894; Lambakēs 1905. Papageōrgiou had omitted Arsenios from his list of the metropolitans of Serres, but Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus restored it in his review of Papageōrgiou in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 1 (1894), p. 678.
4. A. Grabar 1975b, *passim*.
5. Ross and Laourdas 1951, p. 184, attributed this pendant to the sixteenth-century Balkans. Subsequently, Ross 1965, no. 96, attributed it to fifteenth-century Russia (Novgorod).
6. Florence 1987, no. 116.
7. Dallas 1990, pp. 84–85, pl. 65. The cameo represents the Pantokrator.

REFERENCES: Baltimore 1947, no. 448; Ross and Laourdas 1951; Walters 1979, no. 460; Walters 1984, no. 114.

149, front

149, back

149, interior

149, reliquary-cross

Precious-Metal Icon Revetments

JANNIC DURAND

The Byzantine custom of covering all or part of an icon painted on wood with a decoration of precious metal, enhanced by enamel, pearls, or gemstones, experienced an extraordinary flowering under the Palaiologan dynasty beginning in the thirteenth century. It spread beyond the contracting borders of the Byzantine state into the entire Orthodox world. Judging from surviving examples, these gold and silver icon revetments, testaments to Byzantine piety, seem singularly to have inspired the genius of goldsmiths, and in the process they diverted an important portion of the empire's disposable wealth. At a time of increasing economic difficulties and a diminishing empire, the climate was hardly conducive to luxury industries; nevertheless, icon revetments provided Byzantine art with some of its final masterpieces.[1]

Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, gold and silver icon revetments attracted the attention of N. P. Kondakov[2] and of many of the scholars who, in their study of painting, could not remain indifferent to the revetments' importance to the history of art and of Byzantine spirituality. Until 1975, however, revetments as a body of independent works of art had still not been the subject of a study except for some pieces by a few historians of the sumptuary arts of Byzantium.[3] André Grabar deserves the credit for correcting this omission.[4] The forty-nine examples that he included date predominantly to the Palaiologan period and enabled him to advance some hypotheses regarding the origin of these revetments, to interpret their iconographic programs, to present evidence of their religious implications, and above all, to suggest classifications and a chronology for the surviving examples.

Grabar's catalogue was not complete, of course, and additional examples have subsequently emerged, increasing the number particularly of those dating from about 1200 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They are preserved in Greece (fig. 8.2),[5] Bulgaria,[6] Romania,[7] Serbia,[8] Macedonia,[9] Albania,[10] and Italy.[11] Engravings or drawings document the appearance of some objects that have disappeared.[12] Russian revetments have also been published,[13] and a number of exhibitions have contributed to revealing the importance of Georgian examples;[14] Grabar rarely dealt with this material, except in cases in which no purely Byzantine example survived. Another approach, turning to written material and utilizing the archives at Mount Athos, has occasionally turned up more precise information about a work, its patron, provenance, or date.[15] Finally, new research has focused on the role of revetments in Byzantine spirituality, and recent studies have shown that their use grew out of theory and practice related to the cult of icons, both on the theological level and in popular belief, particularly in the case of miracle icons, venerated even to this day through their precious-metal envelopes.[16] New studies notwithstanding, Grabar's conclusions remain indispensable.

The origin of these revetments goes back to the immediate aftermath of Iconoclasm. As early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, icons painted on wood or executed in other materials were provided with precious-metal frames and were further enriched by halos and other details in gold, silver-gilt, or enamel. A magnificent example, although of relatively late date and repainted during the fifteenth century, is the large icon of Saint John the Theologian in the Treasury at Patmos,[17] which, according to the 1200 inventory, already had its gold frame and the saint's halo and book of enameled gold (fig. 8.3).[18] Lists of icons preserved in a number of monastic typika (foundation charters) confirm the continuous existence in churches of this type of icon from the eleventh century and likely even before.[19] From the end of the ninth century, however, previously painted icons were also fitted with revetments of thin sheets of precious metal worked in repoussé that covered not only the frames but also the backgrounds and the costumes, leaving visible only the faces and the hands or feet. The icon of the Transfiguration of Christ from Zarzma Monastery in Georgia,

Fig. 8.1. Reveted icon with Saints Boris and Gleb (cat. 155)

Fig. 8.2. Icon with the Virgin Akatamachetos. Tempera on panel with silver revetment, 14th century. Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Tbilisi, dates to 886, based on its inscriptions, and is one of the oldest preserved examples in which only the faces were left visible (fig. 8.4).[20] Although it was made in the Caucasus region, it was undoubtedly inspired by contemporary Byzantine convention, as illustrated in later examples such as the icons of Saints Peter and Paul and of the Virgin, both from the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod (now in the Novgorod State Museum), probably remnants of the church's original iconostasis, erected about 1050.[21] Almost completely covered by precious metal, these icons rival examples made entirely of gold and silver, such as the two well-known ones of the archangel Michael in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice that are dated, respectively, to the end of the tenth and to the beginning of the twelfth century.[22] It is difficult, however, to discern from sources written before the end of the twelfth century whether icons described as made of silver and of silver-gilt are works made entirely of precious metal or are painted panels augmented by metal revetments. After the thirteenth century, though, painted panels with revetments usually seem to be designated by the terms "kekosmeimenos" or "olokosmetos" (decorated or entirely decorated).[23]

For Grabar, the emergence of revetments during the ninth century indicated that they might have derived from the tradition of antique bas-relief sculpture: with their three-dimensional motifs, achieved by repoussé, they became a sort of replacement for or descendant of that art form. The development of the revetments must also be considered in relation to the use of precious metals, attested in texts, for liturgical furniture and, in the most luxurious religious buildings, occasionally to cover the templon, the colonnade separating the nave from the sanctuary, the embryonic version of the iconostasis. The Nea Ekklesia (New Church), built by Basil I about 880 within the enclosure of the Great Palace in Constantinople, had a chancel of silver, enriched with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and the silver columns in the Chapel of the Savior, built in the Great Palace by the same emperor, were surmounted by an entablature or architrave covered with pure gold. Icons similarly covered with gold and silver may have also been placed between the columns of the templon,[24] in a true effort at aesthetic unity, although even a more typical marble templon was usually enhanced by gilding or painted decoration. In Orthodox churches today it is still possible to see the large icons of the iconostasis similarly covered with gold or silver decoration (fig. 8.5).

Still, icons that were both painted and decorated with precious metal may also have been produced in response to practical needs. Revetments apparently were always applied to icons that had been completely painted, including fully gilded back-

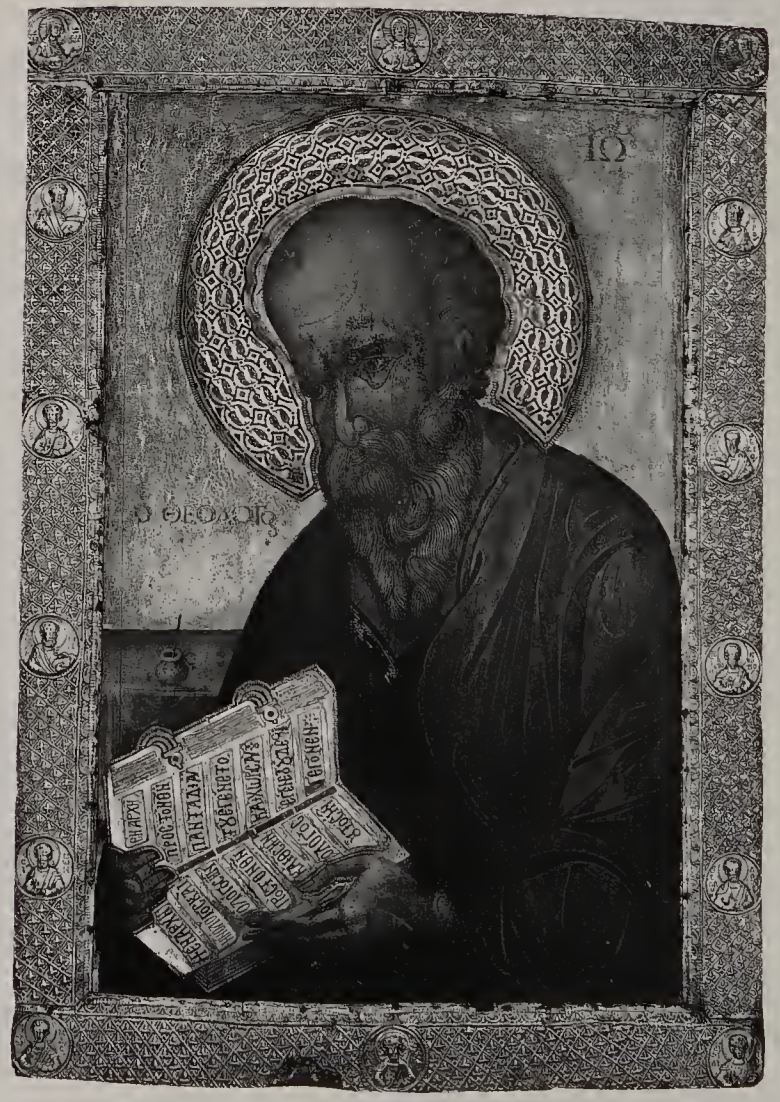

Fig. 8.3. Icon with Saint John the Theologian. Tempera on panel with silver-gilt revetment and enameled gold, ca. 1200. Treasury of the Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 8.4. Detail of an icon with the Transfiguration of Christ. Tempera on panel with metal revetment, 886. Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi, Georgia. Photo: Bruce White

grounds, as seen in the examples in which the only surviving evidence of the sheet-metal revetments are traces of the nails. Theological regard for the integrity of the holy images, even the ones partially hidden from view, provides an easy explanation of this practice. In the absence of sufficient means, however, making relatively inexpensive painted icons could satisfy an immediate devotional requirement and would allow time to gather the funds needed for some or all of their embellishment. Thus, owing to the devotion of Emperor Isaac II Angelos to the Virgin at the end of the twelfth century, most of the Theotokos icons in Constantinopolitan churches were covered in gold and set with precious stones.[25] These revetments provided another benefit: inherently a means of storing treasures, they could in times of absolute necessity be removed partially or completely from the icons. This was probably the case in the mid-fourteenth century when the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos had the gold and silver from the capital's churches melted down, as did Constantine XI Palaiologos, the last ruler of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453.[26] Icons were also used for collateral, and thefts were commonplace: in 1365, an impoverished priest was even reduced to selling the golden halo from an icon of the Virgin in order to feed his family.[27] Yet the areas of painted faces and hands of the icon that were deliberately left uncovered are an implicit reminder that a precious-metal revetment (just like a reliquary meant to enshrine a relic) was above all an envelope, however sacred.[28] In any case, a considerable interval might separate the date an icon was painted from the addition of its revetment, which itself might well be altered or replaced over time.

Icons with precious revetments multiplied under the Palaiologan dynasty. The taste for relief sculpture, characteristic of the Late Byzantine renaissance, may have played a role in this development, as probably also did the use of fine leaves of metal or gossamer-like filigree that were relatively less expensive. In Constantinople in the Hodegon Monastery, the famous miracle icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, reputedly painted by Saint Luke, was, according to Ruy González de Clavijo at the beginning of the fifteenth century, "painted on a square, wood plank . . . plated with silver, incrusted with emeralds, sapphires, turquoises, pearls and yet other jewels."[29] Another miracle-working icon of the Virgin, at Hagia Sophia, shed tears during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, and according to a late-fourteenth-century Russian pilgrim, the tears became the "pearls affixed over them."[30] The 1396 inventory of the same church lists a Christ and a Virgin decorated with silver-gilt reliefs, with pearls, and with jewels, of which some had already disappeared.[31] Finally, the typikon of the Bebaias Elpidos Monastery (Certain Hope), between 1327 and 1342 (Lincoln College, Oxford, Ms. gr. 35), lists in an equally extensive inventory of donations from the family of the foundress (ktetorissa) a Virgin covered by gold, pearls, and precious stones;[32] most of the religious establishments in Constantinople probably received similar gifts. Even objects apparently meant for private devotion were embellished this way: for example, a revetment of silver-gilt still decorates two small icons of the Virgin Chalkoprateia in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice.[33]

The interest in precious-metal icons is found throughout the Byzantine Empire as well as in the Balkans, as can be seen in the exceptional examples preserved in the monasteries of Mount Athos, the icons from Ohrid now reunited in the Museum of Art Macedonia in Skopje (cats. 99, 153, 154), and icons preserved in Bulgaria, notably those of the monasteries of Rožen (icon now in the Municipal Historical Museum in Mělník) and Bačkovo.[34] According to material in the archives of monasteries of Mount Athos, revetments were among the favored forms of benefaction during the fourteenth century. The last will and testament of the skouterios Theodore Sarantenos in 1325, for example, records nine gold- and silver-covered icons of a total of seventeen that belonged to the Prodromos Monastery founded by Sarantenos at Veroia (Berroia), which he then donated to the Vatopedi Monastery.[35] Similarly, archival records of the transfer to the Great Lavra in 1375 of the Church of the Virgin Gavaliotissa in Vodena (Edessa) in Epiros, founded between 1360 and 1366–67 by the despot Thomas Preljubović, show that

Fig. 8.5. Contemporary church furnishings, including a reveted icon, in the Church of the Portaitissa, Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Bruce White

all but one of the icons he, his wife, and other individuals gave to the church had precious-metal revetments.[36] By contrast, barely a century later, the inventory of the Monastery of the Virgin Eleousa in Stroumitza, Macedonia (1449), records only seven icons with mediocre precious-metal decoration out of more than thirty.[37] This, of course, was a more modest establishment, but one also notes in the surviving icons from Ohrid an eloquent difference in quality between the splendor at the beginning of the fourteenth century of the revetments of the Christ Psychosostris and the Virgin Psychosostria (cat. 99) and the relatively less important revetments of many other icons dating less than a century later,[38] probably reflecting a decline related to the empire's economic suffocation during its final years and to the Turkish conquest of the Balkans. Nonetheless, the convention of adding precious-metal revetments to icons was not interrupted by these factors but would even experience a revival, beginning at the end of the sixteenth century—for example, the beautiful silver revetment of the Virgin Kykkotissa in Cyprus, executed in Nicosia in 1576[39]—and continuing until the present in numbers of works preserved in the monasteries of Mount Athos and Meteora and in the churches in many parts of the Balkans and Greece.

To offer a precious-metal revetment is tantamount above all to performing an act of piety, and the tradition is still perpetuated.[40] The use of precious metals materializes the momentary prayer as it emanates from an individual or the collective supplicatory inscriptions that many revetments bear: "Kindly accept this offering, O Virgin, and by your intercession grant that we may pass through this transitory life without suffering." Thus Manuel Dishypatos, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1258–60/61), concluded his prayer to the Virgin on the famous icon in the Treasury of the Cathedral in Freising (fig. 8.6).[41] It is not unusual to find images of the donors praying at the bottom of an icon's frame (cat. 4). On the upper part of the frames, the

images are often those of the Deesis (an expression of universal prayer) or the Hetoimasia (symbol of the forthcoming Last Judgment), with which a variable number of saints around the frame are associated (cats. 4, 141). Sometimes the Great Feasts are represented in small compartments around the central image, and the message of salvation through divine intercession is thus abundantly clear; alternately, the themes could be combined on the same frame (cat. 154). This iconography was not new: the Deesis had already appeared on the frame of the icon of Saint John the Theologian at Patmos (fig. 8.3). Occasionally, there are scenes from the life of the Virgin in the revetment around her image, réminding worshipers that among all women she was chosen to be the Mother of God (cat. 151). As for the floral motifs executed in repoussé (cat. 151), in enamel, or in delicate filigree that could enliven the embellishment of background and frame or constitute their only decoration (cat. 150), these evoked the splendors of paradisiacal gardens, according to fourteenth-century poems by Manuel Philes about such icons: "I contemplate the golden Eden of the icon upon which the plants imitated by art seem to surround the creator of Eden."[42] But the vision of the poet is not in the least original; such decoration grows out of a long tradition in Byzantine art. True innovation is rare and fraught with meaning. One of the most extraordinary is the frame of the Holy Face in the Church of Saint Bartholomew of the Armenians in Genoa (fig. 8.7), a painted icon of the Mandylion of Edessa (cat. 265) surrounded by ten small plaques depicting the history of the relic and impressing its authenticity on the believer.[43]

Few revetments are precisely dated. Except for the icon of the Virgin Petritziotissa in the katholikon of Bačkovo, dated 1310/11, with a disputed provenance that is either Byzantine or Georgian,[44] only one is dated on the revetment itself: an icon in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia, originally from Nesebŭr (Mesembria), Bulgaria, is inscribed with the date 1341/42.[45] This is an exceptional instance, however, for the icon's provenance, its reference in the inscriptions to Bulgarian rulers, and its relatively summary style indicate further that it is a vernacular work. The name of the patron on some other icon revetments occasionally enables us to determine a date and possibly a geographic origin. This is less the case with the icon of the Virgin in Freising[46] than with an icon in the State Tret'iakov Gallery in Moscow on the revetment of which are depicted the donors, megas logothetes (prime minister) Constantine Akropolites (d. before or in 1324) and his wife (cat. 4). These last examples invite us, following Grabar's lead, to attribute to late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century Constantinople a premier group of high-quality works, with frames that have prominent roundels alternating with small, vigorous reliefs interspersed with foliage that is still naturalistic in spirit (cat. 4). A Christ Pantokrator, unfortunately in somewhat deteriorated condition, in the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi, recently recognized as one of the icons donated by Thomas Preljubović to the church in Vodena about 1360,[47] has a continuous background of small geometric flower-shaped ornaments embellished in champlevé enamel. The same type of decoration had already appeared on the frame and background of another icon at Vatopedi, a Virgin given by Papadoulina and Ariadne, identifiable as the daughters of Theodore Sarantenos, whose will of 1325 has already been mentioned (fig. 8.8).[48] This information confirms Grabar's intuition, and the revetments, probably made in Constantinople, thus belong to the first half of the fourteenth century (cats. 99, 129). Finally, regarding the "toys" (ninia) at the Vatopedi Monastery, two small icons of Christ and of the Virgin that according to Athonite legend the empress Theodora had kept in defiance of the iconoclast decrees of Theophilos,[49] the presence on the Virgin icon of the name Anna Palaiologina Kantakouzenos, second wife of Michael III of Trebizond (r. 1390–1412), prompted Grabar to date to the second half of the fourteenth century the astonishing filigree revetments on these icons, a type already present on the Holy Face icon taken from Constantinople to Genoa before 1388, perhaps even before 1362 (fig. 8.7). The presence of similar smooth gold filigree on a small reliquary of 1356 from Constantinople in the Treasury of the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala in Siena (fig. 8.9) corroborates a Constantinopolitan origin for the most sumptuous of such decoration (cat. 150) created over a relatively long period between the middle and the end of the fourteenth century.[50]

Fig. 8.6. Icon with the Virgin Hagiosoritissa. Tempera on panel with gilt revetment. Mid-13th to 14th century. Treasury of Freising Cathedral, Germany

Fig. 8.7. Mandylion icon. Tempera on panel with a silver-gilt revetment, mid- to late 14th century. Church of Saint Bartholomew of the Armenians, Genoa, Italy

Nevertheless, many revetments are difficult to classify around the previous examples and seem representative of other centers of production. Besides the already mentioned icon from Nesebŭr, probably made in Bulgaria, there is the example of the revetment of the Virgin in the Church of San Samuele in Venice, transferred from Morea (Peloponnesos) to Nauplia before 1354, which is decorated with a variety of foliage against a punched ground and a portrait of the despot John Kantakouzenos beneath an elegant Gothic arcade. The evident relationship of the foliage on the San Samuele frame with Italian foliate motifs from the first half of the fourteenth century points to a center of production in a region near the Adriatic.[51] Similarly, the correspondence between the design of the palmette rinceaux in the halo of a Virgin Hodegetria in Ohrid[52] and that in an arch from the end of the thirteenth century in the Church of Saint Theodora of Arta in northern Greece[53] argues for an attribution for this precious metalwork to northern Greece or neighboring Macedonia. A magnificent icon of Saints Peter and Paul at Vatopedi, not discussed by Grabar, marks one of the first dated uses of translucent enamel in Byzantium (fig. 8.10); it is inscribed with the name of Andronikos Palaiologos, despot of Thessalonike until 1423, who donated it to the monastery in 1417.[54] In addition to the identity of the donor, the inclusion on the frame of Saint Demetrios, patron saint of Thessalonike, flanked by his companions Nestor and Loupos, may imply a workshop active in Thessalonike during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Finally, a significant difference in quality between an icon and its revetment, sometimes an indication of a chronological gap, may also betray a distinct geographic origin. The large Christ Psychosostris and Virgin Psychosostria in Ohrid, probably from the iconostasis of the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, are a pair (cats. 153, 154), but their revetments, obviously given by different patrons, do not match. This is confirmed by the inscriptions, which mention, on the former, the governor of Ohrid, the sebastokrator Isaac Doukas, and on the latter, Archbishop Nicholas of Ohrid. The background of the icon of the Virgin is uniformly decorated with interlacing circles, whereas the images of the Deesis on the frame betray a slight clumsiness. The icon of Christ itself is astonishing: the entire background is filled with a unique collection of small metal plaques, which continuously repeat the same motifs, obtained by the use of a limited number of matrices (one bearing the image of the Hetoimasia), which are wholly unsuited by their size to the dimensions of the icon. On

Fig. 8.8. Icon with the Virgin and Child. Tempera on panel with silver-gilt revetment, 14th century. Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 8.9. The Siena Reliquary. Tempera on panel with gold filigree work, 1356. Treasury of the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, Siena, Italy

the frame the Great Feasts are repeated without great care, as are busts of saints and floral motifs. On another, partially earlier icon from Ohrid,[55] as on the frame of an icon of carved stone, also from Ohrid but now in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia,[56] similar matrices were used with a similar casual regard for the iconography. These matrices, in their dimensions and their summary style, recall those used to make small enkolpia, such as those at Vatopedi.[57] Executed with rudimentary tools, these objects probably betray the product of a local workshop.

Interest in revetments is also seen in Greek territory under Latin domination after 1204, such as Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes, where the Byzantine heritage clashed with other influences. Thus, at Rhodes, according to a seventeenth-century watercolor at the Vatican, the lost ancient revetment of the icon of the Virgin of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, better known as the Madonna of Filermo and likewise attributed to Saint Luke,[58] blended Byzantine and Western traditions: the iconography, particularly the Four Evangelists at the corners of the frame, seems influenced by Italian prototypes, and the large foliate volutes recall, as far as one can tell, those at the bottom of the revetment on the Virgin icon in the Church of San Samuele, restored in Italy during the fifteenth century (mentioned above). In Cyprus, which was in Western hands from the end of the twelfth century, the metal ornamentation on Byzantine icons seems to have spawned low-relief gesso imitations in the backgrounds and halos of works produced there.[59] The double-sided icon of the Virgin Brephokratousa and Saint James the Persian in the Church of the Panagia Theoskepaste in Paphos[60] is possibly one of the earliest examples in a long series, to which the Virgin Kykkotissa in Morphou, northern Cyprus, notably belongs as well (cat. 91). Some fourteenth-century icons from regions of the Adriatic and northern Greece present the same distinctive low-relief gesso decoration.[61] This technique, which has been found in the thirteenth century as far away as the Holy Land and Mount Sinai, is not without analogy to ones used in Italian works and poses with singular acuity the problem of reciprocal exchanges between Italian and Byzantine art in these regions from the thirteenth century onward.

The dissemination of icons with revetments extended throughout the Orthodox world, including the Caucasus regions (cat. 75). It also reached Russia. During the Palaiologan period, Byzantine icons with silver or silver-gilt revetments, originally from Constantinople or other Byzantine centers, also reached Russia. This is apparently the case with the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria from Zagorsk, now in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, with the portraits of Constantine Akropolites and his wife; its paint was retouched in Russia long ago (cat. 4). The Virgin icon from the Annunciation Cathedral of the Kremlin, now in the Armory Palace (cat. 151), would have been taken to Moscow after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Such works would serve as a point of departure for Russian goldsmiths. The silver-gilt background of the icon of Saints Boris and Gleb (cat. 155), painted in Novgorod shortly after the construction of the church dedicated to them in 1377, is undoubtedly Russian (fig. 8.1). The background is distinguished by its uniquely decorative aspect, similar to the backgrounds of the great prophet icons on the iconostasis of the Ferapontov Monastery cathedral, Volgada region of Russia, painted by the master Dionysius and his studio at the end of the fifteenth century.[62] The entire Ferapontov iconostasis, in fact, received a metal decoration, as proven by the nail holes on elements of the Deesis, which is now divided between the State Russian Museum in Saint Petersburg and the State Tret'iakov Gallery.[63] These early Russian revetments (okhlad) are the beginning of a prodigious development of the genre in Russia, which continues to this day.[64] From the sixteenth century, Russia, which had inherited the genre from Byzantium, would reciprocate by sending into former Byzantine territories, especially to Mount Athos, precious-metal revetments to cover the most venerated icons found there.

Finally, there was also some awareness in the West of Byzantine icons with revetments. The unusual revetment of the icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum (Santa Maria della Scala) in Rome (fig. 8.11), given by Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216),[65] and that of the Madonna in the Cathedral of Spoleto[66] show that in thirteenth-century Italy the attempts to adopt this format were short-lived. During the Palaiologan period, some of the most beautiful revetments came from Constantinople, no doubt via diplomatic exchanges: the Virgin icon in Freising (fig. 8.6) may have been given by an emperor, probably Manuel II, to Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan (r. 1378–1402), about the time the Holy Face icon reached Genoa (fig. 8.7). French princes also kept Byzantine icons in their collections: the duke of Burgundy possessed many "wood panels . . . of Greek manufacture . . . bordered . . . with silver-gilt," of which a "half-length image of Our Lady . . . , sur-

Fig. 8.10. Icon with Saints Peter and Paul. Tempera on panel with enamel and silver-gilt revetment, first quarter of the 15th century. Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 8.11. Icon of Christ, center panel of the Sancta Sanctorum triptych. Painting on wood panel and precious metal. Sancta Sanctorum, Church of Saint John Lateran, Rome

rounded and covered with silver plate"[67] may resemble the icon currently in the Cathedral of Liège (cat. 150). In the West, these works were received with honor and respect, but they would not be imitated except, perhaps, in Central Europe. The three panels sent in 1367 from the king of Hungary to the Hungarian Chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle (fig. 8.12), covered unusually, but as in Byzantium, with metal and jewels, constitute a remarkable example, undoubtedly linked to the close ties between the Hungarian and Byzantine courts in the mid-fourteenth century.[68] Nor was this situation unique. The Bohemian icon of the Madonna of Vyšehrad, the most venerated image in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Prague, was embellished with a revetment of gilded silver with heraldic motifs. Probably the gift of Václav Králik, a close friend of Wenceslas IV, at the time of Králik's appointment as provost of the Vyšehrad chapter in 1397,[69] the revetment is clearly indebted to Byzantine tradition. Given Wenceslas's own patronage of Byzantine-inspired images, notably in the icon of the Virgin of Březnice,[70] a similar debt within his immediate circle is hardly surprising.

Unexpectedly, Byzantine icons would experience a new manifestation in seventeenth-century Latin Europe, when during the Catholic Counter Reformation the search for the most authentic religious images renewed interest in the Eastern tradition.[71] Icons in Freising, Spoleto, and Genoa would be turned into objects of a veritable stage production, installed over sumptuous high altars or within grand Baroque tabernacles. Alas, not all the icons that reached western Europe were fitted with gold or silver revetments. Nonetheless, Peter Paul Rubens

Fig. 8.12. Votive icon of Louis d'Anjou, king of Hungary. Tempera on panel with metal and jewels, mid-14th and 19th century. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Germany

and his patrons undoubtedly understood the value of such icons when the artist hid behind a removable painting supported by angels the miracle icon of the Virgin of Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) in Rome,[72] which was distinguished because it sometimes bled spontaneously and which was only unveiled for public devotion on very rare occasions.

150

150. Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria

Byzantine, first half of the 14th century, with Western 15th-century additions
Tempera on wood, with silver-gilt revetment
34 x 29 cm (13⅜ x 11⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: In six small cartouches, two at left and four at right, MP/ΘY/H OΔH/ΓHTPIA (Hodegetria [she who guides the way]), and IC XC (Jesus Christ)
PROVENANCE: First recorded in the Cathedral of Saint Lambert, Liège, Belgium, in the solemn display of the cathedral's relics in 1489, "Primo imago Beatae Mariae Virginis depicta a Beato Luca Evangelista" (First [is an] image of the Blessed Virgin Mary painted by the Blessed Evangelist Luke).
CONDITION: About 1935 the cedar panel was riddled throughout with wood worm; the painting, however, withstood the attack, as it was protected from the wood by a piece of parchment. Transfer to a new support was undertaken by the Brussels restorer J. Van der Veken. In May 2003 the University of Liège, with Georges Weber and Lucien Martinot, undertook an archeometric study of the work (publication forthcoming).
Trésor de la Cathédrale, Liège, Belgium (T 32)

The rectangular wood panel of the icon is covered with an elaborate Byzantine silver-gilt revetment that encases all but the half-length image of the Virgin and the Christ Child on her left arm,[1] while the detailed filigree work with which it is so lavishly embellished exquisitely merges with the outline of the painted figures. The slightly superimposed silver-gilt halos of Mother and Son, accompanied by Greek inscriptions, project slightly and, together with the substantial border of the revetment with its beveled edge, create an impression of perspective. Using other icons as comparisons and from the evidence of liturgical and historical sources, the detail of the filigree decoration may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. Filigree decoration became important during the Palaiologan period, though it was increasingly executed in silver gilt, as here, rather than gold, in accordance with the general impoverishment of the Byzantine Empire. Unfortunately, the number of examples of precisely dated Byzantine silverwork is limited.

The principal filigree motif on this icon consists of circles of varying sizes filled by heart or cruciform shapes, while the beveled edge bears a repetitive heart motif, somewhat similar to the ornamentation of the backgrounds of such Byzantine works as the Maastricht Cross, now in the Vatican.[2] On the border, rectangular compartments of circles of filigree alternate with square plaquettes embellished with openwork interlaced knot decoration. (The plaquette at center top, above the head of the Virgin, is not in the same technique and is undoubtedly a replacement.)

During the fifteenth century, a Western-style Marian image was painted over the original icon's image, which had perhaps been ruined. A geometric gilt design can still be made out under the red robe of the Christ Child, and gold-colored stars are visible under the Virgin's mauve veil. Although the repainted image is certainly based on a Byzantine model, the face, hands, gesture, and movements of the drapery are reminiscent of fifteenth-century Western art. In the same period, the four plaques at the corners were replaced by square Gothic decorations stamped with a double circle. At the center of each is a bust of a bishop encircled by lancets. The stamped bust figure bears a crenelated pectoral and miter and evokes Saint Lambert, an identification based on Liègeois coins and seals of the period, among them the seal of Louis of Bourbon, prince-bishop of Liège

(1456–82). Indeed, the plan for making a bust reliquary for Saint Lambert was conceived in 1472, and the project was completed in 1512; the reliquary is now preserved in the treasury of the cathedral. Patron of the diocese, Saint Lambert is the emblematic figure of the Liègeois Church.

One is tempted to attribute the damages sustained by the painting to the terrible sack of Liège by the duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, in 1468, but that would be purely hypothetical, as we do not know the history of this icon. We can dismiss the legend that the work was offered to the Cathedral of Saint Lambert by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212–50) or by one of his successors. It has been suggested, based on the first mention of the icon in a list of the cathedral's relics in 1489, that it may have arrived in Belgium within the broad time frame of the fifteenth-century attempt at a union of the Eastern and Western churches. Described as an image of the Virgin painted by Saint Luke (see the essay by Maryan Ainsworth in this publication), the Liège image is thus related to the Constantinopolitan icon of the Virgin Hodegetria preserved at the Hodegon Monastery and venerated from well before the fourteenth century. It was indeed believed to be a portrait executed by Saint Luke and became a palladium of the city. Representations of this iconographic type are numerous in Orthodox as well as Western countries (see, for example, cats. 126, 195). One such example, at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, was used in processions against scourges and public tragedies.[3] At Liège, marked by civil war in the second half of the fifteenth century, the circumstances of the icon's display strike a similar chord, and the Liègeois appropriation of the work, with the inclusion of the stamp of Saint Lambert, may support this interpretation. PG

1. The same pose of the Virgin Hodegetria is depicted on a beautiful ninth-century Byzantine ivory plaque in the Treasury of Liège Cathedral. Anne Piccinin-Boonen, "Ivoire byzantin de la Vierge à l'Enfant [du Trésor de Liège]," in Huy 1996, pp. 114–15.
2. Kreek 1994, p. 97.
3. Vicchi 1999; Saxer 2001.

References: Thimister 1890, p. 556; Puraye 1939; Bank 1970, p. 349; A. Grabar 1975b, no. 36, figs. 79–80; Philippe 1979, pp. 142–43, 148; Colman 1981, pp. 36–37; Brussels 1982, p. 42, no. Ic. 7; Voordeckers 1983; Athens, 1985–86, no. 209; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1987a, pp. 43–46; Antwerp 1988, no. 50; Lhoist-Colman 1992, pp. 9–10; Ancona 1999, pp. 148–49.

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151. Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria

Byzantium (Constantinople?), 14th century; later Russian additions to the thringion
Tempera on wood, silver revetment, gold, pearls, and a cabochon precious stone
38 x 29.5 cm (15 x 11⅝ in.) with frame
Inscribed: In silver plaquettes, flanking the Virgin, MP ΘV (Mother of God); on the right side of the Virgin's head (with an orthographical error noted by Nikolai Kondakov), ΥΟΔΗΓΙΤΡΙΑ (The Guide); to the right of Christ's halo, IC XC (Jesus Christ). The inscriptions for the scenes from the conception and life of the Virgin are in Greek and contain the standard formulas.
Provenance: The Cathedral of the Annunciation, Moscow Kremlin; State Armory, Kremlin Museums.
Condition: The revetment is complete and in fairly good condition. The painted surfaces are abraded throughout; the bright highlights depicting flesh tones on the faces and right hand of Christ are particularly damaged and reveal the underpainting and even areas of gesso. The revetment was cleaned and strengthened in 1963 by M. G. Baklanova and V. M. Germaniuk. The pearls were restrung in 1980 by T. V. Usacheva.
State Historical and Cultural Museum "Moscow Kremlin," Moscow (Zh-1759/1-2)

Nikolai Kondakov and Liudmila Pisarskaya tentatively attribute the icon to a Serbian atelier;[1] however, this point is disputed on stylistic grounds by André Grabar,[2] who believed that both the panel and its thringion, or silver revetment, were produced in a Byzantine center during the fourteenth century. In this traditional depiction of the Hodegetria, the Virgin presents the Christ Child to the viewer while gesturing toward him with her right hand.[3] The painter juxtaposes the mass of the Virgin's dark maphorion with Christ's luminous chiton and himation, both of which show traces of the liberal use of chrysography. The areas representing flesh tones are abraded, revealing the ochre and olive underpainting. The contrast between the austere image and the luxurious thringion is striking. The thringion closely follows the contour of the two figures, and this border is further accentuated by an outline of large pearls, added to the icon sometime after it arrived in Russia.[4] The background consists of a lush pattern of intertwined vegetal forms that project in higher relief to serve as the figures' nimbuses. Of the silver repoussé reliefs encircling the frame, the one above the Virgin's head shows the Hetoimasia, flanked by

archangels in each corner, and the rest depict scenes from the conception and early life of the Virgin. The narrative plaques alternate with purely decorative zones that contain circular projecting decorations filled with interlacing knotlike patterns. Its relatively small size and rich decoration probably indicate that this icon served as a private devotional object before its donation to the Annunciation Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin.[5] ECR

The icon of the Hodegetria, thought to be the worker of numerous miracles, was among the most venerated sacred objects in the Byzantine capital. Pilgrims from the entire Orthodox world came to view its procession through the city on every Tuesday.[6] Some commissioned small-scale copies of the famous image, such as the one seen here. It came to Russia either in the 1300s, possibly in response to a donation sent to Constantinople, or much later, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Nataliia Maiasova identifies it with an icon that, according to a chronicle entry for 1456, stayed in the Annunciation Cathedral after the miraculous Virgin of Smolensk was sent back to its hometown.[7] The image resembles certain mosaics in the Church of the Virgin Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) and can be attributed to a Constantinopolitan workshop of the first decades of the fourteenth century.

The delicate chasing of the thringion harmonizes with the gold highlights in the icon. The gold star on the Virgin's headdress and the gold filigree pendants with two heraldic eagles are contemporary with the thringion. The latter finds its closest stylistic parallel in a set of silver plaques, datable to the 1340s, on the Virgin Vimatarissa icon at the Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos.[8] The seven reliefs along the lower sides illustrate scenes described in the apocryphal Protoevangelion of James;[9] the one in the lower right-hand corner, which shows the child Mary caressed by her parents, was added in Russia about 1500. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the lower half of the icon was additionally covered with two crescent-shaped silver plaques and a quatrefoil pendant. These can be seen in old photographs[10] but were removed in 1963.

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1. Kondakov 1914–15, vol. 2, p. 203, fig. 94; Pisarskaya 1964, pp. 17–18, pl. 18.
2. A. Grabar 1975b, p. 46.
3. For the history of the Hodegetria type, see Chrysanthe Baltoyianni, "The Mother of God in Portable Icons," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 144–47.
4. This also includes the massing of pearls and the jeweled star on the Virgin's forehead. See A. Grabar 1975b, pp. 46–47.
5. Although there is no archival evidence regarding when this icon was given to the Annunciation Cathedral, such precious personal icons were often donated to local monasteries, or even to the monasteries on Mount Athos, in order that prayers be said on behalf of their original owners. See Piatnitsky 1999c.
6. Shchennikova 1999b.
7. Maiasova in Lidov 2000, pp. 261, 267.
8. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1999, p. 446.
9. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964–65, vol. 1, pp. 68–179.
10. Kondakov 1914–15, vol. 2, p. 203; Sterligova 2000, fig. 55.

REFERENCES: "Perepisnaia kniga Moskovskogo Blagoveshchenskogo sobora, XVII veka, po spiskam arkhiva Oruzheinoi Palaty i Donskogo monastyria." *Obshchestvo drevne-russkogo iskusstva pri Moskovskom publichnom muzee: Sbornik* (1873), pp. 11–12; A. Grabar 1975b, pp. 46–47, no. 19; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, p. 158, no. 1009; Moscow 1991b, pp. 214–15, no. 20; Lidov 2000, pp. 257–58, 266–67 (with bibl.); Sterligova 2000, pp. 171, 174–77, figs. 55, 58.

152. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and the Annunciation

Byzantine (Thessalonike?), third quarter of the 14th century
Tempera on wood; silver-gilt revetment
99 x 73 cm (39 x 28¾ in.)
INSCRIPTIONS: On the front of the icon, underneath the revetment, MHP ΘY (Mother of God), IC XC (Jesus Christ); on the back of the icon, O AP̃X ΓABPIHΛ (Archangel Gabriel), MHP ΘY (Mother of God); on the revetment, on three medallions, MHP ΘY (Mother of God), XC (Christ)
PROVENANCE: Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid; royal court chapel at Dedinje, Belgrade, from ca. 1930;[1] National Museum in Belgrade from 1951.
CONDITION: The bottom of the frame has been cut off the icon, while a piece of wood has been inserted in the upper left corner of the front. On the back, Gabriel's himation was partially overpainted, probably in the sixteenth century. On the front, the Virgin's maphorion (except for the small part beneath her hand), her kekryphalos, and Christ's chiton were overpainted in the seventeenth century. Gesso is missing from the frames on both sides, as well as at the edges of the revetment on the front. The Annunciation has suffered great damage to the

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paint. The icon was most recently restored in 1995–2000, when, in addition to small interventions on the flesh areas on the front, greater areas of damage were retouched on the reverse, mostly on the Virgin's skin and robes. The medallion inscribed IC (Jesus) is lost from the revetment. On the upper border of the revetment the busts of the apostle Peter and the archangel Gabriel are preserved, but the busts of Christ, the apostle Paul, and the archangel Raphael are missing, as are the figures of the apostles from the side borders; also not preserved are Christ's halo and some of the decorative plates in the borders of the revetment.[2]
National Museum, Belgrade (2316)

The Virgin Hodegetria appears on the front of the icon, its background covered by the revetment, with the Annunciation on the reverse. The combination of the Annunciation with the Hodegetria emphasizes the theme of the Incarnation and the Virgin's role in it. The Annunciation scene on the icon follows the "Palestinian" tradition, with the Virgin sitting and spinning.[3] The scenery and furniture are simple, which is rare for fourteenth-century representations of the Annunciation. The location of the event, Nazareth, is designated only by the city wall. To the iconographic program of the icon with its theme of the Incarnation, the silver-gilt revetment added the motif of prayer directed to the Virgin and Christ through the intercession of the archangels and apostles, who are placed in a Garden of Eden made of interlacing tendrils.[4]

The painting on the icon is harmonious and precise, with monumental figures that have beautiful faces highlighted by white accents, features usually linked with the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[5] V. J. Đurić dated the icon about 1370, ascribing it to a Thessalonike workshop.[6] It should be pointed out that the painting on both front and back is the work of the same master, although it has been proposed that the Hodegetria and the Annunciation are the product of two different workshops[7] and even painted at different times.[8] Draperies are identical on both sides of the icon, but on the reverse, the faces, while painted by the same hand, have more visible brushstrokes. The stylistic features of the revetment—the plasticity, movement, and gestures of the figures, as well as the decorative areas[9]—are characteristic of the Palaiologan era. That plus a technical detail indicating that the revetment was planned[10] shows that the icon and the revetment are contemporary.

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1. Milošević 1958, p. 187.
2. For the earliest known condition of the icon, see Kondakov 1909, p. 257, pl. 8.
3. Millet 1960, pp. 67–69.
4. A. Grabar 1975b, pp. 4–6, 16.
5. For stylistic parallels, see the double-sided icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and Saint Nicholas from the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin, Rhodes (Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 418–21, no. 66); and with the archangel Michael from the Byzantine Museum, Athens (Babić 1980, fig. 29).
6. Đurić 1961a, pp. 133–34, figs. 13, 15.
7. Ibid., p. 133.
8. Tatić-Đurić 1984, p. 28 (repr.).
9. For analogies to the ornamental surfaces, see Kondakov 1909, p. 257, pls. 5, 6, 8; A. Grabar 1975b, pp. 25–26 (no. 5), fig. 7, pp. 38–39 (nos. 12–13), figs. 31–36. For the figures, see ibid., pp. 49–53 (nos. 21–22), figs. 47–59.
10. The thin layer of red paint underneath the revetment that is used for signatures and halos on the white ground on the front of the icon.

References: Kondakov 1909, p. 257, pl. 8; Kašanin 1938, p. 306; Milošević 1958, pp. 187–205; Đurić 1961a, pp. 133–34, fig. 15; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969, p. 48, no. 39; S. Radojčić 1975, pp. 69–70; Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 182; Tatić-Đurić 1984, p. 28 (repr.); Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 402–5, no. 61.

153. Icon with the Virgin Psychosostria

Byzantine (Thessalonike or Ohrid), mid-14th century
Tempera on wood, silver-gilt revetment
158 x 122 cm (62¼ x 48 in.)
Inscribed: Flanking the halo in the roundels, M(HTH)P Θ(EO)Y (Mother of God); in the plaques, H ΨYXOCω[CT]PIA (Savior of souls)
Provenance: Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid.
Condition: The icon was repainted in the nineteenth century by the artist Dicho, from the village of Tresonche, who intervened only on the Virgin's maphorion, leaving her face and the figure of Christ intact.[1] This layer was removed several years ago.
Icon Gallery, Ohrid, FYR–Macedonia (82)

The icon corresponds closely to the icon of Christ Pantokrator (cat. 154) in size, treatment, and style, so it is not difficult to hypothesize that they originated with the same workshop or the same artist.

The background is covered with a silver-gilt revetment composed mainly of a geometric pattern of interlacing circles, framed by foliate decoration and relief figures. Busts of Saint John the Baptist and the Virgin and the

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archangels Michael and Gabriel adorn the frame along the top, and a relief plaque of the Virgin Episkepsis (Shelter) supplants the missing bust of Christ in the center. Along the sides, the frame contains busts of the Old Testament personages Moses, Aaron, Zechariah, Isaiah, and Habakkuk and the figure of Nicholas, archbishop of Ohrid. The presence of the image of this archbishop and the inscription is a reliable reference for a more precise dating of this icon.[2]

MiG

1. Balabanov 1973, p. 17.
2. Ivanov 1931, pp. 36–37.

References: Kondakov 1909, p. 248; Ivanov 1931, pp. 36–37; Kašanin 1943, pp. 84–85; Ljubinković and Ćorović-Ljubinković 1961, pp. 131–32; Ohrid 1961, p. 86, no. 17, pl. 27; Balabanov 1969, p. xviii, fig. 6; Paris 1971, no. 282; Sarajevo 1971, no. 292; Balabanov 1973, p. 17; Kavkaleski 1974, pp. 79–82, figs. 1–2; Balabanov 1983, p. 127; Balabanov 1995, pp. 201–2, no. 31; Georgievski 1999, p. 9, no. 24; Paris 1999b, no. 32; Rome 1999b, no. 32.

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154. Icon with Christ Pantokrator

Byzantine (Thessalonike or Ohrid), mid-14th century
Tempera on wood, silver-gilt revetment
157.5 x 125 cm (62 x 49¼ in.)
Inscribed: Attached to the lower rim of the revetment, ΥΜΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΝ ωC Θ(Ε)ω ΦΕΡΕΙ ΑΥΤΟC Δ · ΕΝΥΛΟC Κ(ΑΙ) ΧΟΙΚΟC ΤΥΓΧΑΝωΝ ΔΟΥΚΑC ICAAK(I)OC CEBACTOKPATωP ΙΛΑCΤΗ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΧΡΥCOΥ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΕΧΝΟΥΡΓΗΜΕΝ(ΗΝ) ΗΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΔΕΧΟΙΟ ΠΑΜΜΕΔΟΝ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ (ΚΡΑΤΟC . . . ΕΙC) ΕΞΙΛΑCΜΑ ΤωΝ ΑΜΑΡΤ[Η]ΜΑ[ΤΟΝ] (As a triumphant hymn he delivers to God—since he is of substance and earthly—Isaac Doukas the sebastokrator, for the merciful, this icon made from gold and silver and receive thy, all-sovereign state of God, as a redeem for the sins)[1]
Provenance: Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid.
Condition: Parts of the revetment are missing on the top, bottom, and left rims.
Icon Gallery, Ohrid, FYR–Macedonia (83)

The icon is a powerful depiction of the Christ Pantokrator in half figure and garbed in a red chiton and greenish blue himation. He holds an open Gospel in his left hand and blesses with his right by indicating the text. He is absorbed in thought but gazes at the beholder, his head leaning slightly and his visage somewhat austere.

The entire background of the icon is adorned with a silver-gilt revetment of plaques that were affixed asymmetrically. In addition to foliate decoration, the plaques have reliefs of saints' busts and scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin. Some of the scenes are repeated several times, indicating that the silver plaques were mass-produced: this occurs mostly with the images of the warrior saints George and Demetrios, the Hetoimasia, the standing angels, Saint Kliment of Ohrid, and some scenes from the Twelve Great Feasts.

According to Kosta Balabanov, the inscription attached to the lower frame of the revetment originally belonged to another icon.[2]

MiG

1. Grozdanov 1980, p. 36.
2. Balabanov 1995, p. 201.

References: Kondakov 1909, p. 249; Kašanin 1943, pp. 84–85; Macan 1959, pp. 62, 76–77; Ljubinković and Ćorović-Ljubinković 1961, pp. 131–32; Ohrid 1961, no. 16, pp. 85–86, pl. 16; Paris 1965, no. 19; Balabanov 1969, p. xviii, fig. 32; Radojčić 1971, p. 292; Grozdanov 1980, p. 36; Balabanov 1983, p. 127; Balabanov 1995, pp. 200–201, fig. 30; Georgievski 1999, p. 9, no. 23; Paris 1999b, no. 31; Rome 1999b, no. 31.

155. Icon with Saints Boris and Gleb

Rus' (Novgorod), ca. 1377; revetment, early to mid-16th century
Egg tempera on lime wood; revetment, silver-gilt repoussé
115 x 92.5 cm (45¼ x 36⅜ in.)
Provenance: Church of Saints Boris and Gleb in the Carpenters' neighborhood of the Merchant district in Novgorod, built in 1377 (the major icon of the church from its establishment in 1377); in the Novgorod Museum since 1931.
Condition: The icon has sustained numerous minor losses of layers of paint, and there are tinted insertions of later gesso in the lower part. The overpaint was removed in 1918–19 by P. I. Iukin and V. O. Kirikov.
Novgorod Integrated Museum-Reservation, Russian Federation (DRZh 1068)

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Boris and Gleb were the younger sons of the ruler of Kievan Rus' Grand Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich (r. 980–1015). After the grand prince's death in 1015, their stepbrother Sviatopolk killed them to gain the throne of Kievan Rus'. The two brothers became Russia's first native-born saints when they were canonized by the Orthodox Church in 1072. Saints Boris and Gleb were revered in Rus' as models of the Christian virtues of kindness, humility, and brotherly love. As soldier-martyrs, they were considered patron saints of royal authority and defenders of Russian lands. The earliest vitae (lives) of Saints Boris and Gleb were created in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

Images of pairs of mounted military saints began to appear in the thirteenth century (cat. 230) and became widely popular in the art of the Byzantine world. The Novgorod Museum icon presents Boris and Gleb in armor on horseback, based on the text of their vita in which they miraculously appeared this way to prisoners in a dungeon. Such images of the saints as mounted warriors are well known in fourteenth-century Russian icon painting, monumental painting, and relief sculpture and were particularly popular in the art of Novgorod.

The earliest surviving example of this iconographic type is the icon of Boris and Gleb on horseback from the Uspenskii (Dormition) Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin. Now in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, that work, which was painted in the 1340s, probably served as a model for the icon in the Novgorod Museum.[1]

The Novgorod icon embodies the highest ideals of late-fourteenth-century Novgorod painting: a heroic and triumphal image, an expressive composition and pictorial order, and a highly decorative presentation. Here one can also see new pictorial features that reflect the influence of late Palaiologan art: harmonious drawing, complex multilayered painting, and an expanded color palette.

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1. Smirnova 1976, p. 220.

References: Grishchenko 1917, pp. 53–54; Zhidkov 1928, pp. 66–70; Kondakov 1928–33, vol. 2, pls. 62–63, vol. 3, pp. 119, 131, vol. 4, pp. 265–66; Alpatov and Brunov 1932, vol. 1, pp. 335, 337, vol. 2, pl. 165; Lazarev 1947, p. 93, pl. 88; Antonova 1960, no. 16; Paris 1967–68, no. 234; Laurina 1968, pp. 74–76; Lazarev 1969, p. 19, pl. 21; Felicetti-Liebenfels 1972, p. 35; Smirnova 1976, no. 20, pp. 13, 16, 19, 72, 97, 99–103, 133–39, 143, 149, 208, 215, 217, 219–24, 253, 329–31.

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ΥΠΕΡ

Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261–1557

JOHN LOWDEN

When Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82) entered Constantinople on August 15, 1261, ending the "Latin Empire" based there since 1204 and reestablishing Byzantine rule on the Bosphorus, the eastern Mediterranean lands and hinterlands comprised an extraordinarily complex political, linguistic, religious, and cultural variety and mix. In the years after 1261, although the political map saw many changes, the Palaiologan dynasty never succeeded in achieving the power of its predecessors. Furthermore, over the following centuries, and especially after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in 1453, the subsequent history of most of the former Byzantine world, and its successor states, diverged from that of Latin, Western lands to a remarkable and an increasing extent, even as they continued to struggle for territorial control with the Ottomans. By 1557 northwestern Europe had experienced the Protestant Reformation; southern European adventurers had circled the globe and found sources of untold wealth; and humanists and scientists had explored the past, the natural world, and the cosmos with increasing boldness. Yet of all the differences between West and East, perhaps the most remarkable was that much of Europe had witnessed the development of printing with movable type, whereas even in the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire still did not permit the use of printing presses anywhere in its vast territories. Beginning in the 1470s, books were printed in Greek, at first primarily in Venice, Florence, and Milan, then later in many other Western centers of learning. Yet such books could reach the Greek-speaking and Greek-reading inhabitants of former Byzantine lands only as imports. For this reason, these areas continued to participate in a manuscript rather than a print culture, not just up to 1557 but, in some places, for centuries thereafter. (It is important to note, however, that printing in Cyrillic began in both Belgrade and Moscow in the 1550s.) Thus paradoxically—and much of the history of Byzantium can seem paradoxical to us now—despite the extraordinary political upheavals and disjunctures of the centuries between 1261 and 1557, the story of manuscript illumination is one of at least superficial continuity, extending by implication from the early centuries of the Christian era almost to modern times.[1]

Fig. 9.1. Opening of the Prophetical Book of Haggai, fol. 54v (detail, fig. 9.9). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

On recapturing Constantinople in 1261, the Byzantines, to use the term loosely, brought back to the city a tradition of manuscript production that must have been seriously disrupted during the period of the Latin Empire—as it would be later under the Palaiologans—by chronic financial shortages. The production of manuscript books of any sort was always costly in materials and time, and illuminated books, by definition, represented the luxury end of the market,[2] even when the labor might be free, as, for example, in monastic products for in-house consumption. Nonetheless, for a century or so, luxury books produced under the Palaiologan dynasty rivaled the finest works of earlier centuries, which is to say that they are among the most superbly executed examples of the craft of manuscript illumination from any period or place. This excellence completely obscures the chronically parlous state of those who commissioned the works. Statistics from the period also offer a deceptive picture. For instance, if we tabulate the number of signed and dated Greek manuscripts now in libraries in France, we see the following striking pattern:[3] twelfth century, 14 manuscripts; thirteenth century, 24 manuscripts; fourteenth century, 39 manuscripts; fifteenth century, 87 manuscripts; sixteenth century, 129 manuscripts. The rapid rise, however, does not mean that more manuscripts were being produced, only that scribes were increasingly abandoning their traditional, but never universal, anonymity.

Patterns of Patronage

It is generally assumed that the imperial family played a vital role, as in previous centuries, in commissioning illuminated manuscripts in addition to imperial documents (chrysobulls), such as one dated 1301 containing an image of Andronikos II Palaiologos with Christ (Byzantine Museum, Athens, Ms. 80),[4]

Fig. 9.2. Emperor Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond and his wife, Theodora. Chrysobull, tempera on vellum, 1374. The Holy Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos, Greece

or one with Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond (r. 1349–90) and his wife, Theodora, dated 1374 (fig. 9.2).[5] Near the beginning of the Palaiologan period, the empress Theodora, wife of Michael VIII (and from 1282 to 1303 his widow), seems to have played an important role in commissioning a family of books of the highest quality. Although only one Gospel book, now in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1158), bears Palaiologina monograms, it seems to have a companion volume of Acts and Epistles (fig. 9.3). Further Gospel books (for example, cat. 163) and a psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. gr. 21) are clearly products of the same craftsmen.[6] These works display a characteristic archaizing script, developed from the so-called *Perlschrift* of the second half of the eleventh century.[7] It is a superbly clear and elegant hand, used quite widely at the time, and very different from the somewhat crabbed cursive hands of some contemporary copyists of classical authors (cat. 176). The images in these books are also both elegant and archaizing, reflecting a careful study of miniatures of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Empress Theodora seems to have employed some of the same illuminators on a luxury copy of the typikon of the dynastic burial church she restored at the Lips Monastery in Constantinople, but in this case the scribes were from the imperial chancery.

That female, as well as male, imperial patronage was important is also borne out by a superb psalter from Iveron Monastery (Ms. 1384) with headpieces in a characteristic arabesque style.[8] It was commissioned by the empress Anna (originally of Savoy), widow of Andronikos III, and executed in 1346 by the scribe Chariton (act. 1319–46) of the Hodegon Monastery. Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54), living in retirement in Constantinople as the monk Ioasaph, is agreed to be the patron of an impressively illustrated copy of his own theological writings

Fig. 9.3. Saints Luke and James, Peter and John. Praxapostolos, tempera on vellum, ca. 1280–1303. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Vat. gr. 1208, fols. 3v–4r)

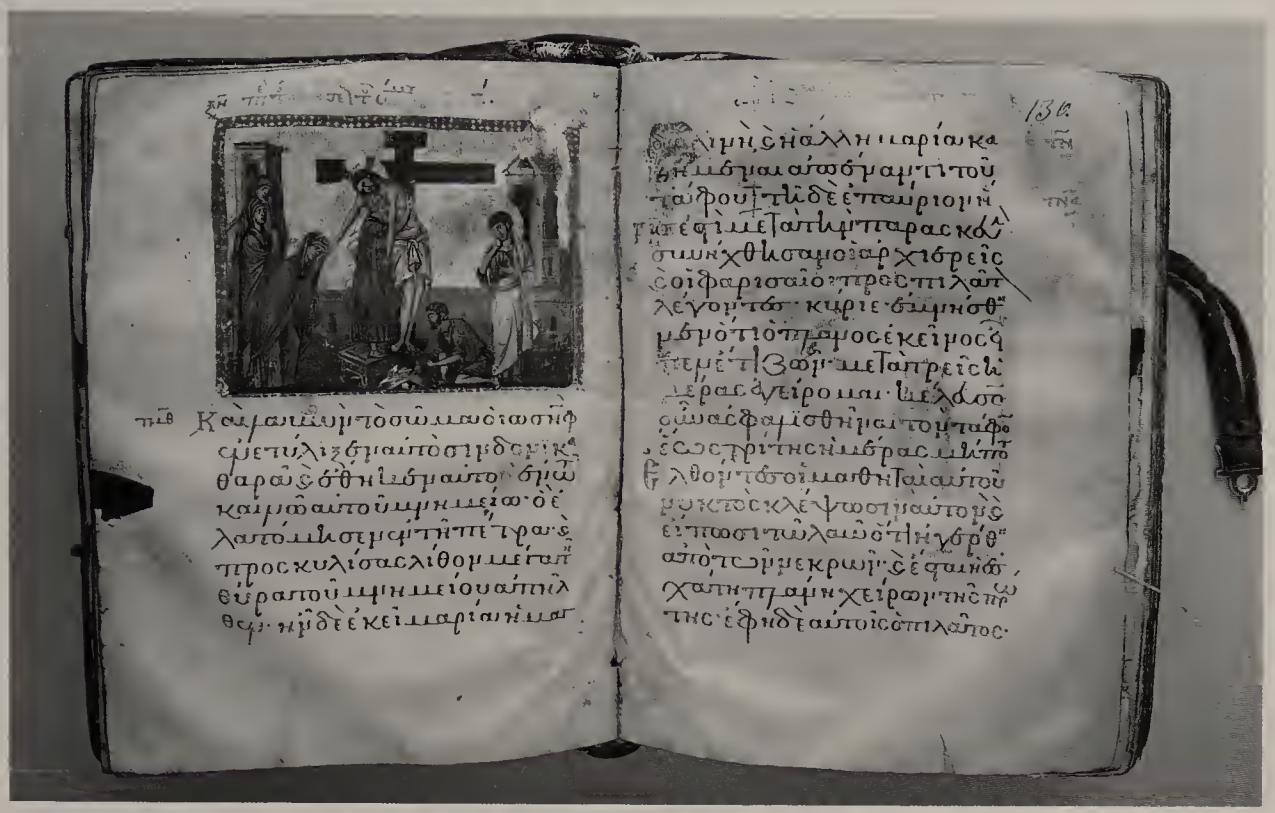


Fig. 9.4. Descent from the Cross. Gospel book, tempera on vellum, ca. 1275–1300. The Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece (Ms. 5, fols. 129v–130r)

executed in two phases ending in 1375 (cat. 171). Many years earlier, perhaps between 1347 and 1354, John VI made an important gift of high-quality books to the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos, of which twenty-six still survive. The majority were written by Hodegon scribes.[9]

A copy of the writings of Dionysios the Areopagite, made by the imperial notary Michael Klostomalles probably in the 1330s, was upgraded for Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and presented by his legate Manuel Chrysoloras to the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris in 1408. To make it a worthy imperial gift, folios were added with an author portrait (the conventional term) of the saint and an image of the imperial family (see fig. 2.5).[10] Whether this recycling of a seventy-year-old book was caused by a shortage of craftsmen or materials in Constantinople at the beginning of the fifteenth century or perhaps by the desire to avoid delay by employing a ready-made volume is an open question. Undoubtedly specially made, rather than recycled, was Emperor Manuel II's funeral oration for his brother Theodore, despot of Morea (d. 1407), which survives in what might be called a "presentation copy" (cat. 1). The manuscript is notable for its portrait not of Theodore but of Manuel II.[11]

Other types of patronage imply a pattern of widely variable cost, indicated by the quality of the materials and craftsmanship. Sometimes the donors are represented according to a long-lived formula. One example of this is the huge volume of the Hippocratic corpus (cat. 2). It has a prefatory bifolio that opens to reveal the patron, Alexios Apokaukos, an official under John V, presenting the work (shown open on the lectern) to Hippocrates, who is portrayed in the facing folio. Both images look a little like traditional evangelist portraits. Interestingly, whereas the text of this book was written on watermarked Italian paper, the bifolio of images is of parchment. The images might therefore be a slightly later addition, but the point is

Fig. 9.5. Opening of Saint Matthew's Gospel. Gospel book, tempera on vellum, 1290. Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Germany (Ms. Theol. gr. 28, fol. 7v)

debatable.[12] Sometimes the donor, even though represented, is now unidentifiable. A case in point is a superb Gospel book with thirty-two narrative images (fig. 9.4). It has a (misbound) opening showing the donor John—we know only his first name—being presented to Christ by the Theotokos and Saint John Chrysostom.[13] The presence of John Chrysostom is seemingly explained by his homonymity with the donor/owner.

Most Late Byzantine patronage of illuminated manuscripts, however, remained anonymous. At the highest level of status and cost is a Gospel book from 1334–35 (cat. 165).[14] At a medium level, perhaps, is a Gospel book dated 1285 (British Library, London, Burney Ms. 20).[15] Also at this approximate level are the books owned by Antonios Malakes, archbishop of Veroia (see fig. 9.5), though most of Malakes's books were not new when he acquired them.[16]

Modes of Production

The modes of production exemplified in these Late Byzantine manuscripts to a great extent follow predictable norms, and the craftsmen, like the patrons, are usually anonymous. When a scribe or an artist is known by name, we can pursue a more detailed inquiry. An interesting case of a documented scribe from about 1300 is provided by Theodore Hagiopetrites, whose daughter Irene, remarkably, was also a scribe.[17] Twenty-two of Theodore's manuscripts survive (seventeen signed, an additional five attributed). Two of these are Gospel books with evangelist portraits, for which Theodore supplied his own decorated headpieces; for the figurative images he acquired and inserted single leaves by different craftsmen.[18] This physical separation of text and image during production, a commonplace Byzantine procedure, also raises more complex possibilities. For instance, Palaiologan images could be added to a much earlier book (see, for example, fig. 9.6).[19] Conversely, though a less common procedure, images could be salvaged from an old book and recycled in a new one, as in the Gospel book and Apocalypse from Cambridge University Library (fig. 9.7).[20] The procedure of introducing single leaves into the quires of a text was relatively straightforward. Occasionally more ambitious improvements were undertaken, as with the thirteen full-page Gospel images inserted as single leaves in a manuscript now at the J. Paul Getty Museum (cat. 169). Economy of time and materials is apparent in such cases, but this element should not be overemphasized since aesthetic choices appear to have also been important.[21]

A remarkable case of continuity in place of production over more than a century is provided by the scribes of the Hodegon Monastery, home of the famous Hodegetria icon, in Constantinople. Their activities were traced by Linos Politis using the evidence of colophons and script style. The colophon often includes the characteristic dodecasyllabic line, *Theou to doron kai [Charitonos] ponos* (The gift of God and work of [Chariton, or another scribe's name]).[22] Named Hodegon scribes produced books from about 1325 to 1405/6, and they had anonymous collaborators as well as successors. The most prolific, Ioasaph (II), was the scribe of John VI's theological treatises, mentioned above. This Ioasaph also wrote another thirty-one surviving signed manuscripts, almost all religious or liturgical texts (hence resembling the output of Theodore Hagiopetrites), over a documented career of forty-seven years.

Constantinople is often assumed to be the place of origin of costly books produced before 1453. But Theodore Hagiopetrites,

Fig. 9.6. Opening of Saint Mark's Gospel. Gospel book, tempera on vellum, ca. 1100 (text), ca. 1275–1300 (miniatures). Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (Garrett Ms. 2, fols. 125v–126r)

Fig. 9.7. Christ as the Ancient of Days. Gospel book and (later) Apocalypse, tempera on vellum, 1297 (Gospel text), ca. 950–75 (miniatures to Gospels), ca. 1350 (Apocalypse text and miniature [fol. 139r]). Cambridge University Library, Cambridge (Ms. Dd. 9.69, fol. 139r). By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

for example, was based in Thessalonike. A Job manuscript (cat. 33) was written by Manuel Tzykandeles in 1362 at Mistra,[23] and the collection of medical recipes of Nicholas Myrepsos (cat. 316), written by the priest and exarch Kosmas Kamelos, was in all probability made in Athens. In short, books could have been made anywhere, provided the materials, craftsmen, and textual models were available, either for use on site or for transfer by purchase or gift to another, possibly distant, location. In general, the evidence for the existence of scriptoria or even workshops for manuscript production (the Hodegon excepted) is patchy and thin.[24] Probably most illuminated books were produced ad hoc by individuals, in collaboration or alone, possibly by monks, priests, or lay people. The artists who painted images for insertion into such books may on occasion have also been scribes and may also have worked as icon painters and, seasonally, as wall painters, as we are told, for instance, of Theophanes the Greek (ca. 1335–ca. 1410), a mural and icon painter active in Russia.[25]

A frequent result of the tradition of working on highly polished vellum surfaces was the partial flaking of images. This deterioration had already begun in the Byzantine era. As a result Palaiologan artists were from time to time called on to restore old books (for example, the eleventh-century Octateuch now in the Vatican, Vat. Ms. gr. 747).[26] A desire for the whitest and most evenly colored parchment surfaces must lie behind the application of an overall covering with a white layer (gesso?) (see, for example, cat. 171). In general, craft practices seem to have remained fairly stable. Occasionally an unfinished manuscript (such as cat. 162) allows us to see a craftsman's working method. An unusual technique is the use of "wash-drawings," found in two manuscript leaves in Baltimore (cat. 170).

Even when illuminated manuscript production seemed to be flourishing, as in the years around 1300, there must on occasion have been shortages of materials. No doubt the result of necessity, sheets of parchment that were smaller than standard were included even in a very carefully executed book (as in cat. 162). Western—usually Italian—watermarked paper was increasingly used in place of parchment, or in combination with it, as in the Hippocrates manuscript commissioned by Alexios Apokaukos (cat. 2). (Paper was also used in some high-status books made outside Byzantine lands, such as the Serbian Munich Psalter and the Bulgarian Tomič Psalter.)[27] Occasionally so-called bombycine paper of Eastern manufacture was also employed (cats. 32, 176).

Texts for Images

To an extent even greater than in earlier centuries, the efforts of Late and post-Byzantine illuminators focused on the Gospel book, in response, we may suppose, to the circumstances of patronage: with diminishing means, it made sense to concentrate resources and activity on embellishing the book that Orthodox theology held to be an image of God. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the illuminated Gospel lectionary, with its texts organized to suit the needs of the church year, had established a special place for itself. After 1261, however, patrons preferred instead to commission a full text of the Gospels, marked with and indexed for liturgical readings.[28] At the same time, scribes were regularly called on to update older Gospel books for Palaiologan users by the addition of liturgical information (see, for example, the work of the scribe Ioasaph at the Hodegon Monastery in the superlative twelfth-century *Codex Ebnerianus*).[29] Occasionally other books, such as psalters, could also be updated, as in the case of a manuscript from Dionysiou Monastery (Ms. 65), in which the original tables (ca. 1100?) used to calculate the date of Easter were erased, and new tables, commencing in 1313, were inserted.[30] In this instance, only the leaves at either end of the book (including the images) were retained, while the psalter text, the overwhelming content of the book, was newly supplied.

The few Gospel books that have extensive narrative cycles have attracted particular attention (see fig. 9.4 and cat. 162). This interest has largely been generated by broader art-historical investigations concerning the origins of the Renaissance in Italy,

Fig. 9.8. The Second Ode of Moses: Moses and Joshua. Octateuch (Leviticus–Ruth), tempera on vellum, ca. 1275–1300. The Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, Greece (Ms. 602, fols. 327v–328r)

specifically the possibility that, in the last decades of the thirteenth century, Florentine and Sienese artists could have consulted books like these for their Byzantine Gospel iconography and for the smoothly executed style of drapery and flesh painting (for example, employing a characteristic greenish shadow tone in the flesh). (See the essay by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff in this publication.)

In addition to Gospel books, Byzantine illluminators produced new versions of existing manuscripts, an activity that modern scholarship has all too easily dismissed as mere copying, as well as new versions of hitherto unilluminated texts, the novelty of which modern scholars too readily overlook because the results appear so traditional. This combination or coexistence of tradition and innovation in manuscript illumination was determined by the Orthodox position on religious images: the use of images was justified by the authority of tradition dating from apostolic times, but innovation for its own sake (novelty, *kainotomia*) was condemned as heretical.[31] Most

Fig. 9.9. Opening of the Prophetical Book of Haggai. Prophet book, tempera on vellum, ca. 1250–75. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Vat. gr. 1153, fols. 54v–55r)

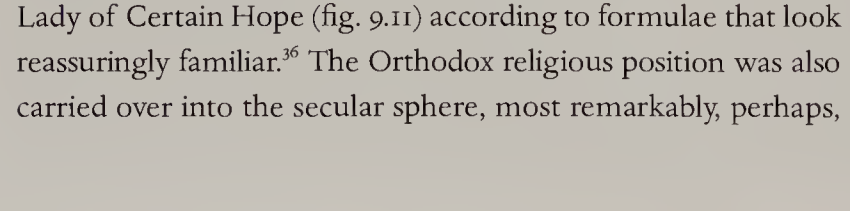
Fig. 9.10. David as Shepherd with Melody and David as King with Wisdom and Prophecy. Psalter, tempera on vellum, ca. 1300. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Vat. Palat. gr. 381[B], fols. 1v–2r)

Byzantine art was made, indeed had to be made, within very demanding parameters.

Palaiologan consumers did not merely want images derived from earlier models; on occasion they wanted entire books derived from existing models. An intriguing example is the Octateuch from Vatopedi Monastery (fig. 9.8), an "improved" version of a twelfth-century Octateuch now in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 746) with the addition of ideas derived from the tenth-century Joshua Roll (Vat. Palat. gr. 431).[32] Although the text of the earlier Octateuch was copied, mistakes and all, the miniatures were much more carefully executed than in the original twelfth-century work. In two Prophet books, a tenth-century model was copied textually, page for page, but its images of the prophets were "improved" beyond recognition (see figs. 9.1, 9.9).[33] Sometimes the situation could be reversed. Two psalters (cat. 159 and fig. 9.10)[34] were made with images that seem to show a direct knowledge of the tenth-century Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, gr. 139), but neither copied the

Fig. 9.11. Constantine Palaiologos and Eirene (left), parents of the foundress Theodora and her husband, John Synadenos (right). Typikon for the Monastery of Our Lady of Certain Hope, tempera on vellum, ca. 1300 (with later additions). Lincoln College, Oxford (Ms. Gr. 35, fols. 1v–2r)

Fig. 9.12. Birth of John the Baptist. Tomič Psalter, tempera on vellum, ca. 1360. State Historical Museum, Moscow (SHM 2752, fols. 270v–271r)



врагы на́шихъ. и́изрыгы
въсѣ́хъ не́нави́дящихъ на́.

Fig. 9.13. Instructions to the artist in lower margin of fol. 271r (detail, fig. 9.12)

text of that model. Of particular interest is a marginal psalter (so called because broad spaces were left in the margins for the purpose of inserting images), made probably shortly before 1300 (cat. 160); its skillful imitation of an eleventh-century book is so convincing that its Palaiologan date was not recognized until the 1970s. When considered in detail, however, its images show a surprising independence from eleventh-century analogues.

New texts were also illustrated in the Palaiologan era. Some of these, such as the Akathistos Hymn to the Mother of God, were by no means recent compositions. Indeed, the Akathistos had been in use since the sixth century without any trace of images. The new cycle (for example, cat. 172), put together from standard Byzantine formulae, looks entirely traditional and thus escapes any charge of novelty.[35] Author and donor portraits could be employed to "illustrate" a range of much older texts, such as the works of Dionysios the Areopagite or the Hippocratic corpus (cat. 2), both mentioned above. Especially germane, since the maintenance of Orthodoxy is their subject, are the images supplied for the theological writings of John VI (cat. 171), also mentioned above. It was even possible to provide group portraits of the members of the family and community of the newly founded Constantinopolitan monastery of Our Lady of Certain Hope (fig. 9.11) according to formulae that look reassuringly familiar.[36] The Orthodox religious position was also carried over into the secular sphere, most remarkably, perhaps, in the large cycle of images provided for the copy of the Alexander Romance, made in the second half of the fourteenth century for an emperor of Trebizond, probably Alexios III Komnenos (cat. 32). Although these look authentically traditional, they have no precise forebears.[37]

Outside Byzantine Lands

While the political power of Byzantium in these centuries may have been moderate at best and ultimately nonexistent, its cultural influence remained remarkably strong: its neighbors continued to desire to learn from and in some cases physically appropriate its cultural products or employ its artists. The gradual loss of the heartland of Byzantium to the Ottomans or to other rivals initiated a "post-Byzantine" era. Some of the complex phenomena that resulted are reflected in manuscript illumination.

An eloquent witness to the cultural power of Byzantine illumination is the Bulgarian Gospels of Czar Ivan Alexander, now in the British Library, London (cat. 27), dated 1356. The model for the layout and images, but not the text, was an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript of unusual type, now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 74), the so-called frieze Gospels, with numerous unframed images inserted in spaces left by the scribe in the body of the text. Whereas the Paris manuscript has images of an anonymous abbot with each of the evangelists,

the London manuscript has Ivan Alexander and a two-page dynastic portrait of the czar and his family loosely resembling that in the Dionysios the Areopagite manuscript (see cat. 27 and fig. 2.5). This reformulation of the Byzantine model, with its notable, and added, connotations of rulership, prompted four further copies, based either on the Gospels of Czar Ivan Alexander itself or conceivably on a Slavonic intermediary, to be made for Moldavian and Wallachian rulers between the 1560s and 1617.[38] This "translation" and use of a remarkable Byzantine model has various parallels. In the twelfth century, the Paris manuscript had itself already been copied in two high-quality Georgian books: the Second Djruči Gospels and the Gelati Gospels (Georgian National Art Museum, Tbilisi, Mss. H. 1667 and Q. 908). And in the late thirteenth century, the second surviving Byzantine frieze Gospels, now in Florence (Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ms. Laur. Plut. 6.23), was also taken as a model outside the Byzantine sphere.[39] Its images were copied in Armenian Cilicia in a Gospel book, now in Erevan (Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Armenian Manuscripts, Ms. 7651), which adapted the model's layout, giving the images much greater prominence and frequently using the broad margins. This Armenian Gospels was the work of six artists, who divided their work by quires but left the task unfinished. The illustrative cycle was completed in 1320 by a seventh artist, the prolific Sargis Pidzak, who seems, however, not to have had access to the Florence Gospels.[40]

The precise connection of manuscripts to Byzantine models, especially when the latter are no longer extant, raises issues that require delicate handling. For example, also produced for Czar Ivan Alexander, and with an image of the ruler dressed as a Byzantine emperor, is the translation of the late-twelfth-century Greek *Chronicle of Manasses* (Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican, Ms. slav. 2), dated 1344–45.[41] Its numerous images may reflect a lost Byzantine source, but another Bulgarian manuscript from a similar context, the fourteenth-century Tomič Psalter (figs. 9.12, 9.13), suggests an alternative hypothesis.[42] Executed on watermarked Italian paper about 1360, its illustrative scheme appears to be an adaptation of a Byzantine marginal psalter, but with the images inserted in spaces left in the text. The effect, because the images are unframed and lack a gold background, is more like a frieze Gospels. Evidence that these images were specifically devised for their present context, however, rather than being merely copied from some lost Byzantine source, is shown by the survival of instructions to the artist in the lower margins of some of the pages (most have been trimmed off by the binder's knife).[43] For example, beneath the image of the Birth of John the Baptist at the Ode of Zacharias (fig. 9.12), on folio 271r, can be read: "Here [make] the birth of the Prodromos and the prophet Zacharias seated writing on a small tablet." These texts are all in Greek, demonstrating not only that the artists were Greek-speaking (i.e., Byzantine) but that they were constructing the cycle ad hoc. Yet the manuscript looks entirely familiar because it is assembled from standard visual formulae.

Somewhat different in its approach is the Kiev Psalter (cat. 161),[44] dated 1397, a Russian version of a Byzantine marginal psalter that must have been very much like one now at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (cat. 160). According to the colophon, it was copied in Kiev by the archdeacon Spiridon for Mikhail, bishop of Smolensk. Compared with the Walters manuscript, the Kiev Psalter is of very large format (twice as big), but the width of the margins and the dimensions of the images are similar. Hence the layout of the page looks more normal than it does in the Walters manuscript, and the miniatures are less dominant. Though it is safe to assume that many books have been lost since 1397, is it necessary to explain the details that distinguish the Kiev Psalter from the Walters manuscript by postulating the existence of yet another eleventh-century Byzantine marginal psalter? The question is best left open, given the range of artistic approaches to copying demonstrated in the Bulgarian material.

The boundary between Byzantine and other cultures was always a porous one, as is indicated by a number of bilingual Greco-Latin manuscripts. Many of these were once thought to date from the Latin Empire, but the situation is now recognized as more complex. In some cases it is clear that the Latin text is an addition to a significantly earlier Greek book. A case in point is the religious romance of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (fig. 9.14), in which a late-eleventh-century illuminated book was supplied with a marginal Latin translation, probably in the late thirteenth century.[45] Two true bilingual manuscripts are an unfinished Gospels in Paris (cat. 162) and the Hamilton Psalter in Berlin (cat. 77), another version of a marginal psalter. Although both have a two-column arrangement, with the Greek always at the left, and are bound in gatherings of ten leaves (rather than the usual eight), they are otherwise very different. In the Berlin psalter five quires in the middle of the Psalms give the Latin text priority over the Greek. Furthermore, this manuscript has something of the character of an assemblage, for it contains quires of Latin liturgical texts as well as three quires of entirely French material. The famous frontispiece images, on folios 39–44, showing an unidentified family kneeling around the Hodegetria icon, are codicologically distinct from the rest of the book, and hence the evidence they offer must be treated with caution.[46] Exactly how, when, where, and why such a body of material should have been assembled remain puzzling questions.

Bilingual manuscripts also survive from areas outside Byzantine control, such as southern Italy, that had been bilingual for centuries before 1261. Two Vatican manuscripts of the Psalms and the Gospels (Vat. gr. 1070 and Vat. barb. gr. 541), dated 1291 and 1292 and written by Abbot Romanos of the Monastery of San Benedetto Ullano in Valle dei Crati, Calabria, provide an interesting case. Both texts are laid out in two

Fig. 9.14. Barlaam Instructing Ioasaph. *Barlaam and Ioasaph,* tempera on vellum, ca. 1075–1100 (Greek text and miniatures), ca. 1250–1300 (Latin text in margin). The Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece (Ms. 463, fols. 19v–20r)

columns, with the Greek always at the left. Worth considering, in my view, is that Abbot Romanos not only may have written the Greek text as well as some of the Latin, but also may have executed the headpieces, the display script, and the decorated initials to both (fig. 9.15),[47] even though the scripts are different and the decoration corresponds to differing traditions. It also seems possible that the principal Greek scribe of the bilingual Paris manuscript (cat. 162) might, like Abbot Romanos, have been his own principal Latin scribe.

Most bilingual Byzantine manuscripts show a linguistic, but not what might be called a "visual bilingualism," though such an unusual accommodation was sometimes possible. A fascinating example from Candia (Iráklion) on Venetian Crete is provided by a copy of Fredericus de Venetiis's vernacular Commentary on the Apocalypse, dated 1415 (cat. 317). At the start are two images: Saint John's vision of the Son of Man (Revelation 1:12ff.) on Patmos, and Saint John dictating to Prochorus. The latter image is purely Byzantine in appearance and has been translated, as it were, from a Gospel manuscript. However, the traditional Byzantine evangelist portrait is set within an initial "A" that is purely Italian in aspect. On the facing page, the reclining Saint John is again a Byzantine figure; the walled town representing

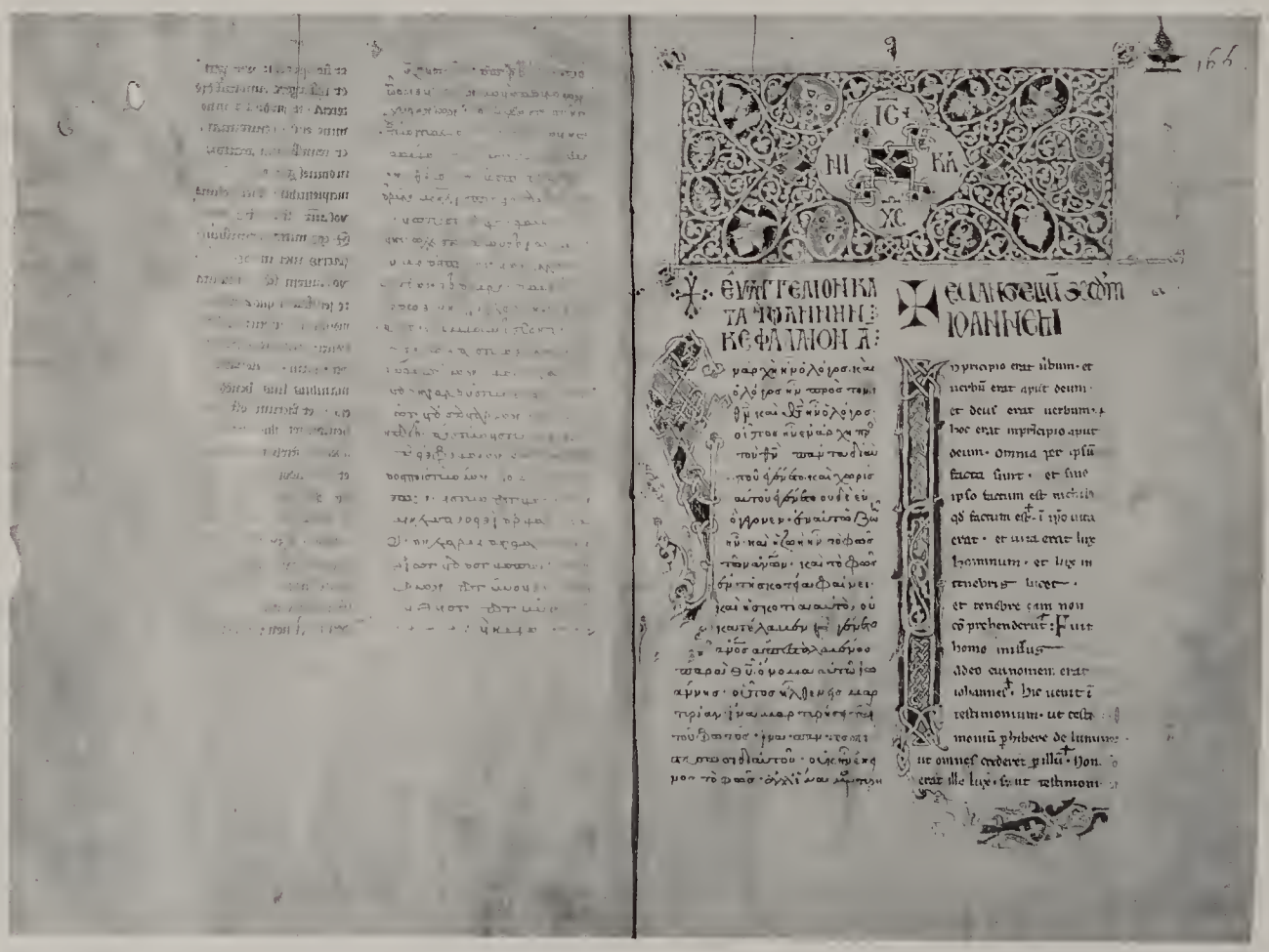


Fig. 9.15. Headpiece with Greek and Latin display scripts and initials by the Greek scribe Abbot Romanos (?). Tempera on vellum, 1292. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Vat. Barb. gr. 541, fols. 165v–166r)

Patmos, however, looks Italian, while the visionary man with a sword in his mouth between seven candles comes from the illustrated Anglo-French Apocalypse tradition. Here, therefore, is a genuine attempt to reconcile or synthesize differing artistic traditions.[48]

A "Palaiologan Renaissance"?

In view of the extraordinary revival in the visual arts that the Byzantine world enjoyed, especially in the decades around 1300, and the rigorous study of ancient texts by scholars such as Demetrios Triklinios and Maximos Planoudes, the period is often referred to (sometimes with a romantic sense of loss) as the "Palaiologan Renaissance" or the "last Byzantine Renaissance." Within the perspective of this exhibition, however, with its terminal date of 1557, the use of the highly charged term "Renaissance" is misleading. Byzantine scribes and scholars, churchmen and politicians, artists and entrepreneurs certainly contributed in vital ways to that self-conscious phenomenon known as "the (Italian) Renaissance." At home, however, their interest in the past was molded by traditional Orthodox theology and practice, not by Renaissance humanism.

Illuminated manuscripts exemplify the point. A Byzantine miniature from about 1300 can look quite strikingly like a miniature produced in, say, northern Italy at about the same time (see, for example, cat. 282), but the same cannot be said for two miniatures made about 1550. Italian artists had by that time explored the most astonishing trompe-l'oeil devices in decorating both manuscripts and printed books, suggesting visually, for instance, that the written part of the page, curled to reveal its underside, was tied or pinned in place like a rough sheet of parchment. Because of the Orthodox position on images, this kind of visual pun was unthinkable in Byzantine or even post-Byzantine illumination. Similarly, in the West, classical motifs of the most complex kind and amazingly detailed architectural fantasies were constructed with single-vanishing-point perspective. Giulio Clovio (b. 1498 in Croatia), Vasari's "piccolo e nuovo Michelangelo" (a new Michelangelo in miniature) and the mentor of the Cretan El Greco, filled manuscript books with extraordinary combinations of naturalistic, if muscular, male and female nudes, armor, fictive medallions, miniature versions of giant altarpieces, and much else. In 1550, indeed by 1450, the situation in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world of illuminated manuscript production was utterly different from that in Italy, notably because it seemed to be unchanged since 1300 or even earlier. In fact, to judge by manuscript illumination, the Palaiologan revival and its legacy represented in important ways a "Counter-Renaissance."

156, front

156, back

156. Book Cover of the Bardzrberd Gospels

Armenian (probably Hṙomkla, Cilcia, now Rumkale, Turkey, on the Euphrates), 1254
Gilt-silver sheet, repoussé and chased; pierced bosses, gemstones
27 x 21 cm (10⅝ x 8¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Armenian, The Gospel was realized in 1254 at the expense of Step'anos, bishop in the service of Katholikos Kostandin[1]
PROVENANCE: From Sis, Armenian Cilicia. Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, Armenia, Antelias, Lebanon

This Armenian book cover may be a unique example of a luxury cover made not from a single metal plaque but rather from several gilt-silver fittings. In the center is a cross depicting the Crucifixion with busts of the Virgin and Saint John on the roundels of the horizontal arms and of angels on the vertical arms. In the corner pieces, called gammata (from gamma, the third letter of the Greek alphabet), are full-length representations of the evangelists offering their Gospel books to Christ. The arms of the corner pieces terminate in roundel busts of the apostles Peter and Paul (at the top), Bartholomew and Andrew (on the left), James and Simon (on the right), and Philip and Thomas (at the bottom). Similar gammata (which form a cross when joined together) decorate a Gospel cover depicted in an Armenian miniature and are described in Byzantine sources. Examples are found on covers of manuscripts from Cyprus, Sinai, and Mount Athos (see fig. 5.5).[2] The iconography of full-length figures of evangelists derives from manuscript frontispieces, the earliest of which dates from eleventh-century Byzantium, and the design recurs on Crusader, Syrian, Coptic, and Arab examples.[3] At the same time, full-length depictions are not unknown in the Armenian tradition, as can be seen on a single-plaque Gospel book cover made for the same katholikos in Hṙomkla.[4] Katholikos Kostandin I (1221–1267) is perhaps the best-known Armenian patron of the arts, whose name is associated with nearly all the Armenian manuscripts of the period.

The iconography of the back cover reflects the mingling of Byzantine and Western elements typical of the Crusader period. The central four-lobed medallion depicts Jesus and the corner pieces show the symbols of the evangelists. This disposition recalls the frontispieces of a group of Byzantine manuscripts showing the *Majestas Domini* (Christ in Majesty) that are associated with the regions of Syria and Cyprus in the second half of the twelfth century.[5] Here, Christ is depicted as the enthroned Pantokrator, as in a Crusader manuscript of about 1200.[6] Christ in Majesty was a particularly common subject for Western manuscripts and their silver covers, the corners of which regularly depicted the evangelists' distinctive attributes from as early as the ninth to tenth century.[7] The adoption of the symbols in Armenian manuscript painting in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century is thought to be a result of exposure to manuscripts brought to the Crusader East by Benedictine and Franciscan missionaries.[8]

AB

1. Agémian 1991, p. 8.
2. Der Nersessian 1977, fig. 90; Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, pp. 184–87, no. 66, fig. 681; Paris 1992–93, pp. 468–69, no. 360; Lambros 1895–1900, vol. 1, p. 320, no. 3553; Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 4, p. 1—1672, the register is dated 1449 but refers to earlier lectionaries. See also ibid., vol. 1, p. 358, an eleventh-century cover with gammata depicting apostles and other saints, presumably in bust.
3. Folda 1995a, pp. 344–47; Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, pp. 176–80, no. 63, fig. 665; Hunt 1998, vol. 1, pp. 130–49, figs. 2–7. The practice of decorating covers with cruciform gammata survives until the eighteenth century but is associated with evangelists seated before their lecterns; see Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, figs. 385, 656.
4. Der Nersessian 1973a, vol. 1, p. 716; Thomas F. Mathews, "The Art of the Armenian Manuscript," in New York–Baltimore 1994, pp. 46, 60; London 2001, pp. 125–26, no. 36.
5. Carr 1982a; Carr 1982b, pp. 63–66, fig. 56.
6. Toulouse 1997, pp. 302, 311.
7. Lasko 1994, figs. 122, 170, 238–239, 289–290.
8. Der Nersessian and Mekhitarian 1986, pp. 35–36; Helen C. Evans, "Cilician Manuscript Illumination: The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries," in New York–Baltimore 1994, pp. 70–71, 74.

REFERENCES: Der Nersessian 1973a, vol. 1, pp. 705–21, vol. 2, figs. 474–475; Velmans 1979, p. 132, fig. 23; Agémian 1991, pp. 7–8, pls. 1–2; Halle 2000, pp. 61–64; London 2001, p. 125, no. 35; Anna Ballian, "The Treasury of the Monastery of St. Sophia at Sis," in Athens 2002, pp. 75–82.

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157. Binding with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis

Northern Greek or southern Balkan (?) (Thessalonike?), late 14th–early 15th century
Chased and engraved silver-gilt, nailed on wood core; champlevé niello and enamel on silver gilt
34.5 x 26.5 cm (13⅝ x 10⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: The two images in the center and all the figures on the frames are identified by inscriptions in Greek[1]
PROVENANCE: Treasury of San Marco, Venice, listed in the inventories of 1524 (no. 15?), 1580 (no. 18?), and 1606 (no. 19?); transferred to the Biblioteca Marciana, November 23, 1801.[2]
CONDITION: The binding was removed from the manuscript after (?) 1886. A contemporary photograph published by Pasini shows that it has not been altered since; two plaques on the spine were already missing, revealing joined Greek letters A and E.
Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Cl. Gr. I, 55; 967)

The front and back of this precious metalwork book binding present exactly the same compositional scheme: a central image framed by small figural bas-reliefs alternating with geometric and floral ornaments. The central scene on the front cover is the Crucifixion, and the one on the back cover presents the Anastasis. Directly above and below the central scenes are two narrow bands: on the front cover there appear busts of the archangels Michael and Gabriel (above) and Saints Hypatios (rather than Ignatius) and Athanasios (below); on the back cover, busts of the archangels Michael and Uriel (above) and Saints George and Demetrios (below). The frames on both covers are analogous. At the top center of each there is the Hetoimasia with, on the front cover, figures of the Four Evangelists and of seven apostles (Peter, Paul, Andrew, Bartholomew, James, Philip, Simon), and, on the back cover, figures of seven prophets (David, Solomon, Elias, probably Elisha,[3] Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel) and four bishop-saints (John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory the Theologian, Nicholas). The articulated spine is made of silver champlevé plaques decorated with stylized floral and geometric patterns in niello and enamel, connected by flexible chain link. These are attached by means of hinges to two narrow sheets of thin metal that are, in turn, nailed to each cover.

Above all, the binding was conceived as a kind of diptych juxtaposing the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, key episodes of humanity's salvation that were announced by the prophets, experienced by the apostles, and recorded by the evangelists. The empty throne of the Hetoimasia surrounded by the instruments of the Passion symbolizes the expectation of Christ's return at the Last Judgment. The Redemption iconography was in keeping with the manuscript, a Greek missal for use in Constantinople, written by one Sofronios in Ferrara and completed in 1439, which was still contained in the binding in 1801.[4] Found on many other missals from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this iconography remained popular even in later centuries.[5] It can be seen on a second complete binding in the Treasury of San Marco and another at the Iveron Monastery, Mount Athos,[6] as well as on the remaining top cover of a binding from Ohrid (today in Sofia) with a Crucifixion[7] and the bottom cover of one (reworked in the fourteenth or fifteenth century) at the Great Lavra, Mount Athos, also featuring an Anastasis.[8]

That the binding was probably not made for the manuscript of 1439 that it contained in 1801 is indicated by the metal strips with stylized interlace design bordering the covers. These are flush with the framing plaques, the corners of which, curiously, are missing. It would seem that these strips were originally folded over the edges of the covers and the spine. This alteration does not seem to have been due to the dismantling of the binding because it fits the exisiting wood boards. The covers appear instead to have been enlarged with lateral straps to accommodate a slightly larger and thicker manuscript than the original one—a modification that would also explain the extra metal strips between the edges of the covers and the articulated spine.

The binding raises still other questions. The iconography is typically Byzantine and the style a little ponderous. But, as André Grabar has pointed out, a non-Byzantine origin seems suggested by the inscriptions in faulty Greek, the unusual crowns of the prophet-kings in the Anastasis, the angularity of the interlace bordering the covers, the decoration, and—most disconcerting of all—the technique employed in the plaques on the back cover.[9] These features point to a relatively late date, as does the use, particularly in the central plaques, of the stippling

technique, which originated in the West and which cannot be earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century. But do these objections necessarily suffice to attribute the work to Venetian or Italian craftsmen working in the Greek manner? Stippling and Gothic crowns can also be seen on the Ohrid binding in Sofia, which is signed by a Greek goldsmith (probably from Thessalonike).[10] The framing elements of that binding bear the same interlaced geometric designs as those that may be seen on many silver-gilt icon frames of the Palaiologan dynasty (cat. 150). The angular character of the interlace on the borders is also not an isolated case: an almost identical example may be seen framing a mosaic of Saint Ann at the Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos.[11] As for the plaques on the spine, the technique and decoration, combined with the use of niello and/or enamel, although unknown in the Gothic West, may be found on Byzantine rings from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, including those of Laskarina Palaiologina at the Benaki Museum,[12] one in London (cat. 15), and those from the former collection of Helena Stathatos in Athens, which were said to have come from Thessalonike.[13] All these factors suggest, perhaps, a workshop in northern Greece or the southern Balkans, possibly Thessalonike. In any case, this binding clearly demonstrates the hybrids resulting from contacts between the Byzantine and Italian worlds under the Palaiologan emperors. JD

1. Pasini 1886, pp. 117–18; Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, no. 39.
2. Gallo 1967, pp. 78, 291, 304, 308.
3. Rather than Elias, which would be a repetition (Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, p. 53).
4. There was a mix-up in Hahnloser (1965–71, vol. 2, no. 39) concerning the two manuscripts 966 and 967 and their bindings, Gr. I, 53 and 55. The manuscript written in Ferrara in 1439 (967; 32.5 x 26 cm) was attached in 1801 to the present binding (Gr. I, 55), not to binding Gr. I, 53, which at 31.5 by 25 centimeters is too small for manuscript 967 and into which manuscript 966 (30 x 22.5 cm) was attached.
5. See Velmans 1979.
6. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, no. 38; Thessalonike 1997, no. 9.20.
7. National Museum of History, 29201; see Rome 2000, no. 74.
8. Velmans 1979, p. 124, fig. 14.
9. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, p. 54.
10. Durand 2004.
11. A. Grabar 1975b, no. 23, fig. 60.
12. Athens 1985–86, no. 213.
13. Coche de la Ferté 1957, nos. 21–30.

REFERENCES: Valentinelli 1867, pp. 345–46; Pasini 1886, no. 14, pp. 117–18, pl. 12; Mioni 1960–85, vol. 2, p. 71; Venice 1961, no. 15; Athens 1964, no. 520; Gallo 1967, pl. 45; Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, no. 39, pl. 39; Venice 1974, no. 126; Velmans 1979, pp. 125–27, figs. 17–18; Venice 1993a, nos. 4, 9; Venice 1995, nos. 41, 42; Melbourne 1997, no. 18.

158, front

158, back

158. The Four Gospels with Book Covers

Manuscript
Serbian, beginning of the 16th century
Paper, 1 + 358 fols.
42 x 27 cm (16½ x 10⅝ in.)
Headpieces on fols. 1, 5, 8, 100, 102, 104, 162, 163, 164, 166, 172, and 272
Covers
Serbian, ca. 1556–57
Gilt silver, embossed and engraved
43 x 26 cm (16⅞ x 10¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: Along the edge of the front cover, in Slavonic, + Изволенїемь Ѡ(т)ца и поспѣше [њем Сина] [a damaged section] . . . [х]рамъ Оусп҃ениа прес(ве)тен влад(и)уице на/шеи Б(огороди)це въ Подъкрилн горь Кѵчан [a damaged section] немь нгѵменѣм Макарїи рѵкою многогрѣшнаго Кондо Влъка. Помени Г(оспод)и раба своего Никоѵ҃ приложшаго е҃ дѵкать. И кто що приложит, да и/ма мьздѵ҃ бь д(е)нь праведнаго бъзданіа. (By the will of the Father and with the help [of the Son] . . . to the temple of the Dormition of our most holy lady the Mother of God at Podkrilja gora [in] Kučan (?) . . . its abbot Macarius, by the hand of the much sinful Kondo Vlko. Remember, O Lord, Thy servant Nicholas, who donated 5 ducats. And whoever donates something, may he be rewarded on the Day of just retribution). Along the edge of the back cover stretches the engraved text of a *sticheron* (vesperal hymn sung after a psalm verse) on Psalm 140 (141) for the feast day of the Dormition of the Virgin, + Ѡ дивное оубо. Источникь жизнь бь гро/бе се полагаеть и лѣствица къ неб(е)сы гробь бивлеть. Веселн се Гесиманїе. Б(огороди)це г(ве)ты доме. Вѕѵпїмь вѣрнын, / Габрїила имоуще унионачелника. Ѡбрадованна . . . / и се с тобою Г(оспод)ь подае миробы тобою велию милость (O marvelous wonder! The source of life is laid in the tomb, and the tomb itself becomes a ladder to heaven. Make glad, O Gethsemane, thou sacred abode of the Mother of God. Come, O ye faithful, and with Gabriel to lead us let us cry: "Hail, thou who art full of grace: the Lord is with thee, granting the world through thee great mercy").[1] This is followed by the partially preserved prayer, Прими М(а)ти б(о)жиа мол . . . ѣею иже о Х(ристо)г. (Accept, O Mother of God, [this] supplication . . . just as Christ . . .)
PROVENANCE: The manuscript of the Gospels was copied for Vitovnica Monastery at the beginning of the sixteenth century and transferred to the Bešenovo Monastery in Fruška Gora, Vojvodina (Serbia and Montenegro), at a later time.
Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade (355)

Worked in low relief on the front cover are scenes of the twelve Great Feasts, arranged in four rows divided by regular arcades: the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, the Presentation at the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Resurrection (Descent of the Holy Spirit), the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Transfiguration. The back cover features a low-relief composition of the Dormition of the Virgin, the major feast of the Vitovnica Monastery in Serbia. The Virgin is depicted lying in state, surrounded by clergy, bishops, and angels. To the right stands a man who uses his sword to cut off the hand of Euphonios, who tried to overturn the Virgin's bier. In the middle is an image of Christ holding his mother's soul. The upper central section contains the open door of Heaven with a bust of the Savior. The upper part also features images of the twelve apostles.

We lack reliable data about the artist, a coppersmith named Kondo Vuk who lived at the time of the hegoumenos Makarije. He was supposed to have been Greek or Armenian. In addition to working for the Vitovnica Monastery, he also produced liturgical vessels for Dečani Monastery. The artistic design of the composition of twelve Great Feasts on the front cover of the Gospel book of Vitovnica Monastery is unrivaled in the coppersmith and goldsmith craftsmanship of the epoch. The impact of the works of Kondo Vuk is visible on the revetment of the Gospel book in Sarajevo and the revetment of the Gospel book in the monasteries of Savina in Montenegro and Petkovica in Fruska Gora.

SM

REFERENCES: Mirković 1931, pp. 14–15, pl. 15; S. Radojčić 1950, pl. 36a; Radojković 1958; Radojković 1966, pp. 110–14, 116 (repr.); Madrid 1981, p. 46, no. 63; Radojković and Milovanović 1981, no. 97; Mileusnić 2001, p. 60.

159. Leaf from a Psalter: King David Standing between Female Personifications of Wisdom and Prophecy

Byzantine, second half of the 13th century
Tempera and gold on parchment; 4 fols.
185 x 130 mm (7¼ x 5⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: Above the figures, Σοφία, Δαυΐδ, Προφητία (Wisdom, David, Prophecy); in the open

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book held by David, [Ὁ Θ(εό)ς, τὸ] κϱ[ίμα] σου τῷ βασιλ[εῖ] δὸς καὶ τὴν δη[και]οσύ[νη] ν [*sic*] σου τῷ ὑι<ῷ τ>οῦ βασιλέος [*sic*] (Psalm 71[72]:1, "Give the king your justice, O God, and your righteousness to a king's son")
PROVENANCE: Gedeon, administrator of the Sinai dependencies on Crete (presented 1492); Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai (removed 1845 or 1850); the Reverend Porfirii Uspenskii (presented 1883; d. 1885); Imperial Public Library (now National Library of Russia), Saint Petersburg.
CONDITION: The miniatures are abraded (especially the faces of David on fol. 1r and Prophecy on fol. 2r) and flaked. They were conserved in 1970–71 by G. Z. Bykova.
National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg (Ms. gr. 269)

This leaf (fol. 2r) originally belonged to a psalter, now Sinai Cod. gr. 38, whose bold, florid lettering resembles calligraphic hands of the late eleventh century. Although contemporary with the copying of the text, the headpieces and zoomorphic initials preceding Psalms 1, 50, 77, and Ode I (fols. 4r, 103r, 156r, 305r) use motifs that were fashionable about 1125–50. The discrepancy between script and ornament indicates the manuscript's eclectic character. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 interrupted the tradition of luxury bookmaking centered in the capital.[1] Calligraphy and miniature painting revived only after the Palaiologan restoration of 1261 and were, at that point, necessarily thrown back upon earlier and often disparate prototypes.

The present miniature is identical in composition to the corresponding image in the tenth-century Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 139, fol. 7v). In both, the same Psalm text referring to kingship is quoted, and King David is dressed as a Byzantine emperor.[2] Such political overtones made former artistic models desirable at a time when a new dynasty was establishing itself in the newly regained imperial capital.[3]

Three other miniatures from the Sinai manuscript, two now in Saint Petersburg (fols. 1r, 3r) and one in the original volume (fol. 155v), also repeat compositions from the Paris Psalter. The artist copied faithfully, yet could not avoid the dense colors and massive, somewhat angular forms specific to late-thirteenth-century Byzantine painting.[4] His task was complicated by the size of the manuscript, more than two times smaller than the Paris one. While the latter is a representative volume containing extensive theological commentaries, the Sinai Psalter is a simpler book for personal use. Accordingly, the miniature that was once on its last page (Saint Petersburg, fol. 4r) has no tenth-century counterpart. It shows the enthroned Virgin adored by two angels, a composition usually placed in the half-dome of church apses and meant for direct religious contemplation.[5] Here, the painter's own manner comes fully to the fore. It is closely paralleled by the evangelist portraits and ornament of the Gospel book Lavra A 76, a leaf from which is in the present exhibition (cat. 170).

GRP

1. Prato 1981.
2. On the significance of the scene, see Buchthal 1974.
3. See the essay by John Lowden in this publication, fig. 9.9.
4. Otto Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologian Art," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 143–48.
5. Gerstel 1999, pp. 10–11, figs. 20, 25, 43, 46.

REFERENCES: Weitzmann 1957; Beneshevich 1965, vol. 1, pp. 609–10; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, pp. 23–24, no. 895 (with bibl.); Cutler 1984, pp. 44–45, 85–86, nos. 27, 46 (with bibl.).

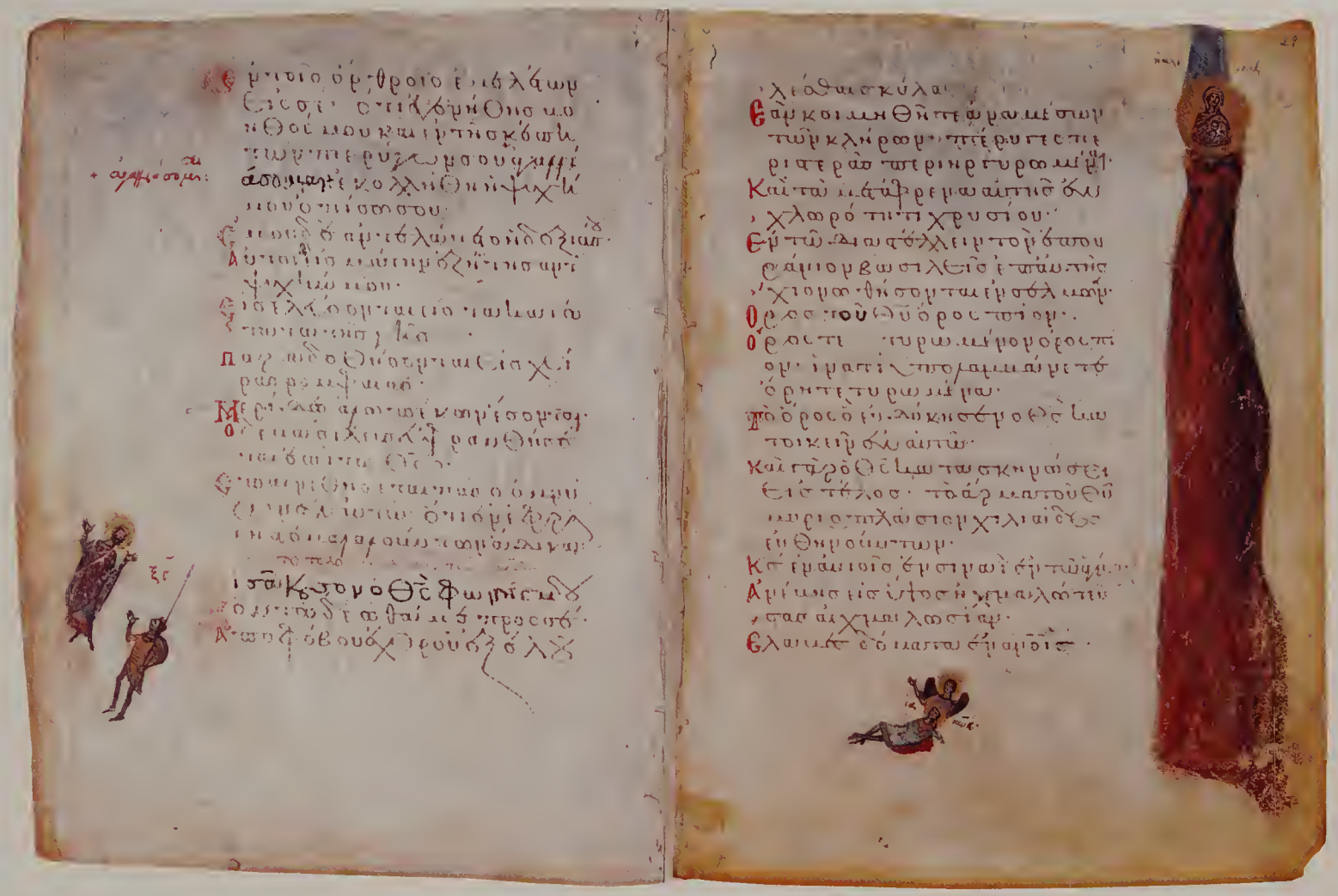
160. The Walters Marginal Psalter

Constantinople (?), ca. 1275–1300
Parchment; 102 fols.
Folio 21.8 x 16.5 cm (8⅝ x 6½ in.); text block 13.5 x 8.5 cm (5⅜ x 3⅜ in.)
PROVENANCE: A scribe, Theodoros Oikonomos of Mani, made some textual restorations on May 4, 1681; signature of Theodosio Cacuri Dattene (of Athens), August 11, 1724; library of the philhellene Frederick North, fifth earl of Guilford (d. 1827) on Corfu (Ionian University), no. 319; sold by Payne to Sir Thomas Phillipps, Ms. 10384; Phillipps sale, Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1946, lot 2.
CONDITION: From a much larger manuscript, 102 folios remain, with many bifolios cut and some miniatures excised. There are many signs of use, damage by humidity, and old repairs. Some later notes have been mostly erased. The manuscript is currently disbound.
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Ms. W. 733)

The Walters Marginal Psalter is an example of a Byzantine type of illuminated book that reserved a broad margin on every page, not for inserting a written commentary but exclusively for images that form a visual commentary on the text. There are eight surviving examples of such marginal psalters, three from the ninth century, one from the early and two from the late eleventh century, and two from about 1300. The Walters Psalter was long considered to be another eleventh-century product, but Anthony Cutler (1977) drew attention to Palaiologan features in both script and iconography and redated the psalter to the early fourteenth century. In this author's opinion a more likely date would be the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Though carbon dating of the parchment (to between 1165–1280 and 1170–1270) would be consistent with this dating,[1] what is striking is the almost total absence of conspicuously Palaiologan stylistic features in the images. The artist was able to suppress his own style completely in imitating the style of a model, one that most probably was from the second half of the eleventh century.

Folios 28v–29r (now pasted together but not originally a unit) portray two biblical episodes. At the left, at the opening of Psalm 63 (King James Version Psalm 64), David is seen in prayer ("Hear my voice . . . preserve my life from fear of the enemy"), and a soldier is gesturing toward him.[2] (On this same page, at the top, a marginal correction has been made to Psalm 62:7, written in cinnabar in the margin and later crudely entered in the text.) On the facing page, Jacob (identified by inscription) is portrayed dreaming while accompanied by an angel (a confusion perhaps with his later nocturnal wrestling with an angel, Genesis 32:24–29). The entire right margin is occupied by a tall mountain, topped by an image of the Mother of God and Christ Child, which is inscribed "the ladder," obviously a reference to the ladder of Jacob's dream (Genesis 28:12–15) rather than a literal image. A thin blue line leads from the mountain to the words of Psalm 67:16 (KJV 68, "the hill which God has delighted to dwell in"). This is an interesting variant on the illustrations found in the other marginal psalters, in which the mountain is observed by David and Daniel (see Daniel 2:34) and which lack any visual reference to Jacob's dream(s).[3]

On folios 41v–42r is the continuation from the preceding folio of Psalm 77 (KJV 78), verses 43–55. On the left page are two personifications of river gods above the figure of David, each of whom pours out a long stream, partly blue but mainly red (the plague that causes the rivers to turn to blood, verse 44). The rivers flow below between seven tall plants (perhaps the sycamores killed by frost, verse 47). In the bottom margin is a group of Egyptians with their hands to their faces in distress (perhaps because of God's anger, verse 49), with one man (the pharaoh?) seated before a stylized building. On the facing page is the Crossing of the Red Sea, with a red line leading to verse 53 ("the sea overwhelmed their enemies"). A haloed Aaron accompanies Moses and the Israelites, while the Egyptian soldiers are overwhelmed by the sea. Again, it is noteworthy that the Walters images are not close to those in any other marginal psalter except the Kiev Psalter (fols. 108v–109v).[4]



160, fols. 28v–29r

160, fols. 41v–42r

Such variety demonstrates that Palaiologan artists could be innovative while giving the appearance of faithful traditionalism.

JL

1. Quandt and Wallert 1998; see also unpublished notes by Jeffrey Anderson on file at the Walters Art Museum.
2. Contrast the image of Saint Theodosios assailed by a devil in the Theodore Psalter (British Library, London, Add. Ms. 19352), fol. 78r; and without the devil in the Barberini Psalter, in the Vatican (Vat. barb. gr. 372), fol. 104r (Barber 2000; Anderson et al. 1989).
3. In the Khludov Psalter (Historical Museum, Moscow, Ms. grec 129D), fol. 64r; Pantokrator (Athos, Ms. 61), fol. 83v; the Bristol Psalter (British Library, London,

161, fol. 171v

Add. Ms. 40731), fol. 105v; Theodore Psalter, fol. 84r; Barberini Psalter, fol. 110v; Hamilton Psalter, fol. 132v; Kiev Psalter, fol. 88v. To the bibliography in note 2 above, add Shchepkina 1977; Dufrenne 1966; Vzdornov 1978. Note that both the Pantokrator Psalter and Bristol Psalter lack the medallion with the Theotokos and Child.

4. See the bibliography above in notes 2–3 for the Khludov Psalter, fols. 77v–78r; Pantokrator, Athos, Ms. 61, fol. 107r–v; London, British Library, Add. Ms. 40731, fols. 129v–130v; Theodore Psalter, fol. 104r–v; Barberini Psalter, fols. 134v–135v; Hamilton Psalter, fol. 152r–v.

REFERENCES: Baltimore 1947, no. 698; Miner 1955; Athens 1964, no. 278; Munby 1968, p. 167; Princeton 1973, no. 29, pp. 121–23; Cutler 1977; Voicu and D'Alisera 1981, p. 194; Quandt and Wallert 1998, pp. 16–21, colorpls. 9–11.

161. The Kiev Psalter

Kiev, 1397
Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment; 229 fols.
30 x 24.5 cm (11⅞ x 9⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: In colophon on bottom of fol. 227r, in vermilion ink, in Slavonic, в л(е)тъ ѕ҃ц҃ѳ҃ списана быс(т) книга сї(я) Давыда ц(а)ря повелѣньемь смїренаг(о) бл(а)д(ы)кы Мнѯанла роукою грѣшнаго раба Спїрїдоньа протодїакона, а писана в градѣ в Кіевѣ (In the year 6905 [1397] the present Book of King David was copied at the behest of the humble Bishop Michael by the hand of the sinful servant [of God] Protodeacon Spyridon. It was written in the city of Kiev)

PROVENANCE:[1] Cathedral of Novgorod-Litowsk/Nowogródek (Novogrudok); Aleksander Sołtan; Jan Litawor Chreptowicz (Chrebtowicz), voivod of Nowogródek (d. ca. 1500); Abraham Ezofowicz, state treasurer (*podskarbi*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (d. 1519; donated 1518 to Church of Saint Nicholas, Wilno [Vilnius]); Professor M. K. Bobrovskii, Wilno (d. 1848; sold 1847); Władysław Trębicki, Linovo (d. 1861; sold); Count A. S. Zamoyski, Warsaw (d. 1874; sold); Prince P. P. Viazemskii, Saint Petersburg (d. 1888; sold 1881); Count S. D. Sheremetev, Saint Petersburg (d. 1918; donated 1881); Society of Lovers of Ancient Literature (OLDP), Saint Petersburg (transferred 1932); State Public Library, Leningrad (now National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg).

CONDITION: Folios 145 and 154–56 are made of seventeenth-century paper and replace losses in the original. The manuscript was restored in 1963 and is now kept disbound.

National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg (OLDP F.6)

This manuscript received its present name from the city where it was copied. It contains the 151 Psalms of King David and ten odes excerpted from other books of the Bible. On the last two leaves, which were originally blank, a fifteenth-century hand has added a short series of prayers to be said when partaking of holy water on the feast of Epiphany. Otherwise the psalter is of the "simple" type, with no prayers, troparia, or commentary added. The text represents the so-called Athonite redaction of the Slavonic Bible, which originated in the fourteenth century and subsequently assumed predominance among Orthodox Slavs.

The principal text is written in brown ink in a large, calligraphic, uncial script. The punctuation marks are in vermilion, the titles and paragraph initials in gold. Decorations include an illuminated frontispiece with a portrait of King David (fol. 1v), an illuminated headpiece (fol. 2r), and an illuminated initial at the beginning of each Psalm. The Psalms and odes are also accompanied by 301 marginal miniatures, either illustrations of subjects from biblical and Church history or literal illustrations of metaphorical phrases in the text. Most have short inscriptions. A red line connects each miniature with the passage to which it corresponds.

Shown here is folio 171v, which has a marginal scene depicting the creation of Adam in paradise; the two peacocks at the bottom of the page are also inhabitants of the Garden of Eden. The text illustrated is from Psalm 119:73, "Your hands have made and fashioned me." God is portrayed as Jesus Christ and labeled *Ic Xc*.

The Kiev Psalter follows a Byzantine tradition of illustration of which the surviving examples are nine Greek psalters of the ninth to the fourteenth century. It is particularly close to the early fourteenth-century manuscript Walters 733 (cat. 160). In Russia, the Kiev Psalter's artistic progeny include the Uglich Psalter of 1485, the so-called Godunov Psalters of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, and several seventeenth-century printed psalters with added marginal illustrations.[2] PM

1. According to an unpublished study by S. G. Žemaitis; see also Vzdornov 1978, pp. 10–20.
2. On the Uglich Psalters, see Popov 1993; on the Godunov Psalters, see Rozov 1970.

REFERENCES: Rozov 1970; Dufrenne 1978; Vzdornov 1978 (with complete facsimile of the manuscript and earlier bibl.); Popova 1984, pls. 28–29.

162, fol. 111r

162. Bilingual Gospel Book

Constantinople, ca. 1300
Parchment; 364 fols.
Folio 31.3 x 24 cm (12⅜ x 9½ in.); text (two columns) 21 x 16.8 cm (8¼ x 6⅝ in.); image of Saint Mark 27.5 x 23 cm (10⅞ x 9 in.)
INSCRIBED: *Pater Noster* in Armenian transcribed in Latin letters (fol. 364v), plus early (original?) quire numbering in Armenian as well as Greek
PROVENANCE: From the collection of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (d. 1550); French royal library, rebound 1602, with arms of Henry IV (r. 1589–1610).
CONDITION: Some pages are stained by water, with a transfer of inks between facing pages, but the manuscript has survived in generally good condition.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. grec 54)

This is one of a family of superbly decorated Gospel books, linked in part by similar evangelist portraits. With its parallel Greek and Latin texts it was once thought to date to the Latin Empire, 1204–61,[1] but an origin and date in Constantinople about 1300 now seem more likely for this large and imposing volume. It contains four very large evangelist portraits on separate sheets of parchment (a fifth full-page image once faced folio 1v, as shown by offsets of pigment); twenty-two finished miniatures scattered throughout the Gospel account; five further miniatures at various stages of completion (providing interesting evidence); and twenty-five spaces left for miniatures that were never begun. The disposition of the unfinished work shows that progress on the book was somewhat haphazard. The Latin text (always in the right column) was never completed. The presence of a large Gospel cycle has meant that the manuscript has been very frequently cited in iconographic studies. The research of Kathleen Maxwell (1984) has demonstrated that it is not a copy of Iveron 5, as used to be argued.

The image of the Nativity on folio 13v is located in a space left by the scribe and, like all the Gospel images, it extends across the two columns of text. Included are the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Approach of the Magi, and the Bathing of the Christ Child. Different colors are used for different passages in the two texts. Here, as elsewhere, the main narrative is in brilliant red (cinnabar?). The words of the magi are in dark brown ink, while the quotation from the prophet Micah is in blue. Other pages have an even more complex and varied color scheme. The scribe made great efforts to keep the texts precisely parallel, and at this early point was probably (in this author's view) writing both scripts himself (including the surprising *"Cristus [sic]"* on fol. 14r). Later the position becomes more complex, and a variety of hands can be recognized. The main scribe certainly had high-quality Byzantine training.[2] His Latin script has some Italian ("Bolognese") features. The questions of who would have wanted such a book (one with a nonfunctional set of canon tables) and how it would have been used remain open.[3] The strict paralleling of the texts would certainly be helpful to a learner of either language. Given also the presence of numerous images, we might think of Irene-Yolanda of Montferrat (d. 1317), married to Emperor Andronikos II in 1284, as a possible recipient (see cat. 7A).

The extraordinarily well preserved miniature of Saint Mark (fol. 111r) is on a separate bifolio of unruled parchment. The pigments, including the unusual turquoise hue, are bright and intense. The evangelist confronts the viewer and displays a book with a pseudo text. The image (like that of the other evangelists) is very large—notably larger than the book's text block—with hardly any surrounding blank parchment. It is striking that Mark lacks a halo or an inscription (as do the other evangelists), both odd omissions in a Byzantine book. The artist, however, is clearly the same hand as the one that supplied the Gospel images, which are fully integrated with the text. The images, unlike the text, are not in any sense "bilingual." JL

1. Weitzmann 1944.
2. Radiciotti 1996, p. 188, identifies him with Strategios, scribe of Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, Ms. XI.22, dated 1285, but the suggestion is unconvincing. A closer comparison is with the anonymous scribe of Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, Ms. 602; see also the similarity of hand B of the present Gospel book, fols. 234–243 (a quire) with the hand B of Vatopedi 602, in Lowden 1992, figs. 29, 31 (hands of Vatopedi 602).
3. Radiciotti 1996, pp. 193–95, has recently speculated that the union of the Greek and Latin churches after 1274 might have favored such a product.

REFERENCES: Bordier 1883, pp. 227–31; Omont 1929, pp. 47–48, pls. 90–96; Weitzmann 1944; Paris 1958, no. 79, pp. 45–46; Athens 1964, no. 325, pp. 323–24; Lazarev 1967, pp. 276, 280, 281, 330, 333 n. 30, 347 n. 177, pls. 384–394; Belting 1970, pp. 40–41; Buchthal and Belting 1978, pp. 63–64; Voicu and D'Alisera 1981, pp. 470–71; Maxwell 1984; Maxwell 1986; Maxwell 1988; Paris 1992–93, no. 345, p. 450; Folda 1995c, p. 504; Radiciotti 1996, pp. 186–95; Maxwell 1997; Maxwell 2000, pp. 117–33.

163, fol. 13v

163, fol. 103v

163, fol. 159v

163, fol. 248v

163. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1300
Tempera on parchment
20.8 x 15.5 cm (8¼ x 6⅛ in.)
Inscribed: ὁ ἅγ[ιος] Ματθαῖος (Saint Matthew); ὁ ἅγ[ιος] Μάρκος (Saint Mark); ὁ ἅγ[ιος] Λουκᾶς (Saint Luke); [ὁ ἅγ[ιος] Ιωάννης] ὁ Θεολόγος (Saint John the Theologian)
Provenance: Rev. John Michael Yanicks, United States, before 1940; New York art market, 1940; private collection, Switzerland, by descent.
Condition: The manuscript is in excellent condition, although the original binding has been replaced by soft vellum, perhaps Greek of the nineteenth or early twentieth century, despite the French title on the spine. While the portrait of Mark is well preserved, the color is abraded where the figure and furniture meet the gold ground. Flaking on the abdomen reveals red underpainting. In the margin is the offset of the initial *alpha* of fol. 104r. Added to the manuscript are marginal liturgical notations from the fourteenth to fifteenth century and, at the beginning and end of the book, devotional texts by a different fourteenth-century hand.
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Ms. 65)

Long missing and known only from photographs, this Gospel book was nevertheless well studied by Hugo Buchthal and Hans Belting. They noted that its script compares closely with that of a manuscript in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Barocci 31) and its canon tables with another Gospel book in the Vatican (gr. 1158); Buchthal and Belting proposed that all three belonged to the most important group of illuminated Greek manuscripts of the early Palaiologan period.[1] Their attribution is not to be doubted and is supported by codicology.[2]

The patron of the Getty manuscript is unknown, but the closely related Vatican Gospel bears the monogram of a Palaiologina, a female member of the imperial Palaiologos family, hence the name generally given to these manuscripts. In recent years, more manuscripts have been attributed to the Palaiologina group, including one manuscript made for a monastery refounded by Empress Theodora, the widow of Michael VIII.[3] Thus the imperial associations of the expanding group are secure, although it is likely that the artists and scribes responsible also worked for other clients.

Buchthal and Belting, rightly recognizing the difference in styles, concluded that the evangelist portraits of the Getty and Vatican manuscripts were painted by different artists. By the conventions of scholarship, then, the portraits are credited to different artists, even though we know that artists changed styles over time.[4] According to Buchthal and Belting, the Getty miniatures are somewhat later than those of the Vatican manuscript. Closely related formally is the single portrait of Mark at the Getty (cat. 164), although its pose differs from the suite of portraits in this manuscript.

These four miniatures illustrate the interrelations between manuscripts of the Palaiologina group and provide excellent examples of a genre that had an impact on other cultures. Matthew (fol. 13v) writes on a book held on his knee in the manner of Luke in the Gospels of the Palaiologina,[5] a pose seen in a later Serbian manuscript (cat. 166). Luke (fol. 159v) is a variation on this type; his chair is a novel invention. John (fol. 248v) sits quietly, thumb to chin, resting his other arm on his book. His pensive pose appears in other manuscripts of the group; his round-backed chair is repeated in the Gospels of the Palaiologina.[6] Other manuscripts of the period (cat. 165) prefer the more dynamic scene of John dictating to Prochoros. Mark (fol. 103v), who pauses after writing the first word of his Gospel, is the most inventive of the set. The small cross on the supporting shaft of the lectern is common to the Palaiologina group and is based on a stunningly beautiful tenth-century manuscript from the Stauroniketa Monastery on Mount Athos (Ms. 43).[7] Yet compared to the latter or to other contemporary illuminations, the Getty Mark sits in a posture that is more erect, alert, and frontal; with pen poised and knitted brow, he concentrates on what he will write next. RSN

1. Buchthal and Belting 1978, p. 9.
2. Quires are signed in the lower, outer corner of the first page of a gathering, the most common practice of the group. See Nelson and Lowden 1991, p. 60.
3. Ibid.; Maxwell 1983.
4. Nelson 1991.
5. Buchthal and Belting 1978, pl. 14.
6. Ibid., pls. 4a, 7b, 15.
7. Ibid., pls. 2a, 10a, 13, 66b.

Reference: Buchthal and Belting 1978.

164. Portrait of Saint Mark

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1300–1310
Tempera on parchment
Page 19.4 x 14.8 cm (7⅝ x 5⅞ in.); miniature without cartouches 13.2 x 10 cm (5¼ x 4 in.)
Inscribed: ο ἅγ[ιος] Μάρκος (Saint Mark)
Provenance: Acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum at Sotheby's, London, June 18, 2002.
Condition: The miniature is generally in good condition, except for minor flaking of pigments and some retouching along a horizontal fold. Some ruling lines, visible on the page, were likely intended for the text block and not for the miniature, since they have no relation to the latter. Two other vertical lines, also determined by prickings, were for margin-

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165, fols. 238v–239r

alia. There are no rulings for the text itself. The back of the miniature is blank.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Ms. 70)

Most likely removed from a Greek Gospel book, this portrait of Mark shows the saint, author of the second Gospel, pausing to sharpen his pen before he resumes copying the book before him. Inspired by examples of Western illumination, the evangelist's pose appears earlier in Armenian illumination and about 1300 in Byzantine art.[1] The delicately painted figure is framed by a broad border of a deep blue pigment, surely made of lapis lazuli.[2] A similarly broad border but of less intense color appears in a manuscript in Christ Church, Oxford (gr. 25); the heads of the evangelists are also comparable. The Oxford manuscript was made in Constantinople between 1315 and 1317 and offers one indication of date and provenance.[3] Closer to the present example is the illustration of Mark in a manuscript dated about 1300, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (cat. 163). The scalloped motif on its broad border is the basis for the looser and more inventive ornament seen here. The baroque corner cartouches in the present illumination resemble neither the miniatures of the Palaiologina group (see cat. 163) nor those of the Oxford manuscript, but are comparable to the fleshy leaves in the Oxford headpieces.[4]

As is characteristic of Palaiologan illumination, the back of the miniature is blank, perhaps indicating that the miniature was tipped into an already written book. If so, the rulings for a text block and marginalia suggest that the parchment was supplied by the book's scribe. The size of the text block (11.5 x 8 cm [4½ x 3⅛ in.]) is similar to that of cat. 163. RSN

1. Nelson 1991, vol. 1, p. 108.
2. Nancy Turner, conservator at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, personal communication, January 10, 2003.
3. Hutter 1977–, vol. 4.1, pp. 122–26.
4. See ibid., vol. 4.2, fig. 576.

Reference: Sotheby's 2002, p. 12.

165. Tetraevangelion (Four Gospels)

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 1334/35[1]
Tempera, gold ink, and gold leaf on parchment
22 x 16.3 cm (8⅝ x 6⅜ in.)
Inscribed: Left border, ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἰω(άννη) τὸν θεολόγον τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν τὸν ἠγαπημένον μαθητὴν τοῦ Χ(ριστ)οῦ κ[αί] ἐπιστήθιον (epigram to the Holy John the Theologian [and] Evangelist, the beloved and close disciple of Christ); top border, βροντείης [*sic*] θεόφωνος ἰωάννης πανάριστος πρωτοτόκου σοφίης ὑπεράρχιον εὗρατο ἀρχήν (The most excellent John, [being] similar to a thunder, [and] speaking of the divine, found the beginning beyond every beginning of the firstborn wisdom); bottom border (continued), πρωτοφανῆ γενετῆρα θ(ε)οῦ θ(εό)ν αὐτογένεθλον, ἔνθεν ὀλεθροτόκον [*sic*] αἱρέσεων ἤμβλυνε φρένα (The self-originating God, [who is] the first appearing progenitor of God. Thus it clouded the minds of heresies who give birth to destruction);[2] over Saint John's head, Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Saint John the Theologian); in Prochorus's book, ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ (At the beginning there was)
Condition: The manuscript is well preserved; there is some flaking in the miniatures.
The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece (cod. 81)

This small Tetraevangelion is one of the finest illuminated manuscripts of the Palaiologan period. It contains four full-page portraits of the evangelists, each surrounded by an epigram in gold.[3] The beginning of each Gospel is decorated by a splendid headpiece and an intricate initial letter, and the text in the first page is also written with gold ink. The portraits of Mark, Matthew, and Luke follow the established iconography (see cats. 163, 164, 166, but that of John is different: the elderly apostle is shown standing in a mountainous landscape. He receives divine inspiration from the hand of God, appearing from a segment in the sky, while he dictates to his young disciple Prochorus (fol. 238v). The latter, writing the beginning of the Gospel of John, is seated in front of a cave on the island of Patmos. The composition follows the story as related in the fifth-century apocryphal Acts of John by Prochorus, with the exception of

the cave, which does not appear in the text.[4] Only in a much later interpolation is John said to have dictated Revelation—but not the fourth Gospel—in a cave.[5] The conflation seen in this miniature of two separate traditions involving the cave is also found in portraits of the evangelist of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where the cave is directly associated with the writing of his Gospel (see cat. 167). Nancy Patterson Ševčenko has argued that by the early fourteenth century the cave must have been recognized as an important locus sanctus and came to be thought of as the place where both Revelation and the fourth Gospel were written.[6]

This codex has been associated with a group of manuscripts produced in Constantinople.[7] The direct reference to the cave of Revelation in this miniature may indicate that the manuscript was produced for Patmos, even though this remains a mere hypothesis. Given its small size, the Tetraevangelion was most likely destined for private use either at home or in church, since the beginning and the end of each passage to be read during services is indicated with gold ink in the margins. VNM

1. The date is provided by the colophon in fol. 299r; see Kominis 1970, pl. 30; Kominis 1988a, vol. 1, pp. 198–201.
2. I would like to thank Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot for her help with this translation.
3. For the epigrams, see Kominis 1951.
4. The fifth-century version is not to be confused with the second- or third-century Acts of John, recording John's activity in Ephesus. For the text and date of the Acts of John by Prochorus, see Zahn 1975, III–LX, 154–56; useful commentary can be found in Junod and Kaestli 1983, vol. 2, pp. 718–49. Symeon Metaphrastes' version of the life of Saint John incorporates elements of the account of Prochorus; see *PG*, vol. 116, pp. 684–705.
5. Zahn 1975, XLIV–L, 184–85. The passage was interpolated in the Greek versions by the eleventh century; see N. Ševčenko 1989, pp. 174–76.
6. Mouriki and Ševčenko in Kominis 1988, pp. 293–95; N. Ševčenko 1989, pp. 177–78.
7. Belting 1970, p. 67; Buchthal 1975, pp. 152–57; Buchthal and Belting 1978, pp. 30–32.

References: Kominis 1951; Buchthal 1961; Belting 1970; Doula Mouriki and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Illuminated Manuscripts," in Kominis 1988, p. 319, fig. 41; N. Ševčenko 1989, pl. 25.

166. Tetraevangelion (Four Gospels) of Kumanica Monastery

Serbia, mid-14th century (miniatures); end of the 15th–beginning of the 16th century (text in Serbian and Church Slavonic)
Tempera, gold, and ink on paper; 228 fols.
19.3 x 28 cm (7⅝ x 11 in.)
Inscribed: On the last leaf, by the hieromonk Zaharijẽ. In the year 7112 [1604] this soul-saving book, called the Tetraevangelion, was purchased by the hieromonk Zaharije for gold worth a thousand aspers, in the time of the hegoumenos Grigorije, hieromonk, with the fraternity. And the aforementioned hieromonk bestowed it as a gift to the church of the archangel Michael for his own soul and for enlightenment of the same church, may God forgive him. And if anyone dares remove it from the above-mentioned monastery called Kumanica, may that man be cursed by the Lord and His Holy Mother, and may his adversary be the archangel Michael at Christ's Judgment in the coming age. Amen. The circle of the sun was 27, and of the moon 5.
Provenance: Kumanica Monastery, situated on the Lim River between Bijelo Polje and Brodarevo, Serbia; donated to the Serbian Learned Society in the 1860s by Djordje R. Pantelić (1836–1913), a high-ranking official and minister.
Condition: At the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the codex was bound for the first time. The present binding, the second or perhaps third in its history, is probably from the first half of the nineteenth century. In the course of each binding the codex was trimmed, destroying notes on the upper, lower, and outer vertical margins. The margins of all miniatures were considerably narrowed. The manuscript is in a relatively good state of preservation.
Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade (69)

Judging by stylistic characteristics, the full-page portraits of the Four Evangelists in this

166, fols. 12v–13r

manuscript were produced in the middle of the fourteenth century. When an anonymous scribe finished copying the Tetraevangelion at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, he took the four leaves with images of the evangelists and placed them before the corresponding Gospels (Matthew, fol. 12v; Mark, 71v; Luke, 110v; John, 173v). A careful examination of the formation of the quires clearly indicates that all four miniatures were added.

Three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, deeply engrossed in thought, are portrayed in the painted interior of a writing workshop, accompanied by a young woman in swirling draperies bringing inspiration. This iconography has its origin in ancient Greek ideas concerning artistic creation. Hellenistic ideas about the divine origin of literature were harmoniously united with the Christian iconography of inspiration in the personification of Sofia (wisdom), which appeared early in the Palaiologan epoch, and emerged soon afterward in Serbian fresco and miniature painting in the reigns of Kings Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321) and Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (r. 1322–31) and Emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–55). The motif of evangelists accompanied by muses became so characteristic of Serbian medieval art that it is possible to speak of the specific treatment of this theme by local painters. The theme is extensive in fresco painting and on the pendentives in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century churches in Serbian monasteries: the Church of the Virgin Ljeviška in Prizren, Saint Nikita in Skopska Crna Gora, the church at Staro Nagoričino near Kumanovo, the Church of the Virgin in the patriarchate of Peć, and the churches at Ravanica, Ljubostinja, and Manasija. Besides images of the muses ("wisdom" in Old Serbian), medieval Serbian artists frequently depicted the evangelists sharpening writing reeds. The second miniature in the exhibited Tetraevangelion depicts the evangelist Mark engaged in such activity.

Stylistic analysis indicates that the miniatures were produced by two artists. The first, second, and third miniatures were obviously the work of a talented painter, dexterous at drawing, who produced a skillfully arranged composition of vivid colors. With a flair for atmosphere, he appropriately placed the slender figures of the muses and highlighted the natural gestures of the evangelists. His greatest mastery, however, is seen in the filigree-like drawing and pleasing coloring of the protagonists, whose intense, emotional expressions announce the moment of inspiration and the beginning of creation. It can be stated without exaggeration that these portraits of the evangelists, together with those in the Radoslav Gospels from 1429, also of Serbian provenance (see cat. 168), are the most beautiful portraits of the authors of the Gospels in medieval Serbian art. The second painter, who produced the images of John and Prochorus, lacked the talent and craftsmanship of the first artist but nevertheless managed to maintain the character of the other miniatures.

The manuscript of the Tetraevangelion, dating from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, with its headpieces, initials, and ornaments, displays the marked influence of opulent Byzantine decoration. The impact of the decorative stone-carving scheme of the local, so-called Morava school is also recognizable.

ĐT

References: L. Stojanović 1901, no. 9; Deroko 1932, p. 132; S. Radojčić 1950, pp. 31–32, pl. 13; Zagreb 1964, p. 301, pl. 93; S. Radojčić 1965, pp. 9–22; Harisijadis 1966; S. Radojčić 1966, pl. 21; Harisijadis 1972, p. 222, fig. 12; Jovanović-Stipčević 1973, no. 215; Belgrade 1980, p. 46, fig. 131; B'adurina et al. 1983, p. 43, fig. 125; Maksimović 1983, pp. 40–42, 44, 100–101, figs. 9–13.

167. Acts and Epistles of the Apostles

Moscow, 1410s

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; binding of velvet over wood, with metal attachments and clasps; 275 fols.

27 x 20.5 cm (10⅝ x 8⅛ in.)

Inscribed: o ar[ioc] Лука, o ar[ioc] Iakob, o ar[ioc] Петр, o ar[ioc] Iω[анн] θеологоs, o ar[ioc] Іуда, o ar[ioc] Паулоs (Saint Luke, Saint James, Saint Peter, Saint John the Theologian,

167, fols. 83v–84r

Saint Jude, Saint Paul). For placement, see below.
PROVENANCE: Entered the State Russian Museum from the Belozersk Monastery in 1923.
CONDITION: There are minor losses and abrasions of pigment in the miniatures and headpieces.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (Dr.Gr. 20)

According to monastic tradition, the present manuscript and its companion volume of the Gospels (now also at the State Russian Museum, Dr.Gr. 9) belonged to the personal library of the founder of the Belozersk Monastery, Saint Cyril of Belozersk. Both codices, in early semi-uncial script, were doubtless copied in a Moscow scriptorium as a single commission. They were most probably a gift from the grand prince to the abbot Cyril, meant for the altar of the monastery's first Church of the Dormition. The manuscript seen here presents a consummate example of calligraphy and of balanced harmony between text and ornament. Its festive decoration, belonging to the best specimens of the early Russian art of the book, was certainly executed in Moscow.

The six miniatures (placed between fols. 1–2, 63–64, 70–71, 83–84, 93–94, and 97–98) form pictorial frontispieces to the corresponding New Testament texts and represent, respectively, the apostles Luke, James, Peter, John, Jude, and Paul in the act of writing. These miniatures are the work of an extraordinary painter, whose talent is attested by the elegance of composition, the precision and ease with which figures and objects are drawn, the harmonious palette, and the masterly brushwork. Set against the shining gold leaf of the background, the translucently laid pigments present a rich painting texture. The apostles' faces bear focused and elevated expressions. The closest parallels to the present miniatures are found in the evangelist portraits painted in Moscow at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century for the Gospel books of the Savior–Saint Andronicus Monastery (now State Historical Museum, Moscow, Ms. Eparkh. 436), of the Moscow Kremlin Cathedral of the Dormition (Museums of the Moscow Kremlin, 11056), and of the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery (the so-called Khitrovo Gospels; now Russian State Library, Moscow, F 304, III, no. 3/M.8657). The scribes, miniaturists, and ornamentists of these manuscripts all worked in immediate proximity to each other and utilized common models. These models can be traced back to Byzantine works of the mature Palaiologan style. The heightened expressiveness of figures and brushwork that characterizes this style did not, however, find a response in Russian art, which is marked by greater serenity, harmoniousness, and "softness."

168, Saint Mathew

The manuscript's ornamental decoration is unusually rich and varied. It consists of forty-two large and small headpieces, headbands, and numerous initial letters. The headpieces are filled with ornament of the so-called neo-Byzantine type, which entered Russian decorative art about 1400. Its prototypes were Greek and Slavic manuscripts of the eleventh to twelfth century, as well as Bulgarian and Serbian codices of the second half of the fourteenth century. From such sources came the headpiece forms, the compositional types, and the ornamental motifs found here: scrolls, trefoils, rosettes, and circle-enclosed blossoms. The headpieces have narrow red frames with simple, bead-shaped gilded outcrops at the corners, and some of the smaller ones are filled with geometric ornament. The ornament is executed in blue and green, with occasional additions of red and white. The background and outlines are gilded. Worth noting is the close correspondence in style and color between the representational miniatures and the ornament.

IDS

REFERENCES: Varlaam 1860, pp. 10–11, no. 5; Ukhova 1971, pp. 222–24; Vzdornov 1980, pp. 111–12, no. 68; Solov'eva 1982; Petrova 1997, p. 43.

168. The Radoslav Gospels

Serbia, 1429
Tempera and gold on parchment; 12 leaves
37.8 x 25.8 cm (14⅞ x 10⅛ in.)
National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg (OSRK F.I.591)

The so-called Radoslav Gospels were commissioned by the priest Bessarion (ca. 1403–1472) and copied in Serbia in 1429. Folio 9v is signed as the last page of the manuscript's thirty-seventh quire, and folio 10r as the first page of the thirty-eighth. Assuming that this latter quire was the final one, the original volume must have contained about three hundred leaves.[1] According to a note on folio 12r, the book was presented to the Monastery of Saint Paul on Mount Athos, probably in the sixteenth century, by a certain Dojne and his

sons Mark, Matthew, and Jacob. While visiting the monastery, probably in October 1845, Bishop Porfirii Uspenskii (1804–1885) removed from the manuscript twelve leaves, which he considered its most valuable folios. The leaves entered the National Library of Russia in 1883 as part of the bishop's collection. The part that stayed in the monastery is nowadays considered lost. At present, the manuscript has a pasteboard binding. Its leaves had been trimmed by Uspenskii. The evangelist portraits are now grouped together at the beginning, so that it is impossible to determine whether in the original codex the four miniatures were integral parts of quires or were tipped in as separate leaves.

The evangelist miniatures were executed by a certain Radoslav, named in a note written in gold under the portrait of Saint John (fol. 4r): "Помѣни Г(оспод)и вь Ц(а)рствѣи(и) раба своего Радослав(а) писавшаг(о) с(ве)тые шбразы сїѣ" (Remember, Lord, in [Thy] Kingdom Radoslav, who painted the present holy images). Each of the evangelists is accompanied by a female personification of Divine Wisdom. Radoslav has been identified as one of the masters who painted the murals of Kalenić Monastery (1413–17) in Serbia.[2]

The Gospel text proper (John 1:1–17, fol. 5r–v), in Serbo-Croatian, is written in brown ink in a beautiful calligraphic semiuncial script typical of the first half of the fifteenth century. It begins with a richly gilded and colored headpiece and a decorated initial letter. Instead of dots, gilded crosses are used as dividing marks. The remaining leaves (fols. 6r–12r) contain a long note by the anonymous scribe, who was an Athonite monk invited to Serbia by the despot Stefan Lazarević (r. 1389–1427). Đorde Radojičić tentatively identified him with a Dositheus who copied several other known manuscripts (including a few recently identified ones).[3]

PM

1. See Irena Špadijer in Zaitsev et al. 2001, p. 15.
2. Đurić 1967c.
3. Đ. Radojičić 1960, pp. 177–82, 340–41; Vasiljev 1998, pp. 267–71.

References: Đ. Radojičić 1960, pp. 177–82, 340–41; Đurić 1967c; Zaitsev et al. 2001.

169. Tetraevangelion (Four Gospels)

Byzantine (Nicaea? and Thessalonike?), early and late 13th century
Tempera and gold on parchment; 241 fols.
20.5 x 15 cm (8 1/16 x 5 7/8 in.)

169, fol. 45v

Inscribed: Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩCIC (The Transfiguration)
Provenance: Bought by Sir Thomas Phillips from the collection of F. North, 1829; acquired by Kraus, November 1965; purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum as part of the Ludwig Collection, 1984.
Condition: Some miniatures are well preserved, whereas others are severely flaked; some folios are worn, stained, and discolored.
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Ms. Ludwig II 5; 83.MB.69)

This manuscript contains nineteen full-page illustrations, executed in two different periods. Only the Four Evangelists and two of the feast scenes (the Incredulity of Thomas, fol. 76r, and the Dormition of the Virgin, fol. 190v) are contemporary with the text and date to the early thirteenth century.[1] Various sites of production have been suggested, including Cyprus and the Palaiologan capital of Nicaea, but none have been conclusively supported. The rest, all representations of Great Feasts, are later in date and were probably substituted for original illustrations that had become worn.[2] The Transfiguration is one of these later scenes (fol. 45v). Christ is at the center, enveloped in a mandorla of light and flanked by Moses and Elijah. The formal arrangement of the scene is fairly typical (in contrast to the *Theological Works of John VI Kantakouzenos* [cat. 171], for example, which reflects later theological developments), although the three disciples witnessing the event are represented in bust portraits instead of their usual full-length form.[3] The style of these later miniatures, whose figures display stocky bodies, elaborate drapery, and complicated and expressive postures, is easily compared with late-thirteenth-century fresco cycles such as the Peribleptos in Ohrid (now Saint Kliment) (see fig. 3.9) and the Church of the Trinity in Sopoćani, Serbia, and thus might be associated with artistic production emanating from Thessalonike.[4]

The illustration of this manuscript is evidence of the continual influence of the liturgical year in Byzantine art.[5] Full-page miniatures of important church feasts, including some that are not described in the Gospels, here substitute for narrative illustrations (drawing

upon the text itself), which would have been more pertinent to a Tetraevangelion. Furthermore, the quality of the miniatures from the late thirteenth century in this codex attests to thriving and dynamic artistic activity even during a time of political distress for the Byzantine state. VNM

1. Buchthal 1964 associated the original decoration of this manuscript with the so-called Nicaea Group, which now includes more than a hundred illuminated Greek manuscripts dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; see Buchthal 1983 and Carr 1987. Although early examples are clearly provincial, later examples might have originated in Lascarid Nicaea, an important Byzantine center during the time of the Latin occupation of Constantinople, as proposed first by Sirarpie Der Nersessian in her introduction to E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (Chicago, 1936).
2. The manuscript includes stubs of eight more folios.
3. Buchthal 1964, p. 223, noted additional iconographic peculiarities in the later miniatures, such as in the Annunciation, the Nativity (with Christ presented in a very small scale), and the Presentation (where, instead of the usually symmetrical composition, Symeon is presented on the right while the remaining three figures are crammed on the left).
4. As suggested in Buchthal 1964, pp. 223–24. Although this remains a hypothesis, it is a very convincing one.
5. As noted also in Princeton 1973, p. 182.

References: Buchthal 1964; Princeton 1973, pp. 180–83; Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 1, no. II.5, pp. 164–70, figs. 64–78; Buchthal 1983; Kren et al. 1997, no. 20, p. 53.

170. Two Gospel Leaves: Luke, and Christ Appearing to His Disciples

Byzantine, late 13th–14th century
Parchment
Folio 25 x 15.4 cm (9⅞ x 6⅛ in.); original width ca. 17 cm (6¾ in.); framed miniatures 17 x 13 cm (6¾ x 5⅛ in.); image of Closed Doors 13.5 x 13.5 cm (5⅜ x 5⅜ in.)
Provenance: Great Lavra, Mount Athos, cod. A 76; purchased from Gruel (Paris) by Henry Walters (d. 1931).
Condition: The leaves are generally in good condition, but both have been damaged by a horizontal fold (after excision).
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Ms. W. 530f, g)

These two leaves were cut from a Gospel book at the Athonite monastery Great Lavra, probably in the early twentieth century. Two further excised leaves are also preserved. One is in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Ms. 2). The other was in the Willoughby collection, Chicago (Ms. 2), but its current location is unknown. One of the Walters leaves (W. 530f) has the image of Saint Luke on the verso, with the recto blank. The other (W. 530g) has an image of Saint John on the verso and the scene of Christ appearing to his disciples after the Resurrection (John 20:19, "when...the doors of the house where the disciples had met were locked") on the recto. The presence of

170, W. 530g recto

170, W. 530f verso

170, W. 530g verso

the incised ruling pattern for the text on both leaves shows them to have formed part of the original structure of the Lavra Gospel Book.

The evangelist portraits are executed in the usual Byzantine manner, with dense and intense pigments and burnished gold, but the Lavra Gospel Book and the dispersed leaves contain five further images (such as the Closed Doors) that make use of a completely different painterly technique: thin, partly transparent washes of reddish brown, blue, and gray black were employed to define figures and setting, while most of the parchment was left blank. Not only are the technique and materials different from the evangelist portraits, the proportions of the figures are also distinctive: the washed images have much smaller heads, softly rounded chins, and bodies somewhat enlarged about the waist. Nonetheless, some stylistic elements are shared with the evangelist portraits, such as the architecture at the left in both the Luke portrait and the Closed Doors image. A plausible explanation for these features is that there were two separate phases of work in the book's decoration. In the first, the evangelist portraits were executed on verso pages that were otherwise left blank for use by the scribe. The book was then bound. After forty years, or perhaps even later (compare the undated manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. gr. 196, and, less close, the volume in the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Ms. gr. 305),[1] a different artist, with different materials and technique, perhaps because he was working on a bound volume, decorated some of the unadorned spaces. Why the artist of the Closed Doors did not take advantage of the available space (especially the height) is puzzling. The choice of this particular image is also curious, and, overall, the selection of images to accompany the evangelist portraits is highly unusual, possibly unique in Byzantine art (for example, the Calling of Philip and Christ with Nicodemus, both on fol. 71v of the parent Lavra manuscript).

Although parallels have been pointed out between the "wash-drawing" technique seen here, and both Western works and the mural painting technique of Theophanes the Greek,[2] these comparisons seem a little forced. However, a pioneering study by Kurt Weitzmann was able to provide a stylistic context within the Byzantine world for these unusual images. JL

1. Weitzmann 1963a, pp. 104–6, figs. 12–13.
2. Ibid., p. 107.

References: Baltimore 1947, nos. 735–36, pl. 103; Weitzmann 1963a; Lazarev 1967, pp. 422–23 n. 113; Princeton 1973, no. 52, pp. 184–87; Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 3, figs. 43–45, pp. 230–31; Voicu and D'Alisera 1981, p. 194.

171. Theological Works of John VI Kantakouzenos

Constantinople, (?1370 and) 1375
Parchment; 437 fols.
Folio 33.5 x 23.5 cm (13¼ x 9¼ in.); text block (two columns) 24 x 15.2 x 6.5 cm (9½ x 6 x 2½ in.)
Inscribed: On fol. 436v, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Ἰωάσαφ πόνος; ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἐγράφη κατά μῆνα υοέβριου τῆς ἐυυάτης ἰυδικτιῶυος τοῦ ϛωο΄ ἐυυάτου ἔτους (The gift of God and labor of Ioasaph [also on fols. 7or, 119v, and 292r]; the present book was finished by the help of God in the month of February of the 13th indiction of the 6883rd year)
Provenance: Monastery of Saint Anastasia Pharmakolytria (the healer) in the Khalkidikí (fol. 437v and a later note on fol. 225r); acquired for the French royal library in 1729.
Condition: Some leaves have been excised, and there is some loss of pigments from miniatures and decoration, but the condition is generally good.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
(Ms. grec 1242)

This enormous book is a special presentation copy of the theological works of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54), who, after usurping the throne, was forced to abdicate and retired to a monastery (probably the Charsianeites) in Constantinople, where he took the monastic name Ioasaph. He died in 1383. The book, intended by the author to be presented, perhaps, to the theologian Nicholas Kabasilas, was written by the well-known scribe of the Hodegon Monastery in

171, fols. 92v–93r

Constantinople, also named Ioasaph. There are two dated colophons. The first (November 1370), on folio 119v, appears at what was probably the end of an initially separate undertaking; the date does not appear to be by the hand of Ioasaph.[1] The second, on folio 436v, undoubtedly marks the book's completion in February 1375. The text is of great importance.[2] It consists of selected acts of the important Orthodox Church council of 1351 and a portion of a treatise against Prochoros Kydones;[3] writings against "the (contra-Palamite) blasphemies" of Isaac Argyros and Gregory Akindynos; correspondence, largely against church union, with Paul, papal legate and Latin patriarch of Constantinople (ending on fol. 119v); four "apologies" and four "orations" against the "Mohammedans"; and nine writings against the Jews. The whole amounts to an impressive summa of Orthodox Byzantine imperial thinking and writing of the period.

The volume is decorated with three full-page images. In the first (fol. 5v; fig. 1.11), John VI in imperial dress presides over the church council of 1351 at which the anti-Palamite (anti-hesychast) writings of Barlaam of Calabria, Gregory Akindynos, and others were condemned. John VI is flanked by four haloed bishops and by numerous monks, deacons, soldiers, and courtiers. The bishops are identifiable as Kallistos I of Constantinople, Philotheos Kokkinos of Herakleia, Gregory Palamas of Thessalonike, and Arsenios of Kyzikos. Kallistos and his successor, Philotheos, wear the blue-cross sakkos of the patriarch. The Transfiguration (fol. 92v) faces the start of a text by the fourth-century bishop Gregory of Nazianzos concerning the light seen in Christ's face on Mount Tabor (a crucial event for hesychast theologians like Gregory Palamas). The angular eight-pointed mandorla around Christ is also of theological significance. In a three-quarter-page image on the facing page (fol. 93r), the seated Gregory lifts his right hand as if to teach or preach about the Transfiguration. It is a superlative image, its power only slightly marred by its oddly tapering form (at the lower right). The third full-page image (fol. 123v; fig. 1.5) represents, in a double-portrait, John VI as emperor (at the left) and as monk. As Ioasaph, he holds a scroll inscribed ΜΕΓΑC Ο Θ[ΕΟ]C ΤΩΝ ΧΡΙCΙΤΙΑΝΩΝ (Great is the God of the Christians), the incipit of his first anti-Muslim treatise (these words, however, were never completed, except for the opening "M," followed by blank space on the facing page). Ioasaph also gestures upward toward an image of the Trinity in the form of the three angels who appeared to Abraham at Mamre (Genesis 18, a key "proof text" in Christian anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish polemic). From the offset on folio 70v and the excision of the first two leaves of the next quire, it is clear that at least one further full-page image has been cut out.[4] JL

1. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 131–32.
2. Although this manuscript is not the sole exemplar of John's works, certain parts of the text have only recently been published for the first time. See Voordeckers and Tinnefeld 1987.
3. Here suppressed as an afterthought in an act of self-censorship, as explained by Voordeckers 1967.
4. Note also the three stubs of excised folios between fols. 119 and 120 (start of quire 17).

REFERENCES: Bordier 1883, pp. 238–42; Omont 1929, pp. 58–59, pls. 126–127; Paris 1958, no. 50, p. 32; Politis 1958; Lazarev 1967, pp. 370, 379, 415 n. 54; Voordeckers 1967; Belting 1970, pp. 15, 26, 52, 56, 73, 84–88; Walter 1970b, pp. 15, 70–71; Buchthal 1975, pp. 164–72; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 129–37; Spatharakis 1981, no. 269; Voicu and D'Alisera 1981, pp. 497–98; Brussels 1982, no. M.19, p. 71; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1989, p. 115, no. 287; Paris 1992–93, no. 355, pp. 461–62; Guran 2001.

172. Akathistos Hymn

Byzantine (Constantinople or Crete?), beginning of the 15th century
Parchment
24.5 x 18 cm (9⅝ x 7⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Formerly in the private library of King Philip II of Spain.
Library of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain (Ms. R.I.19; gr. 19)

The Escorial's manuscript and the closely related Moscow Historical Museum's Ms. gr. 429 of circa 1370 are the earliest surviving examples of illustrated texts in Greek of the Akathistos Hymn to the Mother of God.[1] The question of which scriptorium produced the Escorial's copy is subject to debate: Tania Velmans observed a stylistic affinity between the School of Bologna and the volume's richly decorated, zoomorphic initials and marginal decoration, and proposed that the manuscript was illuminated in the Veneto.[2] However, I. P. Martín notes that the scribe George who signed the manuscript incorporated a colophon that is almost identical to one utilized by scribes of the Hodegon Monastery,[3]

172, fol. 2r

the center for the production of deluxe volumes during Constantinople's last century as the Byzantine capital.[4] The celebrated scribe Ioasaph produced numerous volumes there,[5] and the Moscow Akathistos has been attributed to him on paleographic grounds.[6] It would therefore seem more likely that the Escorial manuscript was copied and illustrated in the Byzantine capital, in a center of production such as Mount Athos,[7] or perhaps in Venetian-dominated Crete.[8] The text's first illustration presents the Virgin Orans seated upon a backless throne (fol. 2r), with a basilical structure to the right that represents the Constantinopolitan Church of the Blachernai.[9] One of this sanctuary's most important treasures was a relic of the robe of the Virgin that was believed to have saved Constantinople from capture on several occasions, notably in 626 and in 860; it was said to have produced violent waves after it was dipped into the sea, thus repulsing the besieging invaders' battleships.[10] The theme of the Virgin's miraculous defense of Constantinople is central to the Akathistos Hymn's second prooimion, or prologue, which this image illustrates.[11]

173. The Four Gospels of T'oros the Priest

T'oros Roslin, scribe and illuminator
Aremenian (Hṙomkla, Cilcia, now Rumkale, Turkey), 1262
Colored inks, ink, and gold on vellum; 410 fols.
30 x 21.5 cm (11⅞ x 8½ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Armenian, in part in the primary colophon on fols. 11v–12, Ով յանսկիզբն ծոցո բան / Որ ծագկեցար յազգս մարդկան / Եւ զայս մատեան աւետարան / Մեզ հնչեցեր ձայն ցնծութեան / Դու զորս եառուր մեզ գեղ փոխան / Կաթողիկոս ի Հայաստան / Ջտէր Կոստանդին պետ հովվութեան / Ի զոմն ընկալ ի Պետրոսեան: // Եւ զստացող այսմ տաճի / Եւ զարդարող սուրբ կտակի / ՋԹորոս նորին եղբաւորդի / Եւ քահանայ սուրբ և արի / Եւ զՏալիթա բարի հոդի / Իւրեանց ծնողաւք և այլ զարմի / Ընդալ ի քում յառազաստի / Որ ես աւրհնեալ յամենայնի: (Written during the reign of the God-loving and pious King Het'um and the primacy of the katholikos Ter Kostandin . . . his nephew the priest T'oros, . . . commissioned this . . . [from] my unworthiness, T'oros, surnamed Roslin, and I, according to my ability with God's help, executed his command, adorning it, inside with pure gold and many colors and on the outside with precious stones. . . . Remember . . . King Het'um and Queen Zabel, the daughter of King Leo II, their sons Leo III and T'oros, the father of the king, the baron Kostandin, the katholikos Kostandin, and the sponsor of the manuscript, the priest T'oros.)

PROVENANCE: According to the colophons, the manuscript was copied and illuminated at Hṙomkla in 1262, given to the hermitage of Art'akaghin in Cilicia in 1266, and redeemed from the infidels in 1604 by a native of Sebastia (in modern Turkey). Comments in the text show that it was in Sebastia in 1626, 1643, 1881, 1886, and 1904. It departed the region in the forced migrations of the Armenians in 1915 and was acquired by Henry Walters in Paris, 1929. Mrs. Walters presented it to the Walters Art Museum, 1929.[1]

CONDITION: The manuscript is in good condition, with a missing leaf between fols. 367 and 368 that probably contained an image of the Raising of Lazarus. The binding appears to be seventeenth-century, with one attached crucifix dated by its inscription to 1643.[2]

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Ms. W. 539)

The extensively illuminated Gospels of T'oros the Priest was written and illuminated by the most famous medieval Armenian illuminator, T'oros Roslin. The seven signed

173, fol. 109v

1. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1984, pp. 656–58.
2. Velmans 1970, pp. 230–33.
3. Madrid 2003b, p. 202.
4. Ibid.; Politis 1958, pp. 34–36.
5. A list of the manuscripts undertaken and signed by the monk Ioasaph can be found in Politis 1958, pp. 26–34. Politis does not include the Moscow Akathistos within this corpus, as Ioasaph's signature is absent; however, Prokhorov 1972, p. 242, points out that signing was not always the scribe's practice. Furthermore, Politis attributes several manuscripts to Ioasaph despite the absence of a signature, including one that bears the same colophon as the Moscow Akathistos.
6. Prokhorov 1972, pp. 241–42.
7. The Moscow Akathistos was sent from Mount Athos as a gift to Czar Alexis Mikhaïlovič during the seventeenth century; what peregrinations the manuscript experienced before its arrival on Mount Athos are unknown. See Lixačeva 1972, p. 255.
8. M. Chatzidakis 1974b, pp. 197–98, has made a credible argument that the "Gothic" elements found in the Escorial Akathistos are also present in Cretan manuscripts, for example, in Walters Art Gallery W335, a work that combines purely Byzantine imagery with Western marginal decoration and an Italian text; Chatzidakis concludes that the Escorial's Akathistos is emblematic of fifteenth-century Cretan production. Crete was under Venetian rule from 1204, and this may explain the interesting fusion of styles noted by Velmans in the Escorial Akathistos.
9. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1984, p. 664.
10. For the Church of the Blachernae and its history and relics, see Janin 1969, pp. 161–71; Majeska 1984, pp. 333–37.
11. On the martial role of the Virgin as defender of Constantinople, consult Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Virgin of Constantinople: Power and Belief," in Cambridge 2002–3, pp. 113–19.

REFERENCE: Madrid 2003b, no. 118.

173, detail of fol. 132v

works by him that survive indicate that he was active between 1256 and 1268 as the leading illuminator and scribe at the scriptorium associated with the patriarchate of the Armenian Church at Hṙomkla on the Euphrates River. There he produced works for the katholikos and the aristocracy of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia.[3] The Armenian Church had long been independent of the churches of both Rome and Constantinople. In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Hṙomkla led in discussions concerning union with both churches. In the mid-thirteenth century, King Het'um of Cilicia assisted the Franciscan William of Rubruck on his journey to the Mongols as an envoy of King Louis IX of France (Saint Louis); William visited Cilicia on his return journey. In 1251 the katholikos led the Armenian Church in signing papers of union with Rome through the efforts of the Franciscans.[4]

As a nephew of the katholikos, T'oros the Priest must have had his Gospels illuminated with images acceptable to the Church. Here and in all of Roslin's works, motifs from the Armenian, Byzantine, and western European traditions are combined to provide a visual commentary on the Gospels that speaks uniquely for the Armenian Church. The marginal markers in the text are located at the readings for the Armenian service. Most of the narrative illuminations repeat images long popular in Armenian and Byzantine art, but details of certain of the illuminations are closely related to illustrations in the Moralized Bibles of Paris. Similar illuminations must have been found in the books given to William of Rubruck by Saint Louis that the friar took with him on his journey to the Mongols. Thus in the full-page illumination of the Last Judgment (fol. 109v, at Matthew 25:31–46), the group of women standing in the left margin are the Foolish Virgins from the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The closed door shows that they are denied entrance into paradise. The theme, previously unknown in Byzantine and Armenian art, is popular in Western art of the period. Similar images of the Virgins found in the Moralized Bibles in association with images of the Last Judgment must have inspired their introduction by Roslin into this Armenian work.[5] Other unusual images in the Gospels of the Priest T'oros can be connected to the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* written by the mid-thirteenth-century Franciscan Pseudo-Bonaventure. Especially telling is the depiction of the angels bringing bread to Christ in the wilderness, a theme first introduced in the writings of Pseudo-Bonaventure.[6] HCE

1. For translation of the provenance, see Der Nersessian 1973b, pp. 10–12.
2. For translation of the colophons, see ibid.
3. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 51–76.
4. Krikor H. Maksoudian, "The Religion of Armenia," in New York–Baltimore 1994, p. 9; Evans 1998, pp. 106–7.
5. Evans 1990, pp. 107–10, figs. 64–65. The name "Foolish Virgins" is inscribed near the figures in the illumination. All ten of the Wise and Foolish Virgins appear in the Gospels of T'oros the Priest on fol. 106v at Matthew 25:1, the first lines of the parable.
6. Evans in New York–Baltimore 1994, p. 76.

REFERENCES: Der Nersessian 1973b, pp. 10–30, 86–88, pls. 30–85 (all colophons in Armenian); Evans 1990; Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 51–76 (with illustrations in vol. 2); Helen C. Evans, "Cilician Manuscript Illumination: The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries," in New York–Baltimore 1994, pp. 66–83.

174. The Four Gospels

T'oros the Philosopher, scribe and illuminator
Armenian (Drazark, Cilicia), 1290/91
Tempera and gold on vellum; 293 bifolia
Leather binding, from Akulis (the ancient region of Goghtn in Syunik, Armenia), 1650; fixed to the upper board is a gilt-silver board with the Crucifixion scene
23 x 17 cm (9 x 6¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Armenian, on fol. 289, the beginning of the colophon, "Have completed the Holy and Glorious Gospel in the holy Drazark in the Armenian year 739 [1290], in the reign of Het'um in Armenia, by the hands of T'oros, a worthless philosopher sinful in his soul, may the Lord Jesus have mercy upon him"

PROVENANCE: Under unknown circumstances, the Gospels were acquired from Akulis by the collector Gevorkyan; acquired from Gevorkyan for the Shtiglits College Museum, Saint Petersburg, October 25, 1912; to the State Hermitage Museum, October 24, 1924.

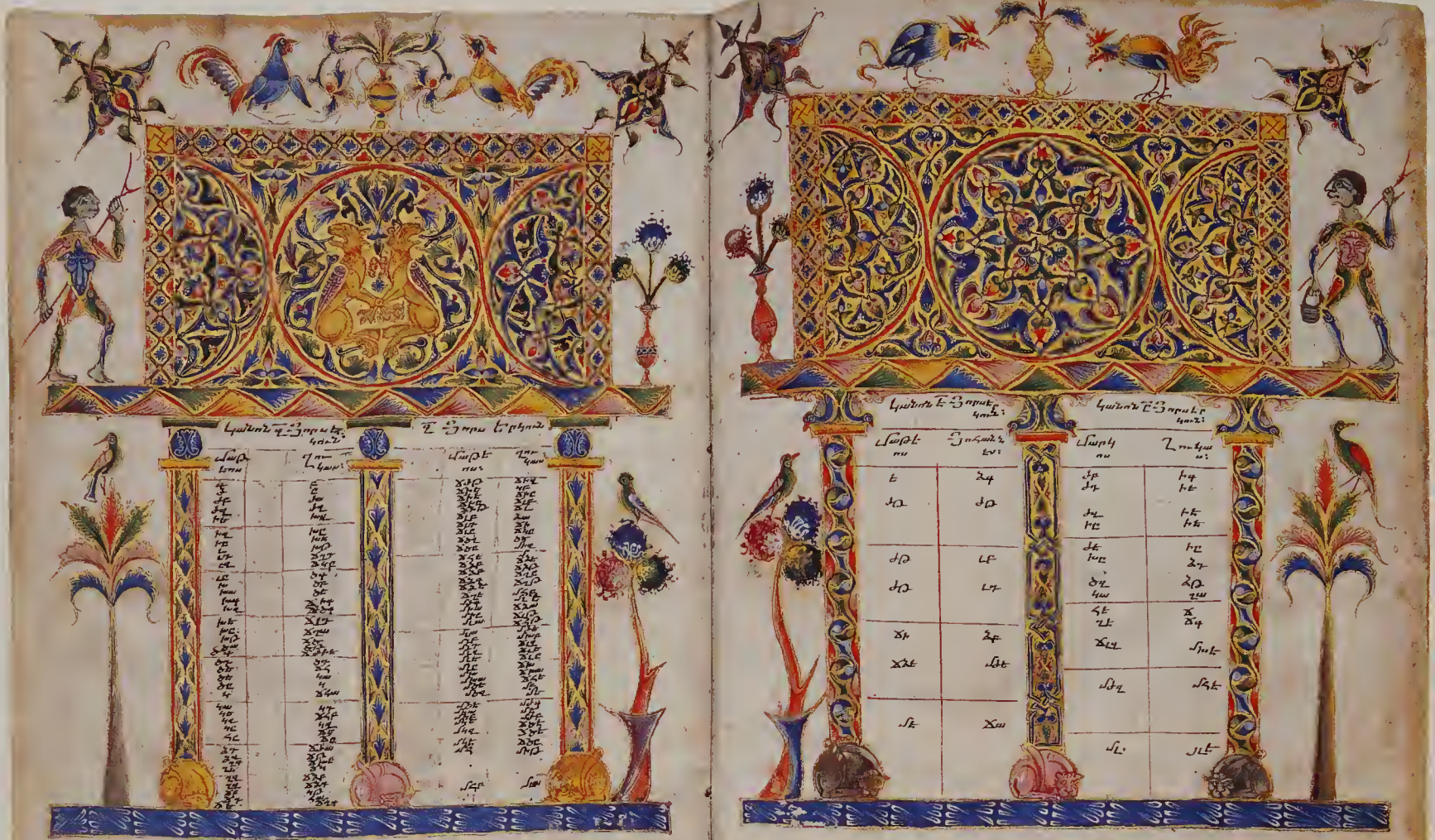
CONDITION: Sheets 12 and 290 have been cut out. The state of preservation is fair.

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (V3-835)

The manuscript consists of 293 pages, with the text written in double columns of nineteen lines each, in *bolorgir* (minuscule) script. One transversely folded page of vellum of a more ancient manuscript is sewn in at the beginning and one at the end of the manuscript; judging by the script (*erkat'agir*), the added sheets date back to the twelfth century. There are ten canon tables in the manuscript (Canon Tables 5–8, fols. 75v–76r, are illustrated), four incipit pages to the Gospels of Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and a number of marginalia.

The manuscript was first published in 1911 by Mesrop Maksutian,[1] when it was at Saint Thomas Monastery in Akulis. According to Maksutian, there were two colophons on sheets 12a and 290, which have since been lost. Maksutian provided the continuation of the colophon (on now-missing fol. 290), in which the scribe told the story of King Het'um II (r. 1289–1301) gathering a council from representatives of the top clergy and princes in order to found a new residence for the katholikos, clearly in connection with the seizure of Hṙomkla in 1291. On the basis of Maksutian's description, T. A. Izmailova[2] was able to identify the manuscript, which came to the Hermitage in a somewhat defective condition.

The artistic design of the Gospel book is typical of Cilician works of the second half of the thirteenth century. Nonetheless, some of the masterful artistry and delicacy of the art of the 1280s are lacking in the schematically and statically presented khorans (canon table pages) and incipit pages. In addition, the manuscript displays some stylistic trends that would become typical of fourteenth-century Armenian miniatures and find their consummation in the works of the most significant figure of the epoch, Sargis Pidzak. The manuscript's canon tables are noteworthy for the human figures wearing costumes with images of fish and birds (on the arms and legs) and lion's and bull's heads (on the chest). Such figures in masks and costumes, often encountered in Cilician illuminations, are a reflection of theatrical traditions that have a long history in Armenia.[3] Indeed, the artist may be depicting acrobatic ropewalkers in these



174, fols. 75v–76r

images. Although the illuminator's name is not indicated in the colophon, Izmailova[4] believes that the artist was the scribe of the manuscript, T'oros the Philosopher, one of the most respected practitioners at Drazark.[5]

According to the second colophon (missing fol. 12a), "the worthless Khachatur vardapet [priest]" had the Gospel newly bound in the year 1650 and presented it to the Akulis Monastery of the apostle Thomas. This statement offers some evidence that the Hermitage Gospel book was a model for the Gospel book of 1300 that belonged to Ivan Orbelyan (nephew of the historian Stepannos Orbelyan) (New Julfa, Isfahan, Armenian Cathedral Library 477 [35]).[6] The miniatures of that manuscript closely reproduce the same figures in costumes with images of fish and the same ornamental compositions of khorans. The latter miniatures, however, have lost the jewel-like precision that is a feature of T'oros the Philosopher's style. The influence of the Hermitage manuscript can be seen in the works of the leading artist of the Gladzor school, T'oros Taronatsi (Venice, Ms. 1917). Thus, the work of T'oros the Philosopher represented a link between the art of Cilicia and that of Greater Armenia.

The last manuscript begun by T'oros, in 1290, also in Drazark (Yerevan Matenadaran, Ms. 6290), was finished in 1295 by another scribe and illuminator, Ovannes, allowing us to date T'oros's death to before October 1294.[7]

AAM

1. Maksutian 1911.
2. Izmailova 1969, pp. 112–14.
3. Goian 1952.
4. Izmailova 1962.
5. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 128–29.
6. Der Nersessian and Mekhitarian 1986, pp. 64, 73, figs. 48–49.
7. Izmailova 1962, p. 49.

References: Maksutian 1911; Izmailova 1962; Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 128–29.

175. Greco-Georgian Manuscript

Iveron Monastery, Mount Athos, late 15th century
Paper; 146 fols.
8.2 x 12.4 cm (3¼ x 4⅞ in.)
Provenance: The manuscript supposedly once belonged to the Dadiani princes of Megreli (western Georgia), who owned lands in the vicinity of the Gelati Monastery; a few leaves that are now missing from its seventh and eighth quires were inserted into a seventeenth-century Georgian menaion from this monastery (now in the Kutaisi Museum); it was bought by the Imperial Public Library (now National Library of Russia) from G. M. Doloberidze, 1913.
Condition: The paper of this octavo codex has no watermarks and is evidently of Eastern origin.[1] There are 21 quires, each of them signed at the beginning and end with a Georgian numeral. Except for the last one, which is composed of ten folia, the quires contain either eight or six folia. Some are now incomplete. The manuscript has been rebound, and the quires were reordered. Many leaves have been repaired at the corners and edges with paper. The same kind of paper, with seventeenth-century watermarks, is used for protective flyleaves before each of the miniatures. Most miniatures have later overpaintings in tempera.
National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg (Ms. RAZN O.1.58)

The contents of this manuscript are unusual, as 86 of its leaves are occupied by images. The latter comprise altogether 190 multifigural scenes and some 700 single figures. The remaining 58 leaves contain texts in Greek

and Georgian. Judging from its paleography, this book was produced in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos in the last decade of the fifteenth century.[2] Evidently, Greeks and Georgians worked side by side in the monastery's scriptorium. As a whole, the leaves form a complex bilingual conglomerate of miscellaneous, mostly fragmentary, excerpts of varied contents and function. In view of their idiosyncratic selection, it is fully reasonable to assume that the book was meant for personal use.

The volume opens with a collection of passages from the four Gospels in Georgian, combined into a detailed account of the Life of Christ (fols. 1r–29r). The name of the respective evangelist is written in gold and magenta at the beginning of each passage. In terms of content and character, this selection is quite similar to the Diatessaron, a "harmony" of the four Gospels composed in the second century. As with many Georgian Gospel books of the eleventh to twelfth century, the manuscript ends with the apocryphal correspondence between Christ and the Abgar of Edessa. It also includes various Greek texts, such as Gospel readings and troparia (fols. 63r–72r, 75r–v, 135v), ecclesiastic hymns, and secular works (verses by Byzantine poets, a cycle of epigrams on the twelve months, fols. 44r–62v).

The miniatures form six independent cycles, each centered upon a single theme.[3] The first of these, immediately following the opening text, illustrates the Life of Christ in twenty-seven scenes, starting with the Annunciation and ending with the Resurrection (fols. 30r–43v). These full-page miniatures contain multifigural scenes with detailed architectural or landscape backgrounds. The second cycle comprises images of the dominical and Marian feasts (fols. 44r–48r). Its miniatures take up only the middle section of the respective pages. They are accompanied by inscriptions with the text of the troparia and stichera for the respective feast and flanked by figures of saints. Since the saints' selection and arrangement are not related to the dates or themes of the central feasts, they form a

175, Communion of the apostles: Christ administering the Eucharist

175, Communion of the apostles: procession of apostles

third, independent cycle within the manuscript (fols. 44–59). They are grouped according to category: apostles, bishops, monks, prophets, other Old Testament figures, martyrs, healers, and holy women. An indication that the manuscript was commissioned by a Georgian is the inclusion of several Georgian ascetics among the monastic saints. Among the female martyrs is Saint Nino, who brought Christianity to Georgia. Although the saints are basically arranged according to hierarchy, the cycle was also influenced by the Church calendar. The centers of folios 48v–52r are taken up by images of the Labors of the Months, with symbolic representations of each month of the year. They alternate with calendar epigrams by the twelfth-century Byzantine poet Nikolaos Kallikles. The fourth cycle of miniatures comprises representations of select feasts and saints (fols. 59v–62v). The relatively short selection is mostly limited to feasts and saints that enjoyed special veneration in the Georgian Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos and in Georgia itself: Saints George, Theodore Teron, Theodore Stratelates, and the martyr Mamas. Along the margins are the Georgian saints Peter the Iberian, Hilarion the Georgian Miracle Worker, and the founders of the Iveron Monastery, the saints John, Euthymios, and George. The fifth cycle is an illustrated Church calendar (menologion), covering the entire year (fols. 76r–126r). The saints are shown full length, and a Georgian inscription next to each figure indicates its name and feast day. In terms of its contents, the calendar is close to Constantinopolitan menologia of the late tenth to twelfth century. The Greek verses found in Byzantine manuscripts are here replaced by Georgian troparia. Finally, the sixth cycle is composed of fourteen scenes illustrating the miracles and sermons of Christ (fols. 132r–135r). It is mostly based on the Gospel of John. The selection of scenes is paralleled by the Paschal cycle in mural paintings of fourteenth-century monastic churches.[4]

It is exceptionally difficult to classify the present manuscript. Nikolai Okunev and Dmitrii Abramovich labeled it a religious miscellany of the late Palaiologan period, while E. Ė. Granstrem and Shalva Amiranashvili cautiously defined it simply as a miscellany. Vera Likhacheva considered it a menologion; Pavle Mijović, an idiosyncratic menologion, and he noted that the unusual combination of texts and miniatures is difficult to explain. In a special monograph on the manuscript, Liliia Evseeva argues that it is essentially an iconographic pattern book. PM

176, fol. 48v

1. V. M. Zagrebin, cited in Evseeva 1998, p. 34.
2. Boris L. Fonkich, cited in ibid., p. 119.
3. Evseeva 1998, p. 42.
4. Ibid., p. 87.

References: Okunev 1912, pp. 43–44; Abramovich 1920, p. 21; Shervashidze 1953; Amiranashvili 1963, pp. 253–54, pl. 165; Amiranashvili 1966, pp. 34–35; Lazarev 1967, p. 439 n. 235; E. Ė. Granstrem in Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, p. 150, no. 999; V. Likhacheva 1977b; V. Likhacheva 1977c; Mijović 1977; Lazarev 1986, vol. 1, p. 266; Evseeva 1998.

176. *Idylls* of Theocritus and Other Poems

Byzantine (Thessalonike?), first half of the 14th century
Paper
23.5 x 15.5 cm (9¼ x 6⅛ in.)
Inscribed: At left, Θεόκριτος (Theocritus); at right, Πάν (Pan)
Provenance: Entered the Bibliothèque Royal before 1740.

CONDITION: The volume is made up of either multiple manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
(Ms. grec 2832)

The first forty-eight leaves of this manuscript are an integral section, distinct from the other portions of the volume's contents.[1] They were attributed for some time to the hand of the noted Byzantine philologist of the fourteenth century, Demetrios Triklinios,[2] but are now generally given to an anonymous scribe in his circle.[3] Although the precise identity of the scribe is unknown, an analysis of the paleography of this section points to a date about the first half of the fourteenth century. A demonstration of the renewed interest in ancient poetry, this portion of the manuscript contains the *Idylls* of Theocritus followed by two calligrams or technopaignia, descriptions in which words are arranged to form a decorative pattern: the *Altar* by Dosiades, and the *Syrinx* (fol. 48v), attributed to Theocritus. This last work was copied twice. Following the example of other technopaignia that are preserved in the margins of the texts of bucolic poets or in the Greek Anthology, the *Syrinx*[4] stands out by the constant use of periphrasis, paronyms, and a broad use of wordplay, all of which make an understanding of the text particularly difficult.

Once deciphered, the poem reveals itself to be a dedication from Theocritus to the god Pan. It is thus Theocritus himself who is represented in the second copy of the poem, facing right and, with outstretched arms, offering his verses to Pan. Together with similar representations of Dosiades and Apollo on the preceding folio, this illustration is one of the rare Late Byzantine images explicitly linked to a classical text. The classical inspiration of the representations is apparent, although they are not modeled either directly or indirectly upon an ancient prototype. In fact, it is well known that the present manuscript is based on an edition of calligrams edited with commentary by Manuel Holobolos at Constantinople during the thirteenth century.

Holobolos's commentary appears in the manuscript between the first copy of the *Syrinx* and the *Altar* by Dosiades. It initially notes that the syrinx, or panpipe, of Theocritus has nine tones and adds that "one can see that it is pierced by nine holes." This explicit reference to an illustration indicates that Holobolos's edition would have contained a representation of a flute pierced by nine holes. As a consequence there is a disjunction between the manner in which the flute is described within the poem itself and its illustrated form, which now appears similar to the modern recorder. The twenty verses, in lines of decreasing size next to the illustration of Theocritus, symbolize the decreasing size of the pipes of the traditional syrinx. CF

1. Weitzmann 1951, p. 146; Paris 1958, no. 5; Belting 1970, pp. 18, 96; Paris 1992–93, p. 459, no. 353; Paris 2001c, p. 2, no. 45.
2. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906, p. 9.
3. Nigel Wilson, "Nicean and Paleologan Hands: Introduction to a Discussion," in Glénisson et al. 1977, pp. 263–77.
4. The syrinx, also known as a panpipe, is a wind instrument consisting of a graduated series of short vertical flutes that each emit a single note. Played like a harmonica, the flutes or reeds are bound together so that the mouthpieces form an even row. Syrinx was a nymph loved by the god Pan; in revulsion she fled to her sisters, the earth or river nymphs, to shield her from his advances, and was transformed into a bed of reeds, from which Pan formed his pipe.

Liturgical Textiles

WARREN WOODFIN

The textiles that served the liturgical rites of Byzantium have suffered greatly from the accidents of time. Apart from the inherent fragility of their silk fabric, their rich ornamentation with pearls, stones, and plaques of gold and silver made them tempting targets for plunder at various periods. Niketas Choniates tells us that even before the sack of Constantinople in 1204 the heavy golden veils hanging in the Church of Hagia Sophia were melted down in order to pay off the Latin armies threatening the city.[1] Nevertheless, a surprisingly large number of woven and embroidered textiles, many of outstanding quality, have survived from Byzantium and its Orthodox neighbors from as early as the twelfth century.[2]

We know very little about the artists and workshops that produced liturgical textiles in the Late Byzantine period. Only circumstantial evidence and judgment on such indefinable features as style and quality allow us to suggest places of origin for the various surviving pieces. Although silk production appears to have continued in Byzantium after the Crusader interregnum, the production of lavishly patterned silks woven on sophisticated looms declined precipitously.[3] Instead, the favored technique of textile decoration became gold embroidery, or chrysokentema, the application of gold or silver-gilt threads to the surface of the textile, secured in place with silk threads.[4] The pattern in which the securing (couching) stitches were applied provided the visual texture of the work. Furthermore, the metal thread might be twisted around a colored silk core, giving a faint tinge of color to the gold. The images of faces and hands were typically worked in stitches of untwisted colored silk, rendering them the most fragile portions of the finished work. The possibilities for pictorial subtlety inherent in these techniques are amply illustrated by the Thessalonike Epitaphios (cat. 187), which can stand beside the finest paintings and mosaics of the fourteenth century in its dignity and pathos.

Fig. 10.1. Contemporary procession of an epitaphios textile during Easter at the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Many of the surviving liturgical embroideries from the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods were essentially decorative, adding splendor to the church interior and to occasions of state. Among these are the rich cloths, or podeai, that hung down in front of icons when they were displayed on stands for veneration, as illustrated on the Triumph of Orthodoxy icon (cat. 78). Many of them bore embroidered images that either matched or complemented the subject of the icon with which they were displayed.[5] This may have been the original function of a Russian embroidery with the image of Saint Cyril of Belozersk surrounded by scenes from his life (cat. 198). Other textile panels hung in the church or were used as standards in outdoor processions and ceremonies. Niketas Choniates informs us of the use in the twelfth century of embroidered pictures of saints to line the routes of imperial processions, and the fourteenth-century ceremonial manual of Pseudo-Kodinos describes outdoor imperial audiences that were enriched with banks of embroidered banners carried by members of the court.[6] A large textile with the enthroned Saint George was perhaps intended for such a use at the Moldavian court, echoing earlier custom in Palaiologan Constantinople.

The most important liturgical cloths were the ones that came into the closest contact with the consecrated elements of bread and wine. These were the veils for the chalice and paten, known respectively as the poterokalymma and diskokalymma, and collectively as the Little Aeres. The large veil that covered them both is also called the aer, or, to avoid confusion with the smaller veils, the Great Aer. A matched set of poterokalymma and diskokalymma, now in the Halberstadt Cathedral treasury (figs. 10.2, 10.3), are perhaps our earliest surviving liturgical textiles from Byzantium, dating between 1185 and 1195.[7] Their embroidered images already show the most important characteristic of the iconography of such pieces, revealing in pictorial form the inner meaning of the object hidden by the cloth. In the case of the Halberstadt veils, the embroidery shows the Communion of the Apostles, with Christ as the priest

Fig. 10.2. Poterokalymma (chalice veil, or Little Aer). Silk with gold embroidery, between 1185 and 1195. Cathedral Treasury, Halberstadt, Germany (87)

Fig. 10.3. Diskokalymma (paten veil, or Little Aer). Silk with gold embroidery, between 1185 and 1195. Cathedral Treasury, Halberstadt, Germany (88)

administering the sacrament. The decoration underscores the theological idea that the real ministrant in the Eucharist is Christ himself, who consecrates the bread and wine covered by the veils.

The faithful would have had occasion to glimpse the gold-embroidered decoration of these textiles during the climax of the Byzantine rite, the offertory procession known as the Great Entrance. The procession would trace a circular path, bringing the prepared bread and wine out from the north door of the sanctuary, through the midst of the people. The chalice and paten, covered with their veils, were held high by the deacon and priest as they passed through the congregation to the sounds of the Cherubikon hymn chanted by the choir. After a pause at the sanctuary entrance to offer prayers for the faithful, the gifts were deposited on the altar and covered with the Great Aer.[8]

As early as the fourth century, Byzantine theologians interpreted the action of bringing the bread and wine to the altar table and covering them with the aer as a symbol of Christ's burial.[9] Gradually, verses associated with the Holy Week rites were brought into the text of the Eucharist to reinforce this interpretation of the offertory.[10] In keeping with the practice of having liturgical textiles give pictorial form to the hidden symbolism of the liturgy, the Great Aer began to be embroidered with the image of the dead Christ. The earliest surviving examples date from about 1300 and are conventionally known as epitaphioi (literally, "upon the tomb") from their depiction of the holy body laid out for burial.[11] Often Christ's body is shown lying upon the Stone of Unction, a revered relic brought to Constantinople from Ephesus by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80).[12] Various ranks of angels are shown mourning the death of Christ, and at times they wave liturgical fans (rhipidia) over his body. The ministering angels shown on several of the epitaphioi in the present exhibition (cats. 187, 188, 190) not only perform the diaconal office by waving liturgical fans but also wear the distinctive vestments—sticharion and orarion—of a Byzantine deacon.[13] They are thus shown as mystical participants in the Eucharist, with Christ himself as the offering. Conversely, Late and post-Byzantine fresco paintings from Greece and the Balkans show the Great Entrance enacted by angels, some of whom carry the embroidered epitaphios over their heads (figs. 10.4, 10.5).[14] A remarkable number of epitaphioi bear inscriptions naming the giver and, often, the date as well, and asking prayers for the donor and his family.[15] Hans Belting has pointed out that the aer or epitaphios would be a particularly fitting place for such inscriptions, for it was during the Great Entrance that the priest would offer intercessory prayers for those who put themselves in the path of the procession.[16]

In present Greek Orthodox usage, the epitaphios and the Great Aer are two different cloths.[17] The epitaphios is displayed in church on Good Friday and Holy Saturday and carried in a funerary cortege commemorating the burial of Christ. The cloth is commonly carried out of the church with incense and lights to traverse the village or district before its return. The two-dimensional embroidered image of the holy corpse stands in for a body in what is otherwise a fully realized funeral procession. The use of an embroidered cloth to reenact the burial cortege of Christ is first attested in a book of liturgical directions dating to 1346, which states that the priest carries the Gospel book (an ancient symbol of Christ's presence) on his

right shoulder, wrapped in an aer, the veil for the sacramental elements.[18]

The iconography of the epitaphios gradually changed under the influence of its new use in the commemoration of the Passion. The Virgin, Saint John, Mary Magdalene, and other mourners first appear on epitaphioi in the early fifteenth century and occur in ever increasing numbers throughout the post-Byzantine period.[19] This trend in the decoration of the epitaphios may reflect its more and more exclusive use in Holy Week.[20] There are still no definite answers to the questions exactly when and why the use of the epitaphios in the Great Entrance ceased. It is quite likely, however, that the very drama of the simulated burial cortege on Good Friday, despite its resonance with the Great Entrance in the daily liturgy, demanded the exclusive use of the epitaphios. The identification of the cloth as a special feature of the Holy Week rites would have gradually led to the suppression of its liturgical use at other times of the year.

Just as the veils for the eucharistic elements made their inward meaning visible, so the liturgical dress of the clergy revealed the theological significance of their ministry. According to the fifteenth-century archbishop Symeon of Thessalonike, it is because the bishop is the image of Christ that "he puts on the holy vestments, in preparing to officiate, all of them having symbolism and spiritual interpretation."[21] To interpret the vestments of the clergy as a means by which the celebrant represents Christ has a long pedigree in Byzantium. The *Historia mystagogica* of Saint Germanos of Constantinople, which probably dates to the eighth century, interprets the outer garments of the bishop as a symbol of Christ's flesh.[22] The vestments thus represent the incarnation of the divine word, the central mystery of Orthodox Christian theology. Despite the broad currency of Germanos's mystagogy, not until the twelfth century was such symbolism made more concrete by the addition of pictorial embroideries depicting Christ, feasts of the Church, and saints. At the same time, the forms of vesture that had been established well before Iconoclasm underwent rapid development and elaboration. The result of these changes was that clergy came to be distinguished not only by their order (that is, as bishop, priest, or deacon) but also by their rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[23] New garments appeared that were restricted to the highest ranks of clergy, such vestments as the polystaurion—a liturgical robe decorated with a pattern of crosses. The archbishop of Serres in Macedonia wears a dark polystaurion with white crosses in a manuscript of 1354 (cat. 25). As new vestments were added at the highest levels of the hierarchy, certain episcopal garments, such as the epimanikia, the embroidered liturgical cuffs, became available to priests. This trickle-down effect in turn stimulated the tendency to add new vestments to distinguish the highest prelates.

The most spectacular of these late additions to the episcopal wardrobe was the sakkos, a eucharistic vestment with short sleeves, similar in shape to the Western dalmatic. The sakkos is first recorded in the late twelfth century by the canon lawyer Theodore Balsamon (fl. ca. 1170–95), who deems it, along with the polystaurion, to be strictly reserved to the patriarch.[24] Demetrios Chomatenos, writing shortly thereafter, also mentions the sakkos as a vestment worn only by the patriarch and certain exceptional archbishops at the three annual "brilliant dominical feasts" of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.[25] Symeon of Thessalonike also specifies that the sakkos has short sleeves and is covered with crosses, imitating in its form the purple robe worn by Christ at his mockery.[26] In the Palaiologan period, the sakkos occasionally appears in paintings of bishops, such as the icon of Saint Gregory Palamas in Moscow.

Several of the vestments in the present exhibition feature Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist flanked by saints and angels, a theme known conventionally as the Great Deesis.[27] Although its appearance in monumental painting is relatively uncommon in the Late Byzantine period, it was a favorite subject for the icons of the iconostasis as well as for embroideries. Symeon of Thessalonike explained it as a symbol of Christ's presence in heaven among the saints just as he is present sacramentally among the faithful.[28] The Deesis as depicted on the very fine stole from the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos (cat. 184) is dominated by busts of holy bishops, reinforcing the connection between the heavenly and the earthly Church. The theme of the Great Deesis finds its fullest expression on the epitrachelion (stole) of Photios from the early fifteenth century (cat. 183). Here, the central figures of Christ, the Mother of God, and John the Baptist are accompanied by eighty-eight busts of saints in tiny pearl-edged roundels. Although the effect is one of almost dizzying repetition, each saint is depicted according to the appropriate portrait type and identified by an embroidered inscription.

The decoration of the two sakkoi of Photios (fig. 10.6 and cat. 178), now in the Moscow Kremlin, is striking on account of its repetition of iconographic themes that would already have been represented on the walls and iconostasis of a typical Late

Fig. 10.4. Celestial procession of the epitaphios textile. Fresco, Church of Saint Anthony at Vrontesi, Crete, 1425–50. Photo: Doula Mouriki

Fig. 10.5. Liturgical textiles in procession and worn by Christ. Fresco, painted by George Markou (active 1718–46). Holy Monastery of Kaisariane, Athens

Byzantine church. This repetition of images would have helped to link the celebrant to the sacred figures depicted in the paintings. The sakkos, with its sandwich-board form and stiff, embroidered decoration, transformed the appearance of the celebrant into a flattened, hieratic figure analogous to the sainted bishops seen in the frescoes and icons of the church.[29] Changes in the pontifical liturgy also highlighted the richness and density of the images on the vestments of the celebrant. By the late fourteenth century, bishops were ceremoniously vested in the middle of the naos, where their splendid apparel could be seen up close. At the two most solemn moments of the liturgy, the Great Entrance and the Communion, the curtain of the iconostasis would be drawn aside to reveal the bishop within the doors.[30] Framed by the images on the screen, the imagery on the vestments would invite the congregation to view the celebrant as a living extension of the sanctuary and its icons.

We have already seen in the case of the epitaphios that the symbolic linkage of the liturgical rites with the life of Christ as recorded in the Gospels influenced the decoration of the textiles. This symbolism was also at work in the depiction of the cycle of scenes from the Gospels on the vestments of the clergy. This cycle could be depicted in large scale, as on the sakkoi of Photios, or in intricate detail on smaller vestments such as the epitrachelion of Peter the Skeuophylax, now housed in the Great Lavra monastery, on Mount Athos, Greece. Because the whole eucharistic rite was seen as a ritual reenactment of the life of Christ from his incarnation to his ascension into heaven, the celebrant moving through each action of the rite mirrors Christ's works in the Gospel. When representations of the life of Christ are applied to the vestments of the celebrant, the theological idea that he ministers as the representative of Christ is transformed from an abstract principle to a physically visible reality.[31] The equivalence of the celebrant and Christ is made even more explicit by an iconostasis curtain of 1399 from Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, on which Christ is shown vested in the sakkos and omophorion, the distinctive stole of an Orthodox bishop (fig. 10.7).[32]

Shortly after the Ottoman conquest, the motif of Christ as high priest was picked up by textile workshops at Constantinople or Bursa (Turkey). Ottoman looms produced large quantities of silk-and-metal twills with this and other Christian subjects in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; examples are to be found in collections from Moscow to Chicago (fig. 10.8).[33] The fragment of a silk with the Virgin and Child from the Benaki Museum in Athens (cat. 269) shows the commingling of Orthodox Christian iconography—the Virgin Nikopoios with angels and crosses—and typically Turkish motifs such as the serrated medallions and the tulips that bend around the figures. The church treasuries of southeastern Europe are full of vestments and hangings that combine these luxurious Ottoman textiles with Italian silks, which together are ornamented with locally embroidered motifs.[34] The hybrid form of these vestments serves as an evocative reminder of the ambiguous position of the Byzantine tradition in an Islamic empire.

Fig. 10.6. Major Sakkos of Photios, front and back (cat. 178). Silk with gold embroidery and pearls, 1414–17. Kremlin Armory, Moscow

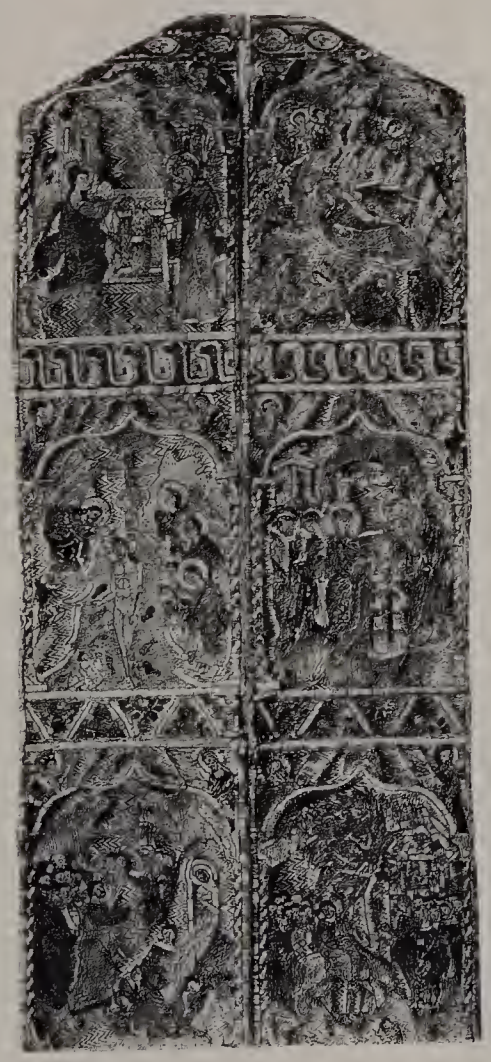


Fig. 10.7. Epitrachelion of Peter the Skeuophylax (detail). Silk, 14th century. Holy Monastery of the Great Lavra, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo after Millet 1939–41, vol. 1, pl. 110

Fig. 10.8. Textile with Christ Blessing in roundels. Silk and metallic thread, 16th to 17th century. Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland (648)

177. Vatican Sakkos

Byzantine (Constantinople or Thessalonike), 14th century
Blue silk with silver, silver-gilt, and colored silk threads
162 x 144 cm (63¾ x 56¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: Flanking the head of Christ Emmanuel, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς ἡ ἀνάστασις κ(αὶ) ἡ ζωή (Jesus Christ, the Resurrection and the Life); in the book held by Christ Emmanuel, Δεῦτ[ε] οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ π(ατ)ρός μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑ(μῖν βασιλείαν) (Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you); above the scene of the Transfiguration, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, ἡ μεταμόρφωσις (Jesus Christ, the Transfiguration); on the tablet held by Moses, an indecipherable (pseudo-?) inscription; on the left sleeve, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντε(ς) (Jesus Christ, Drink ye all of this); on the right sleeve, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, Λάβετε φάγετε (Jesus Christ, Take, eat)
PROVENANCE: Recorded in 1489 in the inventory of the Treasury of Saint Peter's in the Vatican (and not in the earlier inventories of 1436 and 1454–55), and described there as "Una dalmatica de colore celesti contexta cum figureis aureis et argenteis . . . ex opere Graeco, cum stola" (One dalmatic of sky-blue color worked with gold and silver figures . . . of Greek manufacture, with a stole).[1]
CONDITION: Much patching of the background has been undertaken. Some details—for example, the foliage directly below Christ in the Transfiguration—have been added by later hands. There are extensive losses in the embroidery depicting the choir of saints, especially the faces.
The Vatican Treasury, Vatican City

This garment, long known erroneously and for unexplained reasons as the Dalmatic of Charlemagne, is in fact a Byzantine sakkos of the fourteenth century. At that date, sakkoi were worn on feast days exclusively by patriarchs and a few high-ranking archbishops. Together with the Thessalonike Epitaphios, the Vatican Sakkos represents the pinnacle of the art of embroidery in Byzantium. Its monumental and restrained decoration compares closely with that of frescoes and mosaics of the so-called Palaiologan renaissance of the first half of the fourteenth century.

There is but one major image on each side of the vestment. The back features the Transfiguration of Christ, on Mount Tabor,[2] which is evoked by the contours of rocks and foliage. The subsidiary episodes of Christ, Peter, James, and John ascending and descending the mountain are tucked in between the three peaks on which the transfigured Savior, Moses, and Elijah stand.[3] The abbreviated sleeves illustrate the Communion of the Apostles in two episodes, with Christ shown in the role of a priest administering the wine on the left side and the bread on the right.

The embroidery on the front of the sakkos is organized as a pair of concentric circles. Within the interior circle, Christ Emmanuel sits on a rainbow, surrounded by the symbols of the Four Evangelists and with the angelic thrones—depicted as winged wheels—for his footstool. The interceding figures of Mary and John flank Christ, who is labeled "the Resurrection and the Life" (John 11:25). He holds a book of the Gospels, open to Matthew 25:34, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you." The inner glory is surrounded by ranks of angels and archangels flanking the instruments of the Passion, with the various classes of saints arrayed below, including, exceptionally, a group of holy women with the half-nude Saint Mary of Egypt among them. All the saints make a gesture of intercession echoing that made by the Virgin and Saint John. Outside of this circle, at the left, the souls of the righteous are gathered into the bosom of Abraham, while the Good Thief appears with his cross at bottom right. It is difficult to put a name to this scene, which has no real precedent in Byzantine iconography.[4] The inscription in Christ's book confirms the impression that the scene is extracted from the iconography of the Last Judgment by the omission of all the negative aspects of the latter.[5] It is an image of the Church Triumphant, gathered around Christ in heaven.

The theological idea of theosis (divinization)[6] binds together the iconographically disparate elements in the sakkos. The Transfiguration has traditionally been interpreted as an advance revelation of the glorified body that Christ would inhabit after the Resurrection and, by extension, that the faithful would put on at the last day. The general resurrection and the glory of the blessed are in turn evoked by the scene on the front of the sakkos. The Communion of the Apostles forms the link between the Gospel story of Christ's Transfiguration and the image of the calling of the blessed at the end of time, for it represents the sacramental means by which believers are joined to Christ and conformed to his image.

It is tempting to read the theological program of the Vatican Sakkos against the background of the hesychastic theology that came to the fore with the teachings of Gregory Palamas in the mid-fourteenth century.[7] The

177, back

177, front

Transfiguration occupied a key place in the theology of the hesychasts, who held that through prayer and meditation, believers could actually come to perceive the same divine light that shone around Christ on Mount Tabor. If one accepts a fourteenth-century date for the sakkos, as its style suggests, then it could plausibly have belonged to the great spokesman for the hesychast cause, Gregory Palamas.

WTW

1. Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi* (Milan, 1740–41), vol. 3, cap. 31, p. 459. Cited in Beltrame 1993, p. 54.
2. Matthew 17:1–8; Mark 9:2–8; Luke 9:28–36.
3. These subsidiary episodes are first encountered in book illumination, as in Iveron Tetraevangelion 5 (XIIc.), fol. 53. See Lambros 1895–1900, vol. 2, pp. 1–2, no. 4125; Millet 1916, p. 231, fig. 200.
4. The textual and visual sources for the scene are studied exhaustively in Millet 1945, pp. 2–12 and 13–36 *passim*.
5. Ibid., p. 99; Piltz 1976, p. 58.
6. For an explanation of this term, a favorite theme of Byzantine theology in general and of Palamism in particular, see Sartorius 1965.
7. On the currency of these ideas in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, see Meyendorff 1971; on Palamas in particular, cf. Meyendorff 1959c, pp. 223–56.

References: Millet 1945; Millet 1947, pls. 135–151, pp. 67–71 (with earlier bibl.); D. T. Rice 1963, p. 262; Johnstone 1967, pp. 94–95, pls. 1–6; Piltz 1976; Beltrame 1993; Woodfin 2002, pp. 104–6, 171.

178. Minor Sakkos of the Metropolitan Photios

Byzantine (Constantinople), 14th century; Russian additions, 15th century and later
Silk satin textile embroidered with silver, silver-gilt, and colored thread with pearls
142 x 150 cm (55⅞ x 59 in.)
INSCRIBED: In the vertical columns on the front and back of the garment, beginning on the garment's right shoulder, the Greek text of the Nicene Creed, +Πιστεύω εἰς ὅνα (*sic*) θ(εὸ)ν π(ατέ)ρα παντοκράτορα . . . (I believe in one God, the Father almighty . . .); the conclusion of the text is truncated at the words καὶ εἰς τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κύρϊον (And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord [and giver of life] . . .). In Slavonic, across the front of the right sleeve, +Вχодъ во Иерусалимъ (Entry into Jerusalem); across the front of the left sleeve, Сшествие Святаго Духа (Descent of the Holy Spirit); across the back of the right sleeve, Воскрешение Лазарево (Raising of Lazarus); across the back of the left sleeve, Соборъ гвятыхъ ѡ(те)цъ трюготъ ѱі (Council of the three hundred [and] 18 holy fathers); above the cross in the Crucifixion, Ἡ Στ(αύ)ρωσις (The Crucifixion); across the center of the front, +Ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Ἀνάστασις. (The Holy Resurrection of Christ); across the center of the back, Οἱ ἱεροῖς [*sic*] σου Κ(ύρι)ε ἐνδύσονται δικαιωσύνη(ν) (Let your priests, Lord, be clothed with righteousness [Psalm 131 (132):9]). Abbreviated inscriptions identify each figure, and the prophets hold scrolls with abbreviated scriptural citations in Greek (front) and Slavonic (back). The bands on the sides of the garment are decorated with pseudo-Arabic inscriptions.
PROVENANCE: Sent to Moscow from Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century; transferred to the Kremlin Armory from the Patriarchal Vestry in 1920.
CONDITION: There are losses of gold and silk thread in the embroideries, as well as minor losses of pearls. The underlying fabrics are abraded and tear easily.
State Historical and Cultural Museum "Moscow Kremlin," Moscow (Tk-5)

178, front

The product of some four centuries of reworking and addition, the Minor Sakkos of Photios nonetheless presents a coherent summary of the Orthodox faith through its embroidered images and texts. The vestment, of which the front torso portion is substantially original, is thought to have been made in Constantinople and dispatched to Moscow as a gift in connection with the canonization of Metropolitan Peter of Moscow in 1339.[1] The new saint himself appears on the sakkos (second from the bottom in the column directly to the right of the wearer's left shoulder) among such venerable hierarchs as Saints Basil the Great, Athanasios, John Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzos.

The front and back of the sakkos are dominated by images drawn from the life of Christ: the Crucifixion, Anastasis (Resurrection), Transfiguration, and Ascension.[2] As with the early-fifteenth-century Major Sakkos of Photios (fig. 10.6), the decoration of the center portions echoes the polystaurion by being organized into equal-armed crosses and right angles.[3] Each scene is set into an inscribed circle within a cross, while the surrounding angles frame figures of Old Testament prophets. The prophets' scrolls bear inscriptions commenting on the Gospel event they witness. Isaiah, placed to the upper right of the crucifixion, announces, "He was led like a sheep to the slaughter,"[4] while Ezekiel's prophecy, "Behold, I will bring upon you the spirit of life,"[5] is juxtaposed with the Anastasis. The images of the Transfiguration and Ascension, which occupy analogous positions on the back of the sakkos, bear Slavonic rather than Greek inscriptions; these, along with the style of the needlework, indicate a major sixteenth-century restoration that probably preserved the original Byzantine iconography. The sleeves of the garment were completely remade in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century on a fabric of Italian damask. On the front, they depict the Entry into Jerusalem and the Pentecost. On the back of the sleeves, the Raising of Lazarus appears opposite an image combining the First Council of Nicaea with the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria, two events seen to vindicate theological orthodoxy.

178, back

The fourteenth-century theologian Nicholas Kabasilas linked the cycle of scenes from the life of Christ, depicted in church paintings, with the mystery of the Eucharist. The images epitomize Christ's incarnation and sacrifice, "that we might not reason with the mind alone, but indeed should see in some fashion with our eyes the great poverty of the one who is rich, the dwelling within us of him who inhabits every place, the reproaches suffered by the blessed one, the sufferings of the impassible one; how much he was hated, how much he loved; being so great, how much he abased himself; and what he suffered and what he accomplished to spread this table before us."[6] This pictorial cycle gains even closer association with the liturgical reenactment of Christ's life through its depiction on the sakkos used in the celebration of the Eucharist. The images find a parallel in the inscribed Greek text of the Nicene Creed, which runs in parallel columns down the front and back of the garment. The scenes epitomizing the history of salvation, the prophets that foretold the Incarnation, and the saints who fulfilled the teachings of Christ combine with the inscribed symbol of faith, the Creed, to create an icon of Orthodox belief.

WTW

The sakkos is the most solemn vestment of the Orthodox clergy. In Russia until the 1660s, only the head of the church (the metropolitan or, after 1589, the patriarch) could wear it when celebrating the liturgy. This sakkos is embroidered with images of church festivals and saints along with explanatory inscriptions in Greek and Russian. The collar is framed with vegetal ornament, the hem with bust portraits of saints, Greek crosses, and decorative rosettes. The figures' faces and hands are embroidered with thin skin-colored silk thread; the outlines are stitched in brown, and the hair in brown and gray. All the remaining embroidery is done with silver or gold thread intertwined with colored silk. An embroidered band along the sides is covered with small ornaments and repeated pseudo-Arabic inscriptions. A blue damask strip is attached to the hem, and a green one to the edges of the sleeves. Both strips are embroidered with a geometric pattern of pearl strings and studded with small oval silver plaques. The slit sides are closed by twelve silver buttons. The lining is of green taffeta.

The pearl embroidery along the edges is also late.

IIV

1. Metropolitan Peter was, exceptionally for the time, canonized with the express permission of the patriarch of Constantinople, John XIV Kalekas. See Meyendorff 1981, p. 156; Hunger and Kresten 1981–, vol. 2, pp. 164–67.
2. The literature on the dodekaorton is extensive. Among recent publications, see Kitzinger 1988; Spieser 1991, 1999.
3. A similar scheme of crosses and angles, without figural embroidery, is found on the fourteenth-century Sakkos of Metropolitan Alexei. See Goncharova et al. 1969, pl. 25.
4. "ὡς πρόβατον [ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη]." Isaiah 53:7.
5. "ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ φέρω εἰς ὑμᾶς πν(εῦμ)α ζωῆς." Ezekiel 37:5.
6. ". . . ἵνα μὴ τῷ νῷ λογιζώμεθα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέπωμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τρόπον δή τινα τὴν πολλὴν τοῦ πλουσίου πενίαν, τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ πάντα τόπον κατέχοντος, τὰ ὀνείδη τοῦ εὐλογημένου, τὰ πάθη τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς, ὅσον μισηθείς, ὅσον ἠγάπησεν· ἡλίκος ὤν, ὅσον ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν· καὶ τί παθὼν καὶ τί δράσας, ταύτην ἡτοίμασεν ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν τὴν τράπεζαν·." Kabasilas 1967, pp. 66–67; *PG*, vol. 150, col. 373C–D.

REFERENCES: Johnstone 1967, pp. 95, 97, pls. 11–14; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, pp. 154–55, no. 1004 (with bibl.); Piltz 1976, pp. 29–31, 42–43, 46–47, 65–66; Bank 1977, p. 329, figs. 305–307; Moscow 1991a, pp. 38–43, no. 9 (with bibl.); Woodfin 2002, pp. 100–102.

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179. Episcopal Miter

Serbia, mid-15th century
Dark blue silk embroidered in silk, gold, and silver thread, precious stones, pearls
24 x 27 cm (9½ x 10⅝ in.)
PROVENANCE: The metropolitan of Belgrade, then to Krušedol Monastery; in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade, since 1945.
Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade (4945)

The dark blue silk ground of the miter is embellished with an embroidered interlace of tendrils and floral ornament consisting of lilies worked in red and blue. The semispherical shape is based on medieval miters of the Byzantine style. The decoration is in three tiers. The upper surface is divided into four stylized fields bordered by a circle embroidered with gold thread. The interior of the field includes an embroidered prayer in Slavonic, ornamented with pearl beads: Б(огороди)це Д(е)во / прими / мое сие / дар(ен)н(е). (O Virgin Mother of God, accept this gift of mine). The central band features a dedictory inscription embroidered in medallions and adorned with pearls: + Сіе митро створи г(ос)п(о)га Ка(н)такꙋзи(н)а митроп(о)ли белградскои (This miter was made by Madam Kantakuzina for the metropolitan see of Belgrade). This refers to the Metropolitan Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Belgrade, which was restored by the despot Stefan Lazarević. The border at the lower edge of the miter displays the partially preserved text of Psalm 25 (26):8–9 adorned with pearls: Г(оспод)и вз(лю)бих б(лаго)лепие [до]м(а) твоег(о) и мѣст(о) се(ле)нна (сл)авы [твоеја]. Не пог(у)би (с)о нечест(ив(и)ми д(у)ш(у) ме и с м(у)жми кр(о)в[еј]. (O Lord, I love the house in which you dwell, and the place where your glory abides. Do not sweep me away with sinners, nor [my life] with the bloodthirsty). On top of the miter is a metal ornament in the shape of a lily, which was added at a later date.

Despina Katarina, daughter of the Serbian despot Đurad Branković, married Urlih Celjski in 1433. After the death of her husband, she governed the lands of the Celjski family. She died around 1490. SM

REFERENCES: Valtrović 1887, pp. 128–30; Valtrović 1895, pp. 111–12; Strika 1927, pp. 64 (repr.), 77; Mirković 1931, p. 26, pl. XXXI/1; Mirković 1940, p. 36; D. Stojanović 1959, p. 13, no. 59; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969, p. 74, no. 98; D. Stojanović 1973a, pp. 6 (repr.), 21, no. 53; Madrid 1981, p. 46, no. 63; Mileusnić 1990, no. 132, Celje 1998, pp. 409–18, repr. pp. 360–61, 413.

180. Epigonation with the Anastasis

Late Byzantine, 14th century
Gold embroidery on purple silk
34 x 33 cm (13⅜ x 13 in.)
INSCRIBED: ἡ Ανάστασις (The Resurrection); ὁ Ἅγιος Ιωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος (Saint John the Precursor); Δαυίδ (David); Ἀδάμ (Adam)
PROVENANCE: From the Monastery of Geronn, Euboea.
CONDITION: The embroidery is completely flat and unfortunately very damaged to the point that ink

traces of the original draft on the purple silk can be seen. Very few traces of silk thread remain on the faces and hands. The metallic surface has deteriorated, leaving only the threads of silk around which the metal plate was wrapped. It has been conserved by P. Kavasila.
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (T. 714)

Despite the deterioration, this epigonation from the Byzantine and Christian Museum is one of the finest examples of gold embroidery from the Late Byzantine period. On the diagonal of the epigonation the triumphant figure of Christ is prominent, represented standing en-face in a contrapposto pose. He wears a tunic with a himation, the outer garment that is usually worn over the tunic. With his left hand Christ holds a scepter, of which only the upper and lower ends survive. The deterioration of the textile does not allow us to distinguish what he was standing on. With his right hand, he pulls Adam from the tomb, behind whom stands Eve. On the opposite side we can distinguish the bust-length figures of Saint John the Baptist and of the king-prophets David and Solomon. The latter wear crowns and imperial garments, including the loros. In the left corner, in the void behind the figures of Adam and Eve, is a decorative motif that combines a four-leaf rosette and the fleur-de-lys. The background of the composition is filled with crosses inscribed in circles, echoing Christ's cruciform halo. A flowering vine scroll, reminiscent of pseudo-Kufic motifs, decorates the border. EP

REFERENCES: Johnstone 1967, p. 105, fig. 51; Brussels 1982, no. B1, p. 221; Athens 1985–86, no. 264, pp. 217–18, fig. 241ZA.

181. Epigonation (?) with Christ Anapeson

Byzantine (Greece or Constantinople), 14th century
Red silk embroidered with silver, silver-gilt, and colored thread
40 x 42 cm (15¾ x 16½ in.)
INSCRIBED: Above the sleeping Christ Child, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς (Jesus Christ); above the left shoulder of the Virgin, Μ(ήτη)ϱ Θ(εο)ῦ (Mother of God)
CONDITION: The textile is in excellent condition, with no major visible restorations.
The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece

The epigonation is a distinctive badge of Orthodox bishops, worn hanging from the belt over the right thigh. It derives from the encheirion, a sort of handkerchief worn tucked into the belt, and became gradually embellished with gold embroidery to the point where, by the thirteenth century, it had become a stiffened, lozenge-shaped piece of material suspended by a cord from one corner.[1] According to Byzantine ecclesiastical writers, the epigonation represents either the towel that Christ wrapped around his waist before washing the disciples' feet or the sword of the spirit.[2]

The image of Christ Anapeson (the sleeping Emmanuel with instruments of the Passion) is clearly linked to the idea of the eucharistic sacrifice, for the Virgin fans the slumbering Child in the same manner that deacons wave liturgical fans over the bread and wine on the altar. The name Anapeson (from the verb meaning "to recline") is taken from Jacob's address to his sons: "Judah is a lion's whelp: from the tender plant, my son, thou art gone up, having couched thou liest as a lion, and as a whelp; who shall stir him up?" (Genesis 49:9).[3] This Greek text of Genesis was understood by Byzantine theologians as a prophecy of Christ's resurrection after his sleep in death.[4] The image appears in several fresco programs of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries,[5] as well as on the Major Sakkos of Photios (see fig. 10.6 and cat. 178).

Typically, the decoration is oriented to the corners of the piece, reflecting the way the epigonation is worn (compare cat. 180), while in the Patmos textile the composition is oriented toward the sides of its square frame. This orientation, along with the eucharistic subject matter, has prompted some authors to propose that the piece was originally an aer.[6] The size, however, considerably smaller than surviving aers, throws doubt on this contention. It has also been suggested that priests who were granted the vestment as a special privilege wore the epigonation affixed crosswise from the shoulder rather than suspended from the waist as would a bishop.[7] The right to wear the epigonation was granted to certain priests of distinction, the so-called staurophoroi, along with certain archimandrites, by the fifteenth century.[8] Whether the Patmos piece is an example of a priest's epigonation remains, for now, an open question. WTW

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1. Thierry 1966; Woodfin 2002, pp. 30–31, 91–95.
2. Theodore Balsamon, *Responses ad Marcam,* in Rhallēs and Potlēs 1852–59, vol. 4, p. 478; Kabasilas 1967, p. 366; Symeon of Thessalonike, *Expositio de divino templo,* in *PG,* vol. 155, col. 713B–C.
3. "σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης· ἀναπεσὼν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος· τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν;" (translated by Lancelot C. L. Brenton in *The Septuagint LXX: Greek and English* [London, 1851]).
4. For example, by Eusebius of Caesarea, *De Demonstratio Evangelica,* book 8, ch. 1:63–69, edited by Ivar A. Heikel (Leipzig, 1913), p. 364.
5. Examples in fresco include the Protaton on Mount Athos, Berende in Bulgaria, Resava Monastery in Serbia, and the Peribleptos at Mistra; see Millet 1927, pls. 30.1, 50.1; A. Grabar 1928b, pl. 39a; Dufrenne 1970, fig. 61; Todić 1995, pl. 85.
6. Johnstone 1967, p. 106.
7. Theocharē in Kominis 1988, p. 198 (no reference given). I have found no other mention of this practice.
8. See Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Liturgia,* in *PG,* vol. 155, cols. 261D–264A. For the text of a later, patriarchal grant of the epigonation to the abbot of Patmos in 1564, see Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 6, p. 265.

References: Johnstone 1967, p. 106, pl. 52; Maria S. Theocharē, "Church Gold Embroideries," in Kominis 1988, p. 198; Woodfin 2002, pp. 92–93, 152, 321–22.

182, detail of Saint John the Forerunner and the Virgin

182. Epitrachelion

Serbia (?), end of the 14th–beginning of the 15th century
Warm brown satin, embroidered in silver-gilt wire, and multicolored silver thread over silk fibers
150 x 25 cm (59 x 9⅞ in.)
Inscribed: Next to the figures of the saints, IC XC (Jesus Christ), MHP ΘY (Mother of God), O A(ΓIOC) [I]ω[ANNHC] O ΠPOΔPOMOC (John the Forerunner), O AΓ(IOC) Iω[ANNHC] [XPYCOCTOMOC] (John Chrysostom), [inscription destroyed] (Basil the Great), O AΓI[OC] ΓPHΓOPIOC (Gregory the Theologian), O AΓ[IOC] NIKOΛAOC (Nicholas)
Provenance: The Church of Saint Peter near Novi Pazar, tomb 3, systematic archaeological excavations conducted by the National Museum from 1960 to 1962.
Condition: In addition to some minor damage, considerable parts are missing on the left-hand section of the epitrachelion next to the figure of Saint Basil. The most damaged section is in the medallion at the neck containing a representation of Christ, of which only a part of the nimbus containing an inscription has survived. Some buttons are also missing.
National Museum, Belgrade (4268)

The epitrachelion was found in the tomb of an unknown Raška metropolitan from the eighteenth century, together with garments of differing origins and dates.[1] It is typical of epitrachelia whose decoration is dominated by a central Deesis composition. Beneath the medallion with Christ are three rows depicting the Virgin and Saint John the Forerunner (the Baptist); Saint John Chrysostom; and Saint Basil the Great, Saint Gregory the Theologian, and Saint Nicholas. These figures appear under arches, a motif frequently found on epitrachelia.[2]

Vegetal ornament and geometric pattern are used to define the different figurative zones. Some of the ornamental patterns are borrowed from sculptural decoration and fresco painting found in older Serbian monuments, whereas others can be associated with the contemporary artistic creation of the Moravian school of Serbian architecture.[3] The motif of the Greek cross in embroidered medallions is a characteristic feature of fourteenth-century ecclesiastic embroidery.[4] According to Angelina Vasilić, however, archlike arcades as ornamentation appear on the epitrachelia of the Eastern Orthodox Church only from the fourteenth through the nineteenth century[5] and indicate that the garment belongs to the art of ecclesiastic embroidery of Romanesque style.

This epitrachelion, with its unique decorative patterns, is one of the oldest surviving examples in the Balkan region. Related compositions and decorative patterns can be found on the epitrachelion from the patriarchate of Peć manufactured in the first half of the fifteenth century.[6]

The epitrachelion came into existence during a period of intense artistic activity in medieval Serbia, which sought its models in the works of Byzantium. In all probability, it is the effort of a local craftsman and is strongly influenced by a workshop from the imperial capital, as is indicated by the manner and delicacy of the treatment of surfaces, and the precision and clarity of the embroidery.

EZ

1. Ćorović-Ljubinković 1964, pp. 290–304.
2. Millet 1947, pp. 23ff.
3. Ćorović-Ljubinković 1964, pp. 296–300.
4. Mirković 1940, pls. IV.2, V.1, VII.1; Millet 1947, pls. 4, 37, 182, 184.
5. Vasilić 1967, pp. 351–52.
6. Vasilić and Šakota 1957, pp. 13–14, pl. 4.

References: Ćorović-Ljubinković 1964, pp. 296–99, figs. 20, 22; Stojanović-Gabričević 1964, pp. 308–11, figs. 26, 27; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969, no. 95; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1970, no. 66; Rome 1970, no. 86, pl. 38; Kruševac 1971, no. 48 (with earlier bibl.); D. Stojanović 1973a, no. 5; D. Stojanović 1973b, no. 5; Dobrila Stojanović, "Vez," in Radojković 1977a, p. 326, figs. 15, 16.

183, detail of Saint John the Forerunner and the Virgin

183, detail

183. Epitrachelion of Metropolitan Photios

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 14th–early 15th century; Russian (Moscow) additions, 15th–17th century
Silk textile embroidered with silver-gilt and colored thread, with applied pearls and gilt metal plaques
153 x 34.5 cm (60¼ x 13⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: In the form of crosses within the two roundels at the neck, φῶς, ζωή (light, life); abbreviated inscriptions identify each figure.
CONDITION: There are significant losses to the silk embroidery in many of the faces. Parts of the inscriptions and gold thread have been lost, as have a few of the pearls. The faces of the standing figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist have been restored. The buttons and fringe are later additions.
State Historical and Cultural Museum "Moscow Kremlin," Moscow (Tk-6)

According to Symeon of Thessalonike, the depiction of the Great Deesis—Christ surrounded by the Virgin, Saint John the Forerunner (the Baptist), and the saints and angels—symbolizes that "just as Christ is present with his saints in heaven, so he is also with us now and will come again."[1] Symeon was referring to the monumental depiction of the theme on the icons of the sanctuary barrier, but the communion of Christ and the saints with the earthly Church can hardly have had a more elaborate treatment than on this epitrachelion, conventionally associated with the name of Metropolitan Photios (r. 1408–31). In addition to the bust of Christ on the neck and the full-length figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist in intercession, the stole features eighty-eight pearl-edged roundels with individual busts of saints. The saints are grouped by class, beginning with the human and angelic figures nearest Christ: the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the Virgin, Saints Peter and Paul, John the Baptist, and Simeon, the Temple priest who recognized the messiah in the infant Jesus. The following rows are filled in turn with groups of apostles, bishop-saints, prophets, martyrs, and monastic saints. Six-winged seraphim appear between every pair of roundels. Despite the minute scale, the embroiderer has adhered to the facial types and iconographic attributes of the various saints, and each medallion features a tiny embroidered inscription naming the figure. The artist seems to have had a bit of trouble working out a scheme by which all the figures occupy places appropriate to their rank, for the Virgin appears twice in the first row of busts.

Tradition has placed this epitrachelion with the Major and Minor Sakkoi among the vestments taken to Moscow from Constantinople by Metropolitan Photios at the time of his appointment (see fig. 10.6 and cat. 178). While the historical association with Photios may be correct, the stole is not, as is often reported, inscribed with his name.[2] A nearly identical stole belonging to the Tismana Monastery in Romania has been dated to about 1370–89 by its association with Metropolitan Anthimos Kritopoulos of "Oungrovlachia."[3] Although this attribution is also tenuous, the two stoles, widely dispersed yet bearing strikingly similar embroideries, must share a common origin in a workshop in Constantinople. WTW

1. ". . . τὸ ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ὕυτως εἶναι μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι νῦν, καὶ ἔρχεσθαι μέλλειν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκδιδασκόντων." Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacro templo,* in *PG,* vol. 155, col. 345D.
2. Nataliia Maiasova, in Moscow 1991a, p. 36, follows numerous other scholars' misreading of the roundels with the letters for "Φῶς, ζωή" (light, life) as spelling out the name Photios.
3. Millet 1947, pp. 2–5; Musicescu and Dobjanschi 1985, p. 33, pl. 1. For Anthimos, see Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 2, p. 27; *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976–), no. 13811.

References: Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, p. 155, no. 1005; Bank 1977, no. 296, pp. 328–29 (with bibl.); Moscow 1991a, pp. 36–37, no. 8 (with earlier bibl.); Woodfin 2002, pp. 76–77, 311–12.

The epitrachelion is an obligatory element of the Orthodox priest's vestments. A broad strip of cloth placed around the neck and falling over the chest, it symbolizes the divine grace through which a priest performs the sacraments, as well as the "yoke of Christ" that he has taken upon himself.

This epitrachelion is embroidered with gold and with gilded, red, blue, tan, and brown silk. In some areas, colored silk and gold are intertwined in a single strand. Part of the decoration is outlined with pearls, and the fringe has tassels of twisted red silk, decorated with small jewels. Gold buttons are sewn along the middle of the stole. The lining is of patterned blue damask.

Recent examination indicates that the epitrachelion was enlarged and repaired on several occasions. Its earliest part comprises two strips of dark red taffeta embroidered with portraits of saints in round medallions and bordered at the bottom with ornament-framed lions' masks. The two pieces were not originally joined as they are now and might have been from a deacon's orarion. A narrow band, made of blue damask and decorated with pearl thread and triangular silver studs, was later attached to the original strips along the entire edge of the epitrachelion. Added at the same time were pearl-outlined roundels, some areas of blue silk embroidery, insertions of red and light brown taffeta, and the fringe. The original gold embroidery was also partially restored at that point. With these alterations, the vestment acquired its present form.

Through parallels with similar Russian textiles, the alterations can be dated to the second half or the very end of the fifteenth century. The Italian damask of the lining was produced in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and the buttons were added in the 1600s. IIV

184. Epitrachelion with the Great Deesis

Byzantine (Greece or Constantinople), second half of the 14th century
Silk embroidered with silver, silver-gilt, and colored thread
Condition: The textile is in fair condition. The silk of the hands and faces of certain of the figures has been restored.
The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece

This epitrachelion is one of a number of surviving fourteenth- and fifteenth-century liturgical stoles featuring a Great Deesis. The images in this composition—consisting of Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Forerunner (the Baptist) along with additional saints—may be framed in various ways: standing figures under arches, half-figures in rectangular fields, or busts in roundels.[1] On the Patmos stole, Christ appears in the central position, on the neck, wearing the sakkos of a Late Byzantine patriarch. Flanking his image are rectangular panels depicting the Virgin, her hands raised in prayer, and John the Baptist, who makes a gesture of intercession as he inclines toward his right. The composition expands below these central figures to encompass the apostles Peter and Paul and the holy bishops Gregory the Theologian, Basil, John Chrysostom, and Nicholas. Abbreviated inscriptions identify each figure. The prevalence of sainted bishops suggests that Christ's court in heaven mirrors the earthly Church.

The embroidery of the Patmos stole is notable for its ornamental richness. The individual images of the saints are set off one from another by oblong panels of ornament containing variations on vine scrolls and animal forms. The stole terminates in fields dominated by decorative motifs. These

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184, detail of the Virgin

rectangular panels of embroidery are divided into five circles, the outer ones containing crosses and the central one a double-headed eagle. The interstices are filled with advancing eagles and palmettes. Based on comparisons with embroideries bearing inscriptions naming officials of the Constantinople patriarchate, the presence of the double-headed eagle motif may reflect a connection to the capital.[2] Although the piece has previously been published as a fifteenth-century work, the drawing of the figures is stylistically consistent with icon painting of the second half of the fourteenth century. The similarities between the animal motifs on the stole and on the belt of the sebastokrator Branko (cat. 185) make a compelling argument for ascribing the Patmos stole to the fourteenth century. WTW

1. Compare the epitrachelion of the hieromonk Dositheos in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, and the epitrachelion from Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, in Millet 1947, pp. 29–30, pls. 54–55, 62, 64–65.
2. Ibid., p. 36; Johnstone 1967, p. 43.

REFERENCES: Athens 1964, p. 482, no. 592; Johnstone 1967, pp. 42–44, 100, pls. 31–34; Maria S. Theocharē, "Church Gold Embroideries," in Kominis 1988, pp. 192–93, figs. 8–9; Woodfin 2002, pp. 75, 311.

184, detail of Saint John the Forerunner

185, detail of British Museum fragment

185. Embroidered Belt

Serbia, 14th century
Two lengths of silk textile embroidered with silver, silver gilt, and colored silk threads
British Museum fragment 195 x 7.5 cm (76¾ x 3 in.); Hermitage fragment 88 x 7.5 cm (34⅝ x 3 in.)
INSCRIBED: Flanking the lion or bear motif on both lengths, the name ВРАНКО (Branko)
PROVENANCE: British Museum fragment: Iklé Collection, Saint Gall, Switzerland; sold Christie's, London, November 7, 1989, lot 171; acquired by the British Museum, 1990. Hermitage fragment: bought in the bazaar in Istanbul by the Swedish archaeologist F. R. Martin, 1902; acquired from him by the Russian Archaeological Commission and thence entered the collection of the State Hermitage Museum.
CONDITION: Both pieces appear to be in relatively good condition. It is not known at what time they became separated.
Trustees of the British Museum, London (M&LA 1990, 12-1,1)
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (W. 1179)

It is thought that these two long strips of gold and silver embroidery originally formed part of an elaborate belt of a type worn by the Serbian aristocracy. These fragments thus represent a very rare survival of secular costume from the Late Byzantine period.[1] They also show that the technique of precious-metal embroidery (chrysokentema)—typical of Byzantine liturgical textiles—was used for the decoration of aristocratic dress.

The two fragments are identical in width and bear identical motifs, namely, a falcon, a two-footed dragon, and a lion (or bear?), the latter flanked by the Slavonic inscription "Branko." The motifs are oriented vertically on the London fragment and horizontally on the piece in Saint Petersburg. They are framed in ogival quatrefoils, from which leaves sprout. Feline masks link the quatrefoils. Although it is uncertain how the two fragments were joined, the change in orientation between the two parts must reflect the way the assembled belt was worn, with long strips hanging from the waist (see, for example, cat. 2).[2] Since 1902 the inscribed name has been identified with the sebastokrator Branko Mladenović, son of Prince Mladen, the governor of Ohrid under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–55).[3] If this identification is correct, then the belt can be dated roughly to the middle of the fourteenth century.

The motifs on the belt have been compared with the decorative motifs on the end of an epitrachelion, a liturgical stole, on Patmos (cat. 184).[4] The latter has been published as a fifteenth-century work, but the similarities in selection and execution of the animal motifs may point to a fourteenth-century date, contemporary with the belt of Sebastokrator Branko. WTW

1. For another example, see Geneva 2000.
2. For depictions of such belts in Serbian frescoes, see Đurić 1974b, pls. 62, 74, 85. Remains of strips of fabric gold-embroidered with double-headed eagles, birds, and various animals have been found in the tombs of the Church of Saint Nicholas at Staničenje; see Ljubinković 1984.
3. Buckton 1994b, no. 225.
4. Ibid.

REFERENCE: Buckton 1994b, no. 225 (with bibl. for Saint Petersburg fragment).

186. Chalice Veil

Byzantine, late 13th–early 14th century
Silk bluish mauve base textile, ⅓ twill weave, warp yarn Z-twist, approximately 31 ends/cm, weft yarn without twist, approximately 40 picks/cm; undyed support textile of cotton, coarse tabby weave, both yarn Z-spun, approximately 16 ends/cm and 11/picks/cm; gilt embroidery thread, a strip of gilded silver tightly S-wound around an S-twist yellowish silk thread; silver embroidery thread, thicker than the gilt, a strip of silver tightly S-wound around an S-twist undyed silk thread; silk couching threads without twist, brownish yellow for the gold, white

185, detail of Hermitage fragment

186

186, detail

for the silver. Both metal threads are couched and worked throughout in pairs in a simple basket pattern, except in the chevron pattern of the halo and in the chalice, where the metal threads are couched in three rows of twining formation.

52 x 65 cm (20½ x 25⅝ in.)

INSCRIBED: ΠΙΕΤΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ Κ(αὶ) ΠΟΛΛ(ῶν) ΕΚΧΥΝΩΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΦΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ

(Drink from it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins [Matthew 26:27–28])

CONDITION: The cotton support textile and the blue silk base textile were stitched together before the execution of the embroidery with red thread, which is visible around the inscriptions and in the center. In contrast with the silk of the base textile, the embroidery is in very good condition.[1]

Benaki Museum, Athens (9320)

This veil depicts the Metalepsis (partaking of wine), which forms part of the representation of the Communion of the Apostles. Jesus, flanked by two seraphim instead of the usual angels, holds in his right hand a jeweled chalice. He stands behind the altar, which is covered by a cloth decorated with cross-shaped gammata (corner pieces). Above is an impressive hemispherical ciborium edged with red molding and supported on double columnettes. A similar veil must originally have depicted the Metadosis (distribution of bread), as other early surviving chalice and paten veils come in pairs with complementary representations, such as those in Halberstadt and Castell'Arquato.[2]

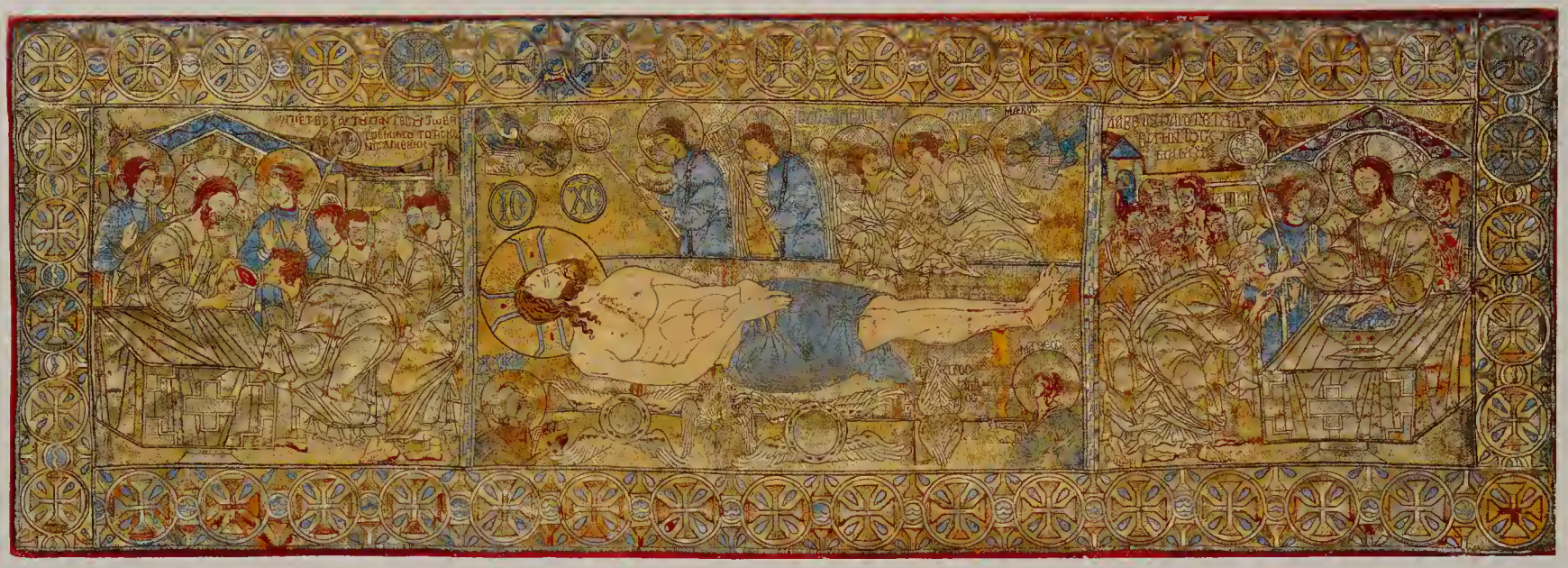
On the Benaki veil Christ is shown frontally, as in the apse of Saint Sophia in Ohrid and the chalice veil in Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos,[3] but the portrayal is exceptionally plain and strikingly intense. The apostles are not depicted, and on the altar cloth stand two crosses rather than the communion vessels.[4] Stylistically the compact, almost square figure of Christ recalls the "cubist" style of painting emanating from Constantinople and Thessalonike between 1290 and 1310.[5] The pale color and the calm features recall the Pantokrator of the proskynetarion in the Protaton on Mount Athos. This marble proskynetarion, like the ciborium on the veil, is supported on a double columnette with relief ornamentation painted red.[6]

The nonaccented inscription is written in "distinctive, epigraphic majuscule"; this type of script, common in the Middle Byzantine era, underwent a striking revival in the late-thirteenth-century Palaiologina and Theodore Hagiopetrites groups of manuscripts.[7] Also typical of tenth- to twelfth-century manuscripts and metalwork is the direction of the inscription, which starts at the top of the frame and continues on the right and left sides before terminating at the bottom.[8]

AB

1. Textile analysis by S. Tsourinaki.
2. Johnstone 1967, pp. 85–88 (repr.), 114–15; Millet 1947, pp. 72–73, pls. 154–155, and for later pieces pp. 75–76, 82–84, pls. 158b, 165–167, 169, 175.
3. Gerstel 1999, fig. 5, and generally on the Holy Communion, pp. 48–67; Bogdanović et al. 1978, fig. 101.
4. Compare the crosses on the chalice veil in Rome 2000, pp. 212–13, no. 78.
5. Otto Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Paleologan Art," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 145–48; Gouma-Peterson 1991, pp. 115–21.
6. Teteriatnikov 1999, p. 103, fig. 2.
7. Hunger 1977, pp. 195–205; Buchthal and Belting 1978, p. 91; Nelson 1991, vol. 1, p. 70.
8. Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, pl. 77, no. 184; Paris 1992–93, p. 306, fig. 1, pp. 333–34, no. 248; compare the differing direction of the inscriptions on later veils, such as the liturgical veil (epitaphios) of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes (cat. 190) and the chalice veil at Meteora, in Theocharē 1986, fig. 25.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1949, fig. 14; Chatzēdakē 1953, pp. 3–4, pls. A–B; Athens 1964, pp. 435–36, no. 583; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, figs. 434–436.



187A

187A. Epitaphios

Thessalonike, 14th century
Silk and linen
72 x 200 cm (28⅜ x 78¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: ΠΙΕΤΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΙ(Ι)/ΤΟ ΕΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΕ/ΝΙΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ (Drink from it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant); ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΦΑΓΕΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΩ/ΕΣΤΗΝ ΤΟ ΣΩ/ΜΑ ΜΟΥ (Take, eat, this is my body)
PROVENANCE: Thessalonike.
CONDITION: The work is in excellent condition. At least two phases of restoration can be distinguished on the surface of the work.
Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike, Greece (Βυζ 57)

The epitaphios as a liturgical cloth comes from the early Christian aer, or katapetasma ("veil," especially the veil of the Temple in a Christian context), and is already known by the end of the twelfth century. At first it was used to cover the holy chalice and paten during the preparation of the gifts for the Eucharist service. In the fourteenth century there is evidence of the epitaphios's being used during the Holy Friday service.[1] The oldest surviving epitaphios dates to the end of the thirteenth century.[2]

This epitaphios is the most important surviving work of Palaiologan embroidery. It was first known to scholars in 1900,[3] when it was discovered in a small church in Thessalonike. In 1994 it was returned to Thessalonike from the Byzantine Museum, Athens, where it had been exhibited. It is close stylistically to monumental painting of Mount Athos and Ohrid[4] and is attributed to a workshop of a major city, such as Constantinople or, more likely, Thessalonike, owing to the exemplary execution of the design. It dates to around 1300, since its scenes have been designed by a great artist of the "ογκηρό style," when that style was at its peak. Outstanding craftsmen worked it in a careful and technically exceptional way.

The wide borders of the epitaphios are filled with a series of smaller and larger medallions decorated with zigzag lines and Greek crosses respectively.[5] In the wide central section, the dead figure of Christ lies on a shroud decorated with zigzag lines. Depicted in the front plane are two wheels, a seraphim, and a cherubim, and in the back plane four angels, two serving as deacons and two lamenting. The symbols of the evangelists (lion, angel, eagle, ox), identified by inscriptions, are represented in the corners. The Communion of the Apostles, a scene that usually decorated smaller veils used to cover the chalice and paten (cat. 186), is here divided into two scenes, one on either side of the central image.[6] Its presence here is peculiar.[7] In each panel, Christ appears in the center, flanked by angel deacons carrying rhipidia

187A, detail

and offering his body and blood to a group of apostles. Architectural elements fill the background, with the central role of Christ emphasized by his placement in front of a gable, accentuated by draperies.

AA

1. *Thrēskeutikē kai ēthikē enkyklopaideia* (Athens, 1962–68), vol. 5, cols. 792–94.
2. L. Bouras 1987, p. 211.
3. Kondakov 1902, p. 266.
4. L. Bouras 1987, p. 214.
5. Similar decoration appears in a podea from Hilandar Monastery, which is attributed to the same workshop. See Bogdanović et al. 1978, p. 124.
6. Johnstone 1967, pp. 117ff.
7. Its iconographic program places the epitaphios from Thessalonike in a transitional period, between the more ancient aeres, used during the Great Entrance and the preparation of the gifts, and the epitaphioi as they developed in the centuries after the fall of Constantinople, when they depict only the Lamentation and are used exclusively during Holy Week. See Sotiriou 1931, pp. 110, 112–15; *Thrēskeutikē kai ēthikē enkyklopaideia* (Athens, 1962–68), vol. 5, cols. 792–94.

REFERENCES: Le Tourneau and Millet 1905; Sotiriou 1931, pp. 110, 112–15; Athens 1964, no. 582, pp. 474–75; L. Bouras 1987.

187B. Epitaphios

Byzantine, last quarter of the 14th century
170 x 116 cm (66⅞ x 45⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: From bottom left, ΤΗΝ ΦΟΒΕΡΑΝ ΣΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΝ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΝ/ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΘΩ ΠΡΟΣΔΟΚΩ ΕΞΙΣΤΑΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΕΜΩ/ΠΩΣ ΑΤΕΝΙΣΩ ΣΟΙ ΚΡΙΤΑ ΠΩΣ ΕΙΠΩ ΜΟΥ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ/ΤΙΝΑ ΜΕΣΗΤΗΝ ΧΡΕΙΣΣΩΜΕ ΠΩΣ ΦΥΓΩ ΤΑΣ ΚΟΛΑΣΗΣ/ ΑΠΑΓΟΡΕΒΩ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΥΓΩ ΣΩΣΟΝ ΜΕ ΣΩΤΕΡ ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΔΙ ΟΙΚΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΠΛΑΧΝΙΑΝ/ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ
(I believe in your great Second Coming, oh King, and I longingly anticipate, I am astonished, and quiver how will I look at you, oh Judge; how will I tell you my deeds; who will I use as a mediator; how will I escape hell; I renounce myself; I turn to you now. Save me, oh Savior, with the gift of your compassion, through your mercy); above the head of Christ, IC (Jesus), XC (Christ), Ο ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΘΡΗΝΟΣ (the lament at the grave)
The Holy Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteora, Kalambaka, Greece

This work from the Transfiguration, or Great Meteoran, Monastery is considered an excellent example of the art of gold embroidery of the Palaiologan era, as well as one of the most important liturgical objects of the treasury of this monastery. Its style is ascetic and extremely symbolic, since its meaning is eucharistic-liturgical, even eschatological, pointing to the immediate and also the coming era.

The central part depicts the recumbent body of the dead Christ, not, as usual, on the stone of his tomb. Instead he lies in a sea of stars, surrounded by celestial powers—angels and a six-winged seraphim—and multieyed winged wheels, also empyreal symbols. At the four corners, within semicircles, are the symbols of the Four Evangelists: angel (Matthew), lion (Mark), ox (Luke), and eagle (John).

The whole composition of the epitaphios was embroidered on purple cloth, using fine gold and silver wires as well as silk threads of brown, black, light blue, and other colors. Often the threads are combined with the wires, thus producing a graded chromatic metallic radiance. Gold prevails, with the surrounding sea of embossed golden stars, while the body seems illuminated by spots of light from above, further accentuating the composed

187B

grandeur of the divine form. The collective impression demonstrates the ability of Byzantine artists to place the origin of light.

Two craftsmen of different skills, technique, and style of rendering form, worked on the epitaphios. One of them embroidered Jesus, the angel, and the face of the seraphim in the lower zone; the other, inferior, craftsman embroidered the angels of the upper zone. As far as the style is concerned, the former is influenced by painting of the end of thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century, while the latter draws on immediately previous eras, as the most recent study of the work has shown.

Scholars differ as to the place of production of the epitaphios. A workshop at Ioannina, by a craftsman from Thessalonike, has had some recent support. It is also possible that the textile was donated to the Meteora monastery by Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, together with the icon with the Doubting of Thomas (cat. 24A) and another in which Maria is depicted on her knees in front of the Theotokos (cat. 24B). The hegoumenos of this monastery was Maria's brother Ioasaph. It has also been suggested that the hegoumenos himself commissioned the epitaphios on his visit to his sister at Ioannina, after the murder of her husband Thomas Preljubović in December 1384.

LD

REFERENCE: Vlachopoulou-Karabina 1999 (with further bibl.).

188. Epitaphios of the Shepherd of the Bulgarians

Constantinople, 1282–1328
Red silk, linen lining, and bullion
117.5 x 197 cm (46¼ x 77½ in.); 147 x 221 cm (57⅞ x 87 in.) with blue linen frame
INSCRIBED: On the long side of the funeral bed, † ΜΕΜΝΗCΟ ΠΟΙΜΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΩΝ ΕΝ ΘΥCΙΑIC : ΑΝΑΚΤΟC ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ : († Shepherd of the Bulgarians, remember during the sacrifice the ruler Andronikos Palaiologos)
PROVENANCE: Gift of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos to the Cathedral Church of Saint Sofia, Ohrid; in the fifteenth century, after the church became a mosque, transferred to the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (now Saint Clement); to the National History Museum, 1988.
CONDITION: The epitaphios was in very poor condition by the end of the 1980s. From 1991 to 1996, conservation and restoration were carried out at the Central Conservation and Restoration Laboratory at the National History Museum, Sofia. The silk and the bullion are now in a stable condition. The blue linen frame, which had been worn away at the time of the restoration, has been replaced with one made of a modern linen material specially produced to be identical with that removed. It is likely that the linen had been replaced before, at least once after the fifteenth century. During the conservation and restoration another panel, sewn to the bottom left corner of this embroidery and showing the Communion of the Apostles (29231A), was removed. National History Museum, Sofia (29231)

One of the most remarkable examples of Byzantine court embroidery, this epitaphios was doubtlessly made in the emperor's workshops. Its rich embroidery is enhanced by the multitude of gold and silver threads, estimated to weigh no less than 1.5 kilograms (ca. 3½ pounds).

This scene depicting the dead Christ after the Deposition is a traditional image for an epitaphios. Christ lies on a bier draped with a luxurious veil recalling that of the altar; he wears only a loincloth. Two deacon angels holding rhipidia stand behind him. Symbolic representations of the Four Evangelists originally appeared in all the corners, but the restoration process revealed that the one in

the lower left corner is missing. The dating of the panel with the Communion is unknown, but it may be sometime in the fourteenth century. A repair made to the lower left corner dates to the second half of the fifteenth century at the earliest. The repair was intended to cover up the charred symbolic image of the evangelist Mark, and other objects removed from the Church of Saint Sofia to the Church of Saint Clement also have burn marks.

The background decoration, crosses inscribed in circles, appears frequently in art of the Palaiologan era, and the same motif supplemented with a floral motif is employed as an ornament on the frame.

The inscription identifies the donor of the piece as Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328). Although no other records exist, this is likely to be true, considering the emperor's many donations and his close relationships with the archbishops of Ohrid. Undoubtedly, the phrase "Shepherd of the Bulgarians" in the inscription refers to the Ohrid archbishops of all Bulgaria during the city's brilliant period (997–1018), when the Bulgarian czars and patriarchs resided there. Another factor arguing for Andronikos as the donor is the use of such archaic terms in the inscription as ἄναξ (lord, ruler). This practice was especially popular during the reign of Andronikos, who staunchly supported the author and diplomat Theodore Metochites, the most ardent proponent of introducing words from antique Greek literature into contemporary usage.

Although this epitaphios may have been made at any time during Andronikos's reign, it most likely dates to the reconstruction and renovation of the Cathedral of Saint Sofia at the time of Archbishop Gregory (r. 1313–28).

IP

References: Kondakov 1909, pp. 243–44, pl. 4; Snegarov 1924–32, vol. 1, p. 160; Ivanov 1931, p. 36; Millet 1947; Johnstone 1967; Rome 2000.

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Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade (4660)

189. Epitaphios of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin

Serbia, ca. 1300 (embroidery); 16th century (velvet border)
Silk and velvet; embroidery, gold and silver wire and silver thread
143.5 x 72 cm (56½ x 28⅜ in.); with a border, 210 x 132 cm (82⅝ x 52 in.)
Inscribed: In Slavonic, + Помяни Б(ож)е дꙋша раба своего Милꙋтина Ꙋреши (Remember, O God, the soul of your servant Milutin Uroš)
Provenance: Banjska Monastery, then Krušedol Monastery.

The epitaphios, made of dark red silk, is embroidered with silk threads of ocher, green, purple, red, and white, and gold and silver wire. The central section features Christ, represented from above, as if lying in his tomb. His eyes are closed, and his long hair touches his shoulders. His head is surrounded by a halo, above which is the abbreviation ΙΣ ΧΣ (Jesus Christ).

A square panel covers the Savior's waist on which a large central cross is surrounded by several smaller inscribed crosses in circles. On either side of Christ's head is a six-winged seraph, and three pairs of flying angels are embroidered along the lateral sides. The background is filled with embroidered crosses and starlike ornamentation. According to the inscription embroidered in the lower section, the epitaphios was commissioned by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321). The original epitaphios is now framed by a silk border from the sixteenth century.

The epitaphios displays certain stylistic connections with epitaphioi belonging to the Byzantine tradition, such as one in the Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos, and

an aer from Vatra-Moldovitei Monastery in Romania.[1] An analogous representation of Christ is found on an epitaphios from the Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi, also executed in the tradition of the Byzantine liturgy.[2] SM

1. For the Pantokrator epitaphios, see Millet 1947, pp. 87–89, pl. 176.2. For the aer of Anastasios from Vatra-Moldovitei Monastery (1484), see ibid., pp. 87–88, pl. 177; Johnstone 1967, p. 123, pl. 105.
2. Vatopedi 1998, pp. 421–24, fig. 357.

References: Valtrović 1895, pp. 110–11; Mirković 1931, pp. 39–49, pl. 42; Mirković 1940, pp. 15–16, pl. IV.1; Turdeanu 1941, pp. 164–214; Millet 1947, pp. 88–89, pl. 171.1; D. Stojanović 1959, pp. 41–42, fig. 2; Johnstone 1967, pp. 117–18, fig. 94; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969; Dušanić 1969, pl. 7; D. Stojanović 1973, p. 13, no. 1, fig. 1; Dobrila Stojanović, "Vez," in Radojković 1977a, pp. 324–25; Mileusnić 1989, p. 32; Mileusnić 2001, pp. 67–69, 71; Athens 2001–2, p. 271.

190. Epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes

Byzantine (Greece [Morea?]), 1406/7
Crimson silk with silver, silver-gilt, and colored threads
85 x 140 cm (33½ x 55⅛ in.)
Inscribed: Around the border, clockwise, from upper right, + Ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου καθελὼν τὸ ἄχραντό(ν) σου σῶμα σινδῶνι καθαρᾷ εἱλήσας καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἐν μνήματι καινῷ κηδεύσας ἀπέ[θε]το. + Ταῖς μυροφόροις γυναιξὶ παρὰ τὸ μνῆμα [ἐπιστὰς ὁ ἄγγε]λος [ἐβ]όα τὰ μύρια τοῖς θνητοῖς ὑπάρχει ἀρμόδια Χ(ριστὸ)ς δὲ διαφθορᾶς ἐδεί/χθη ἀλλότριος (Honorable Joseph, having taken down from the wood [of the cross] thy spotless body and having wrapped it in a clean winding-sheet together with aromatics, taking upon himself its burial, laid it in a new grave. / Seeing at the grave the Myrrh-Bearing Women, the Angel cried out, "Here are ointments fitting for mortal beings, but Christ, having undergone death, has revealed himself in another [immortal] form); Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Νικολάου τοῦ Εὐδαιμονοιωάννου ἅμα συμβίῳ καὶ τῶν τεκνῶν αὐτοῦ ἀμήν. ἔτους, ͵ς ϡ ΙΕ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ΙΕ (Prayer of the servant of God Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes with his wife and children in the year 6915 [1406/7], indiction 15)
Provenance: In 1756 recorded by Gaetano Maria Capece as part of the treasure of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles, Naples (according to him, the epitaphios had been brought to Naples from "Calata" in Sicily in 1628); Canon Franz Bock; bought from him by the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1863.
Condition: The base textile of crimson silk has been attached to an undyed supporting textile of coarse linen or hemp. The tomb slab of Christ is embroidered on an appliqué of fine undyed linen. Metal threads are surface-couched and, in some cases (the halos, the edge of the tomb slab, and the inscription), laid over cotton threads. Flesh, hair, and vine scrolls are worked in a split-stitch technique in colored silk thread, with extensive losses and repairs throughout. There are also widespread losses in the couched metal threads, particularly in the inscription at lower left.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (8278-1863)

As the inscription records, the aristocrat Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes ordered this epitaphios as an offering on behalf of himself and his family in the year 1406/7. This family appears often in the records of Morea, the Byzantine territory of the Peloponnesos, from the thirteenth century until its fall to the Turks in 1460. The donor of the epitaphios may be the same Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes who was made ambassador to the Venetians in 1416 and served as one of Manuel II Palaiologos's delegates to the talks on the Union of Churches at the Council of Constance in 1414–18.[1]

The dead body of Christ, clad only in a loincloth, is shown spread out on a slab representing the stone of unction, a relic brought to Constantinople by Manuel I Komnenos. Angels stand at either end waving liturgical fans, which are decorated with images of six-winged seraphim. The attending angels are attired as Orthodox deacons, wearing stoles decorated with the Greek word Ἅγιος, meaning holy. In the corners, the portraits of the evangelists (clockwise from top right) Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John occupy the place more usually allocated to their animal symbols. The scrolling vines of the background are unusual among surviving epitaphioi; only a few traces of their original colors survive to give a hint of the lively impression they once would have made.

The inscriptions on the borders of the epitaphios are taken from two troparia, short hymns that, in the Late Byzantine period, found their way into the text of the liturgy itself. Composed for use on Good Friday, the first troparion, "Honorable Joseph," was inserted into the regular liturgy at the moment when the gifts of bread and wine were deposited on the altar, this being interpreted by Byzantine theologians as a symbol of the burial of Christ.[2] The angel-deacons with their liturgical fans (originally intended to keep flies away from the altar) signal that the dead Christ laid out for burial on the stone slab is to be identified with the sacrament on the altar. The second troparion, "The Myrrh-Bearing Women," belongs to the liturgy of Easter morning and witnesses the divine and immortal nature of Christ.[3] Again, this accords well with theological commentaries on the liturgy, which associate the consecration of the eucharistic gifts with the Resurrection.

The inscription gives the date of 6915 from the Creation, that is, A.D. 1406/7. The slightly awkward rendering of the angel-deacons, together with the exuberance of the tendril-filled background, suggests an origin outside the centers of Thessalonike or Constantinople, perhaps in Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes' native Morea. WTW

1. Trapp 1976–96, vol. 3, p. 120.
2. Taft 1975, pp. 244–49.
3. Ibid., pp. 247–48.

References: Millet 1947, pp. 89–93, pls. 181, 196–197; Buckton 1994b, no. 226 (with bibl.).

191. Epitaphios of Prince Dmitrii Shemiaka

Rus' (Moscow), 1449
Silk, embroidered with gold, silver, and silk threads
124.5 x 183 cm (49 x 72 in.)
Inscribed: Embroidered with gold thread on the light green silk of the hem is a nineteenth-century reproduction of the original inscription,[1] in Slavonic, в лѣт(е) ѕ҃ц҃н҃ѕ҃ индікта ѕ҃ какъ былъ велики кн(я)зъ Дмитрiи Юрiевичъ в Великом Новѣгородѣ и повеленiем великаго кн(я)зѧ нарѧжен бысть сiи въздухъ въ хрaмъ г(вя)таго великом(у)ч(е)н(и)ка Геѡргiа / того же лѣта м(еся)ца августа въ к҃г҃ д(е)нь бл(а)говѣрною него великою кн(я)гинѣю Софьею и при г(ы)нѵ благовѣрном кн(я)зѣ Иванѣ // положенъ бы(ст) въ ц(е)ркви г(вя)таго великом(у)ч(е)н(и)ка Хр(и)стова Геѡргiа в Великом Новѣгородѣ в Юрiевѣ манастырѣ при архiеп(ис)к(о)пѣ Велик(аг)о Новагорода Ѳѡанмiи при архимандритѣ Мiханлѣ // за ѡставленiе грѣховъ и спасенiѧ ради д(у)шъ наши и нашiх дѣтем и внѵкатом и правнѵкатам в семъ вѣцѣ и в бѵдѵщем. Аминь (In the year 6957 [A.D. 1449], the seventh of the Indiction,[2] as Grand Prince Demetrius Iur'evich was in Novgorod the Great, [and] at the Grand Prince's behest the present aer was made at the Temple of the Holy and Great Martyr George on the 23rd day of August of the same year by his pious Grand Princess Sophia, and at the time of [their] son the pious Prince Ivan it was dedicated to the Church of Christ's Holy and Great Martyr George at the Iur'ev [Saint George] Monastery in Novgorod the Great

[and] at the time of Euthymius, archbishop of Novgorod the Great [and] of the Archimandrite [Abbot] Misael [*sic*], for the remission of sins, and for the sake of the salvation of our souls and of those of our children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, in this age and the one to come. Amen)

PROVENANCE: Donation of Prince Dmitrii Shemiaka to Iur'ev Monastery; received by the Novgorod Museum from the monastery in 1925.

CONDITION: The epitaphios was refurbished in the nineteenth century with large insertions of silk and gold embroidery on the images in the central portion of the work—on Christ's body, the angels' garments and wings, the bier, the staffs of the rhipidia, the hair of the angels and Christ, the faces, the folds of Christ's loincloth, and the inscriptions. The surrounding border, containing the images of saints in medallions and a donation inscription, is also of a later date.

Novgorod Integrated Museum-Reservation, Russian Federation (DRT 20)

According to the inscription, the epitaphios was donated in 1449 to the Iur'ev Monastery in Novgorod by Prince Dmitrii Iur'evich Shemiaka, his wife, Sophia, and his son Ivan. The prince was an active participant in the power struggle in Moscow among the descendants of Prince Dmitrii Donskoi in the 1430s and 1450s. Dmitrii Shemiaka was the main adversary to the ambitions of Grand Prince Vasilii II Temnyi, and one of the initiators of his blinding (in the Byzantine sphere, the blinding of a person disqualified him for public office). Dmitrii Shemiaka, who often requested aid from Novgorod, found refuge there after his defeat. He was buried in the Iur'ev Monastery in 1453.

In the central part of the epitaphios are four angels who bend over the dead Christ waving liturgical fans, or rhipidia. The figures are embroidered predominantly with bright silk threads of different colors. Gold and silver threads were used for the halos, rhipidia, loincloth of Christ, and the folds. The decoration of the epitaphios represents the "liturgical" version of the Lamentation, which omits images of the Virgin Mary, John the Forerunner (the Baptist), and the other mourners usually present in the narrative, or "historical," versions. The symbolic and sacral meaning of the scene is emphasized instead by the presence of the angels by the body of Christ. Most surviving Lamentation epitaphioi in the countries of the Byzantine world (Greece, South Slavic lands, Romania) dating from the thirteenth through the first half of the fifteenth century belong to this iconographic type, though in Rus' the liturgical version of the epitaphios, unlike the historical one, did not become widespread. Shemiaka's epitaphios is the earliest Old Russian example of this type.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the losses of the silk and gold embroidery were filled in, and the epitaphios was significantly altered by adding a frame of black silk filled with embroidered figures of apostles and martyrs and, in the medallions in the corners, the symbols of the evangelists. The hem was lined with a donation inscription, most probably a reproduction of the original inscription. JK

1. The original dedicatory inscription was recorded by Amvrosii 1815, pt. 6, pp. 751–52.
2. Ianin 1977, pp. 193–203, analyzed the date and year of the indiction on the inscription in connection with the events of Russian history from the 1440s to 1450s and concluded that the epitaphios should be dated 1444. [The numbers do not tally, as 6957 (1449) was actually the twelfth year of the Indiction, while the seventh was 6952 (1444)—GP.]

REFERENCES: Amvrosii 1815, pt. 6, pp. 751–52; Makarii 1860, pp. 299–300; M. Tolstoi 1862, p. 172; Kondakov 1902, pp. 267–68; Lazarev 1947, pp. 130–31; Svirin 1963, p. 36; Nikolaeva 1971, pp. 7, 17, 43; Ianin 1977, pp. 193–203.

192. Aer with the Holy Face and Deesis

Moscow, Grand Prince's workshops, 1389

Taffeta and damask, embroidered with colored silk thread and gold and silver thread

123 x 221 cm (48⅜ x 87 in.)

INSCRIBED: With a dedication in Slavonic, В лето . . . 6897 . . . уна шитъ быс сии . . . в(оз)духъ повелением великиия княгини М(а)рьи Семеновыя . . . (In the year . . . 6897 [A.D. 1389] . . . the present . . . aer was embroidered at the behest of Grand Princess Maria Semenovna. . .); along the upper and lower edges, from the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, Пойте и глаголите: Свят, свят, свят, Господь Саваоф, исполнь небо и земля славы твоея (Praise and say: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, thou who hast filled heaven and earth with thy glory"); along the upper edge, Соборъ анг(е)лъ и арх(а)нг(е)л (Synaxis of the Angels and Archangels)

PROVENANCE: Collection of P. I. Shchukin; entered the State Historical Museum, 1905–11.

CONDITION: There are significant losses of silk thread; the fabric is torn.

State Historical Museum, Department of Textiles and Costume, Moscow (15494shch/R.B.-1)

The central field of this so-called aer[1] is occupied by an image of the Holy Face with a cross-nimbus upon the Mandylion. The Virgin, John the Baptist, and the archangels Michael and Gabriel are turned toward it in prayer. This five-part Deesis, embroidered on white taffeta, is supplemented with figures of four metropolitans of Moscow, wearing polystauria, white cowls, and halos. These are, on the right, Saints Maximus and Theognostus, and on the left, Saints Peter and Alexius.[2] The figures are shown full length, slightly turned to the center, with heads bent and hands stretched before them in prayer. Two cherubim and two seraphim hover above the Mandylion.

The lower edge of the central field is lined with frontal busts of saints, labeled as the Princes Boris and Gleb, Alexius the Man of God, Nicholas the Miracle-Worker, Gregory the Theologian, Niketas the Martyr, Demetrius of Salonika, and Prince Vladimir Equal to the Apostles. The outer frame, of grayish blue silk, bears a stylized pattern of forked leaves, semicircles, and small diamond-shaped figures on which are embroidered busts of angels and archangels (seven each in the two horizontal rows, three on each side) with standards and mirrors in their hands. The corners are occupied by medallions with the four evangelists, shown writing. The two on the top are identified as "Matthew" (left) and "Luke" (right). John is probably on the left below and, on the right, Mark (the last two letters of his name, "ος," are now vaguely legible). The central field is separated from the frame by a strip of purple silk, filled with scroll ornament embroidered in gold and silver. An identical strip goes along the outer edge of the fabric.

The narrow central field and frame form a well-proportioned geometrical unit, with the iconic Holy Face serving as a clear focal point for the composition. Christ's remarkably expressive gaze is fixed upon the viewer and holds his or her attention. At the same time, the rhythmic vertical accents within the frame suggest an upward, soaring movement, which convincingly relates to the figures of the heavenly host and the angels and archangels.

The design of the figures is marked by great refinement and elegance. The draped folds of the clothing are outlined with gold and silver thread. The effect of these outlines, set against the brightly colored surface of the rest of the garments, is easily comparable to cloisonné enamel. The figures of the angels are embroidered with equal finesse, and their impeccable design is remarkable for its expressive elegance. Finally, the color palette of the entire composition—purple, white, red, green, golden yellow, and violet, set against a warmly colored background and combined with the golden shine of the halos—produces a triumphantly solemn effect.

This unique piece is one of the earliest dated works of the Moscow school of pictorial embroidery. It was made in 1389 at the

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Grand Prince's workshops by Grand Princess Maria, wife of Simeon Ivanovich the Proud (r. 1341–53), Grand Prince of Moscow, and daughter of Alexander Mikhailovich, a prince of Tver who had been murdered by the Golden Horde. Because of her Tverian origins, this embroidery is sometimes called "The Aer of Maria of Tver." Most scholars connect it with the fateful battle of 1380, when the armies of Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi of Moscow (1350–1389) and his cousin Prince Vladimir Andreevich of Serpukhov defeated the Mongols at Kulikovo.[3] The aer was embroidered nine years after this event, as a memorial to it. Indeed, the embroidery represents the heavenly protectors of the Kulikovo heroes—Princes Boris and Gleb, Demetrius of Salonika, and Prince Vladimir—while the angels and archangels that line the frame form a victorious heavenly army. The inscription speaks of glory in heaven and on earth. Since the Holy Face was traditionally depicted on early Russian battle flags, the present embroidery may be interpreted as an echo of the banners that Prince Dmitrii's army carried when it defeated Khan Mamai in 1380.

LE

1. Although the embroidery is called an aer in the dedicatory inscription, it was probably a hanging. Aeres proper were used for covering the eucharistic vessels (the paten and chalice) during the liturgy.

2. S. Solov'ev 1988–, pt. 2, vols. 3–4, pp. 554, 557–60: Metropolitan Maximus (r. 1283–1308), Metropolitan Peter (r. 1308–28), Metropolitan Theognostus (r. 1328–53), Metropolitan Alexius (r. 1353–78).
3. Maiasova 1970, p. 491.

References: Trutovskii 1902, p. 125; I. Grabar' et al. 1953–, vol. 3, pp. 194–96, 198–99 (repr.); Svirin 1963, pp. 41–43; Maiasova 1970, p. 491; Maiasova 1971, pp. 10–11, fig. 5; Efimova and Belogorskaia 1982, pp. 12–14, 220, fig. 2; Moscow 2000–2001, pp. 258–59, no. 61.

192, detail

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193. Pall for the Face of Prince Lazar (Jefimija's Embroidery)

Serbia, ca. 1402
Silk and velvet; embroidery, gold and silver wire and silver thread
69 x 49 cm (27⅛ x 19¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Old Church Slavonic, "In the beautiful of this world you raised yourself from your youth / O, New Martyr, Knez Lazar, / And Gods's strong and glorious hand / Pointed at you, among all the lords of the earth. / You lorded over your fatherland / And with your goodness delighted / The Christians under your wing. / And with a martyr's heart and a wish for blessing / You went against the dragon / And against the enemies of the holy churches, / Having deemed it unbearable for your heart / To see the Christians of your fatherland / Be conquered by the Turks / In order to achieve these: / To leave the unstable height of earthly lordship / And to spill your blood / And to join the soldiers of the heavenly emperor. / And so you achieved two wishes: / You killed the dragon / And received a martyr's wreath from God. / And now do not forget your beloved children / Whom you left orphaned by your transition. / For since you achieved the bliss in the eternal celestial joy / Many hardships and suffering fell upon your children / And in many misfortunes they spend their lives, / Because they are conquered by the Turks / And they need your help. / For this I beg you, / Pray to the universal ruler for your beloved children, / And for all those who serve them with love and faith, / for they are fettered with worries, your beloved children. / Those who ate their bread raised a conspiracy against them / And forgot your goodness, O Martyr. / But since you passed from this life, / You know the worries and sufferings of your children / And as a martyr you are free before God. / Kneel before the Lord who wreathed you, / Pray that your children live long lives / In happiness pleasing to God. / Pray that Orthodox Christian faith amply endures in your fatherland. / Ask the victorious God to grant victory / to your beloved children, Knez Stefan and Vuk, / Against visible and invisible enemies. / For if we receive God's help / We will give you praise and gratitude. / Call for a meeting of your fellow martyrs / And pray with them to the glorifying God, / Warn George / Move Demetrios / Persuade both Theodores / Take Merkourios and Prokopios / And do not leave out the forty martyrs of Sebasteia / In whose suffering now fight your children, / Knez Stephan and Vuk. / Pray that the help from God be given them. / Come then to our aid, wherever you are. / Consider my small contribution and count it among many, / For I did not grant you the praise you deserve, / But only as far as my small mind allowed, / And so I expect but small rewards. / For you were not selfish, My Lord and Martyr, / In this decaying and short lasting world, / But you are more generous in the everlasting and magnificent / That you received from God. / For you fed me profusely / When I was foreign in a foreign land / And now I beg you both: / To feed me and to assuage the fierce storm in my soul and body. / Jefimija humbly offers you this, O Holy One"
PROVENANCE: Ravanica and Krušedol monasteries, until 1941.
Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade (1921)

A "Laud to Prince Lazar" was produced for the shroud for the head of the holy martyr Prince Lazar, killed at the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389. A poetic text, composed as a prayer, was embroidered on the red silk fabric. In it the nun Jefimija (Euphemia) implores Prince Lazar to protect, in his capacity as saint, his sons Stefan and Vuk, who participated as Turkish vassals in the Battle of Ankara (1402). The text of the eulogy, twenty-six lines, is embroidered in Old Church Slavonic with gold wire and is enclosed in a border of intertwined tendrils with leaves. In addition to the exquisite quality of the embroidery, the "Laud to Prince Lazar" represents one of the first poetic texts written in Serbian.

Euphemia, or Helen before taking monastic vows, was the daughter of Voichna, ruler of Drama. Born about 1349, she married the Serbian despot Uglješa Mrnjavčević and gave birth to a son named Uglješa, who died at the age of six. After the death of her husband in 1371, Helen remained for a while in Serres, her husband's capital, and then went to Kruševac, to the court of Prince Lazar. In the aftermath of the Battle of Kosovo, she and Princess Milica took monastic vows. She was initially at Županja Monastery near Kruševac, later at Ljubostinja Monastery. At the end of her life she took the highest monastic vow—*megalos schimos*—and the monastic name of Jevpraksija (Eupraxia). She died in 1405.

The first known literary work by Jefimija was a prayer for her dead son written on the back of an icon (diptych), now at Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos, where both her son and her father were buried. Around 1399, she embroidered a curtain for the royal doors *(katapetasma)* of the cathedral church of Hilandar Monastery.[1] Chronologically, her next creation was the "Laud to Prince Lazar" and, about 1405, the epitaphios treasured at Putna Monastery in Bukovina (Romania).[2] An aer, also attributed to Jefimija, is in the collection of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade.

SM

1. For the Hilandar curtain, see Millet 1947, pp. 76–78, pls. 159–161.
2. For the Putna epitaphios, see Johnstone 1967, pp. 119–20, pl. 97; Millet 1947, pp. 99–102, pl. 185.

References: Valtrović 1895, p. 110; Strika 1927, pp. 111 (repr.), 112; Mirković 1931, pp. 50–51, pl. 43; Mirković 1940, pp. 30–31, pl. 13.1; D. Stojanović 1959, pp. 44–45; Dušanić 1969, pl. 7; Ćorović-Ljubinković et al. 1969; D. Stojanović 1973, p. 13, no. 4, fig. 4; Dobrila Stojanović, "Vez," in Radojković 1977a, pp. 324–25; Mileusnić 1989, p. 32; Mileusnić 1993, pp. 109–10; Mileusnić 2001, p. 71, repr. pp. 67–69.

194. Embroidered Liturgical Standard with Saint George Seated on a Throne

Romania, ca. 1500
Gold and silver thread on silk
125 x 97 cm (49¼ x 38¼ in.)
Inscribed: Flanking the saint's head, in Greek, ὁ ἁγ(ιος) Γεώργιος καπαδόκιος (Saint George of Cappadocia); on the border, in Slavonic, ✣ ѡ страстотрѣпъе и побѣдоносъе великиⷩ Геѡргіе иже къ вѣдаⷯ и къ напастеⷯ сⷦ/оріи предстателю и топлиⷩ помощиⷩе и скрѣвѣщиⷨ радости неизгла(гола)ннаа, пріимми ѡт насъ и се моленіе/смѣреннаго своего раба г(оспо)д(и)на Іѡана Стефана воеводы б(о)жіею м(и)л(ос)тию г(ос)п(ода)рѣ земли мѡлдавскои, съхрани/его невредниⷨ къ съ вѣкъ и въ бѫдѫщи м(о)л(и)твами уетѣщиⷯ тѧ, ꙗко да прославлѣем тѧ въ вѣкы. Ѧминь. Сътвори г(я) в лѣтѡ ϡⷭ, а г(ос)п(о)д(ст)ва своего лѣта ϡⷬ (O great martyr and bearer of victory, George, in case of need or misfortune a prompt supporter, ardent helper and inexpressible joy for the afflicted, receive our prayer from

your humble servant, the prince John Stephan, voivod, by God's will lord of Moldavia, and protect him in this life and in the future, by the prayers of the people who honor you, as we glorify you forever, amen. This was made in 7008 [1500], the forty-third year of his reign.)

PROVENANCE: Donated by Stephan the Great, prince of Moldavia (r. 1457–1504), to the Monastery of Zographou, Mount Athos.

Muzei Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucharest

On this handsome embroidered standard Saint George is presented seated on a throne, his feet resting on the crushed body of a three-headed dragon with green wings. The saint is attired in a gray military tunic over a long-sleeved green shirt and sandals with the straps crossed up his legs. His oval face is framed by curly hair, and on his head sits a crown with nine fleurons adorned with precious stones. The crown is supported by two angels; the one on the left also carries a sword, the one on the right, a shield. Saint George holds before him the sword with which he killed the dragon, his right hand on its hilt and his left near the point. The inscription around the border dates the standard to the half century after the fall of Constantinople and describes it as a gift of the Moldavian prince Stephan the Great. Zographou was one of the major monasteries at Mount Athos. The image of the victorious Saint George is particularly appropriate for such a donation, since the saint was the patron of the monastery and the donor an outstanding military ruler of independent Moldavia.

AP

REFERENCES: Nicholascu 1938; Berza 1958, pp. 302–3, fig. 211; Drăguţ 1982, p. 201; Musicescu and Dobjanschi 1982, p. 201; A. Păunescu in Trieste 1999–2000, pp. 54–55, no. 62.

195. Embroidery with a Church Procession

Moscow, Grand Prince's workshops, 1498

Taffeta and damask, embroidered with gold and silver threads

93.5 x 98.5 cm (36¾ x 38¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, . . . [Ми]хаилъ, . . . Г(а)ври(и)лъ (Michael, Gabriel)

PROVENANCE: Collection of M. M. Zaitsevskii; collection of P. I. Shchukin; entered the State Historical Museum in 1905–11.

CONDITION: There are minor losses of thread in the ornament and clothing and abrasions of thread on the faces. In a 1925 restoration the original lining was replaced with dark red damask.

State Historical Museum, Department of Textiles and Costume, Moscow (15455shch/R.B.-5)

The multifigural scene in the central field shows a procession of secular rulers, clergy, and other worshipers with an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria. The icon is attached to a long pole, which is supported on the bearer's chest by two intersecting belts. The worshipers fall into two symmetrical groups. Representatives of the laity can be seen on the left, including the princely court, along with men and women in elaborate headgear and long garments typical of early Russia. On the right are the clergy, including four polystauria-clad bishops. Of these, the first one on the left has a halo and is probably a metropolitan. Among the figures in the front row are church singers in pointed hats, monks, and a bearded man dressed in a short outlandish tunic. At the top, left and right, are two parasols, held above the heads of the prince and the metropolitan. Young willow branches complete the ornamentation of this section.

The careful representation of numerous details, of clothing and vestments, headgear, headdresses, and liturgical objects, as well as the gestures and arrangement of the figures, has provided fruitful ground for interpretation of the scene. Marfa Shchepkina, who provided the first detailed description of the embroidery, concluded that it represented the power struggle between two court parties during the reign of Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow.[1] According to her, the scene depicts the Palm Sunday celebration in the Moscow Kremlin on April 8, 1498. The laity group includes three crowned men. The white-bearded, halo-bearing one is Grand Prince Ivan III (1440–1505), the young one with a crown but no halo is his son Basil (1479–1533), and next to them, with arms crossed upon the chest, is Ivan III's young grandson Dmitrii Ivanovich (1483–1509). Dmitrii's mother, Helena Stephanova, Ivan III's daughter-in-law, was the daughter of Prince Stephan of Moldavia. Her major political rival was Ivan III's wife, Grand Princess Sophia Palaiologina, a descendant of the Byzantine imperial family. Dmitrii, crowned coruler on February 4, 1498, is shown in the embroidery in the pose of one who is about to take communion, while the losing party, Sophia Palaiologina, appears in the front row (she has a tablion on her chest). The triumph of Princess Helena and her son Dmitrii proved short-lived since just a year later, in 1499, they were deprived of their princely titles. Because the embroidery glorifies Dmitrii, it must have been commissioned by Princess Helena (who, owing to her Moldavian origins, was known in Russia as Helena "the Vlach"). According to Shchepkina, the bold ornament, unusual color scheme; and embroidery technique betray a Moldavian influence.

The embroidery was thus interpreted as a kind of secular image, comprising portraits of known historical figures. Shchepkina also emphasized the Byzantine influence present in it. For instance, the Hodegetria icon carried in the procession was one that the painter Dionysius (ca. 1440–after 1503) had made for the Moscow Kremlin Cathedral of the Resurrection, using the fire-damaged board of an older icon brought to Moscow from Constantinople, and that copied an original that was widely venerated throughout Christendom. In particular, Shchepkina noted the peculiar way in which the icon is carried. According to a 1350 account by Stefan of Novgorod, it was carried in the same manner in Constantinople, where special servants would take it out for veneration every Tuesday. The pole with the icon would be attached to the chest, and the bearer would spread his arms as on a cross.

This secular interpretation remained unchallenged[2] until 1981, when André Grabar proposed a liturgical one. He analyzed the image within the framework of Byzantine tradition, suggesting that it is based on the Akathistos Hymn to the Virgin (cat. 172) and showed the traditional Tuesday procession with the miracle-working icon in Constantinople. Grabar cited eyewitness accounts of Stefan of Novgorod and of the Spaniard Clavijo (1437–38), both of whom attended such a ceremony.[3]

More recently, Nataliia Maiasova has written that "just as in medieval art and especially pictorial embroidery in general, so in this particular embroidery, as well, iconography reflecting the religious and sociopolitical climate of the period was combined with a personal iconography reflecting the ambitions of the work's patron (the image illustrates the

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13th kontakion of the Akathistos)."[4] In this connection, Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, in her studies of Byzantine miracle-working icons and their veneration, cites the present image as the most characteristic example of an illustrated Akathistos, but without developing an interpretation.[5] According to Liliia Evseeva, the embroidery represents a ceremony that formed part of Muscovite princely coronations.[6] However, it is possible that it depicts a solemn public reading of the Akathistos Hymn in the square before the cathedral at the Moscow Kremlin. A recent catalogue notes that the embroidery may originally have been presented to the Kremlin Monastery of the Resurrection, where the venerated icon of the Hodegetria was kept.[7]

Also attributed to the workshop of Grand Princess Helena is an embroidered hanging portraying the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist (State Historical Museum, Moscow), datable to the 1490s.[8] It is executed in a similar technique upon a similarly colored silk background. John the Baptist was the patron saint of Helena's deceased husband, Ivan III's son Ivan the Younger. Like the one showing the Hodegetria procession, this latter embroidery may also have been conceived by Helena as a sort of personal statement: the choice of a biblical subject reflected her bereavement.

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1. Shchepkina 1954.
2. Svirin 1963, pp. 54–57; Maiasova 1971, figs. 27, 28.
3. A. Grabar 1981.
4. Moscow 1991a, pp. 14 n. 39, 16–17, figs. 42, 43.
5. N. Ševčenko 1995, pp. 550–51; N. Ševčenko 1991, pp. 47–48.
6. Evseeva 1999.
7. Lidov 2000, p. 267.
8. Moscow 2000–2001, p. 264, fig. 616.

References: Shchepkina 1954; Svirin 1963, pp. 54–57; Maiasova 1971, figs. 27, 28; A. Grabar 1981; Moscow 1991a, pp. 16–17, figs. 42, 43, no. 17; N. Ševčenko 1991, pp. 47–48; Manushina 1995; N. Ševčenko 1995, pp. 550–51; Evseeva 1999; Efimova 2000; Lidov 2000, pp. 261–63, 267, no. 88.

195, detail

Saint Cyril's Belozersk Monastery of the Dormition

IRINA SOLOV'EVA

During the course of the Muscovite unification of Russian lands over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, large territories in the north were opened for economic activity and monastic settlement. New monasteries would be organized according to the cenobitic standards established by Saint Sergius of Radonezh (1314–1392) at his Holy Trinity Monastery near Moscow and over time would themselves be the models for yet more convents. One of the earliest of the new monasteries was Saint Cyril's Monastery of the Dormition, founded close to Lake Beloye (Beloye Ozero, the White Lake).

Born in Moscow about 1337 to aristocratic parents, Cyril (Kirill) was provided with a good education. Upon the death of his parents, he was adopted by his relative Timofei Veliaminov, a retainer of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi; Cyril became his bursar. From the time of his parents' deaths, the youth nourished a desire to leave secular life and enter a monastery. This he was not able to attain until the late 1370s, when he was tonsured at the Moscow Simonov Monastery of the Dormition by the archimandrite Theodore, nephew of Sergius of Radonezh, and took the monastic name Cyril. His zealous obedience in the fulfillment of monastic duties and his wide learning became known to Sergius, who, on a visit to the Simonov Monastery, had a long solitary conversation with him. Cyril was ordained at the Simonov Monastery and in the late 1380s served for about two years as superior. After resigning from this office, he stayed at the monastery, observing a vow of silence, and in the summer of 1397, at the age of sixty, he moved to the shore of Lake Siverskoe, near Lake Beloye, where he lived in solitude for a short time. Other monks, including some from the Simonov, began to gather there around him. A wooden church of the Dormition of the Virgin was built in the wilderness, and at the brethren's insistence, Cyril became abbot of the new community. Cenobitism and strict rules of obedience were established in the Monastery of the Dormition, and "if one brother would perchance visit another, nothing was to be seen in the cell save icons or books."[1] Toward the end of its founder's life the brotherhood consisted of fifty-three men, and the monastery held title to about forty plots of land, purchased or donated. Cyril of Belozersk died on June 9, 1427, at the age of ninety, and was canonized no later than 1448.[2]

Subsequently, the Belozersk Monastery of the Dormition became a major economic and cultural center of the Muscovite state. Cyril himself had laid the foundations for its flowering: a spiritual testament and several epistles with political advice addressed by him to various Russian princes survive. In 1447 at the Belozersk Monastery, Grand Prince Basil II, blinded during dynastic strife, was released from his vow not to seek the Muscovite throne. As a token of gratitude, the prince not only provided the monastery with rich endowments but also sent there one of the most renowned of early Russian writers, Pachomios the Logothete. The latter collected ample biographical information and in 1461–62 wrote the first vita of Saint Cyril. In 1487, when Grand Princess Maria, mother of Ivan III, took the veil, the ceremony was held at the Belozersk Monastery. During the invasion of the Tatar khan Akhmat in 1481, the monastery sheltered Grand Princess Sophia Palaiologos and the Moscow state treasury. In the sixteenth century, the monastery enjoyed the special patronage of Prince Basil III and of Czar Ivan IV the Terrible. After the 1550s, it became a place of obligatory royal pilgrimage and was visited regularly by all Muscovite rulers. Even more frequent were various princely donations, such as holy relics, valuables, land, and huge monetary gifts.

Saint Cyril's Belozersk Monastery occupied a central place in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Russian history. Its monks actively participated in debates concerning state and society, canon law and the treatment of heretics, the organization of monasteries, and monastic landholding. Leading thinkers and writers, such as Nil Sorskii, Vassian Patrikeev, and Metropolitan Joasaph Obolenskii, had connections to it.

Over the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, the book collection at Belozersk formed the largest monastic library in Russia, numbering more than twenty-two hundred codices at the end of the eighteenth century. Cyril was personally responsible for its establishment for he himself copied books, and in all possible ways he encouraged their reading and copying by the other monks. Before the monastery was dissolved, its treasury kept as a precious relic twelve manuscripts that had either belonged to Cyril, had been copied on his orders, or had been used at the original Church of the Dormition (cat. 167).[3] These formed the nucleus of the monastery's library—and effectively its model—since the scope of their contents determined the character and course of the collection's further development. As well as theological and canonical texts, the library consisted of works of history, polemics, and hymnology, chronicles, narratives, and folklore. The Belozersk library preserved the oldest extant copies of numerous literary works, and newly written or newly translated texts would quickly find their way into it. The library also contained a number of small-size miscellany volumes of unique, encyclopedic contents meant for

personal reading. These included articles on geography, chronology, canon and secular law, medicine, mathematics, and numismatics, often extensively annotated. Cyril compiled the earliest such miscellanies, which in the last third of the fifteenth century were organized by the monk Euphrosinius. Another notable Belozersk scribe was Gurii Tushin (1455–1526), who in the course of the forty-seven years he spent at the monastery copied thirty-seven books.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the library had already become an exceptional place, as attested by the inventory of its possessions compiled then by an unknown bibliographer. This catalogue of manuscripts, the oldest surviving example of its kind, lists 212 books and gives a detailed description of the contents of 24 miscellanies. The monks were not alone in utilizing the rich resources of their library, for on several occasions the czar or patriarch would order rare books to be transferred to Moscow and, later, Saint Petersburg. Ultimately, because of their special importance, most of the books remaining in the monastery were taken to the Holy Synod in Petersburg.[4]

Over time, a large complex of buildings arose on the shore of Lake Siverskoe. Up to the end of the fifteenth century, all the structures were of wood. Stone construction within the monastery began in 1496, when master builders from Rostov erected the Cathedral of the Dormition. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the stone walls of the complex protected ten churches, numerous cells, and various service buildings. The monastery's area reached its final shape when it was encircled by three-tier walls with six mighty towers, known as the Great Royal Fortress. This construction began in 1653, lasted for almost thirty years, and resulted in the largest fortification of seventeenth-century Russia.

When it was built, the Cathedral of the Dormition was the largest monastic church in the Russian north. The cathedral's iconostasis, datable to about 1497 when the church was consecrated, and made up of almost sixty icons, occupies a special place in the history of early Russian painting. This is the only fifteenth-century icon set of this kind that is preserved in such completeness. The iconostasis included tiers of royal, Deesis, festal, and prophets' icons and formed a thoroughly well-conceived whole, modeled on the iconostases of the Vladimir and Moscow Cathedrals of the Dormition. Among the most highly venerated icons of the lowermost, royal, tier were a miracle-working Virgin Hodegetria taken by Cyril from Moscow, the earliest portrait of Saint Cyril (cat. 197), and two icons of the Dormition (the feast to which the church was dedicated), painted, respectively, for the monastery's original Dormition Church and for the 1496 cathedral.[5]

An iconographic peculiarity of the Deesis tier, which contained twenty-one icons, is the inclusion of two stylite saints (cat. 196) and, along with the usual martyr-saints George and Demetrius, unique images of saints Eustratius and Artemius. The festal tier, composed of twenty-four icons including customary scenes for the most important feasts of the liturgical cycle and an image of the Last Judgment, is the oldest extant example with a detailed Passion cycle. The iconostasis also contained one of the early and most completely preserved fifteenth-century prophets' tiers; its nine icons represent the Greater and Lesser Prophets, as well as saints who were only rarely depicted in prophets' tiers. The Belozersk iconostasis was the work of a large team of painters from Moscow, Novgorod, and Rostov, headed by three principal masters. Although each artist had an individual manner, their joint work and mutual influence led to the creation of a brilliantly unified whole, dominated principally by the Muscovite artistic tradition.

Saint Cyril's Belozersk Monastery continued to invite well-known painters from Moscow, Novgorod, or Vologda to execute various commissions. In addition, from the sixteenth century on, arts and crafts developed on a large scale in specialized workshops of the monastery and in surrounding villages. The work of local masters, such as icon painters, silversmiths, and wood-carvers (who made crosiers, crosses, and icons, painted wood vessels, domestic implements, and various carved-wood decorative items) became famous throughout Russia. The Belozersk abbots would give such objects as souvenirs to their guests, send them as gifts to Moscow or other cities, or sell them to the numerous pilgrims. Such sales brought the monastery significant income. Documents from the monastic

Fig. 196.1. View of the Belozersk Monastery and its fortification walls

archive preserve the names of some one hundred craftsmen of various kinds.[6]

Over the monastery's long existence, its churches and treasury were filled with icons, various embroidered textiles, and objects made of bone, gold, silver, pearl, and precious stones. Only a small portion of these artistic treasures survives. At various times (mostly in 1923 and 1928), the Russian Museum received from Saint Cyril's Monastery about a hundred works of icon painting, embroidery, and decorative art, as well as fifteenth- to eighteenth-century manuscripts. These selections form one of the highlights of that museum's collection of early Russian art.

1. Nikol'skii 1897, vol. 1, pt. 1, suppl. 2, p. 95.
2. Golubinskii 1903, p. 74.
3. Eight of these manuscripts are kept at present at the State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg.
4. The manuscripts from the library of the Belozersk Monastery are at present mostly at the National Library of Russia (RNB), Saint Petersburg, and in other collections.
5. At present in the Kirillov Museum and in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.
6. The huge archive of the Belozersk Monastery is kept mostly at the Russian State Archive for Ancient Documents (RGADA), Moscow, and the National Library of Russia, as well as at other institutions.

196 A, B. Two Icons of Stylite Saints

196A. Saint Symeon the Stylite
Moscow, ca. 1497
Pigments and gold on canvas on two unrecessed boards joined with two insert struts
192.5 x 34.7 cm (75¾ x 13⅝ in.)

196B. Saint Symeon (?) the Stylite
Moscow, ca. 1497
Pigments and gold on canvas on a single unrecessed board with two insert struts
192.5 x 33.2 cm (75¾ x 13⅛ in.)

PROVENANCE: Entered the State Russian Museum from the Belozersk Monastery in 1923.
CONDITION: The pigments and gilding are worn, and there are losses of priming along the edges. An overpainting was removed from the canvases at the restoration workshop of the museum in 1969–71 by I. V. Iarygina and I. P. Iaroslavtsev.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg
(DRZh-1912, DRZh-1911)

The Orthodox East, including Russia, venerated two saints of the same name both of

196A

196B

whom had lived near Antioch in Syria. Symeon the Elder (ca. 389–459) was the first to have settled on a pillar, thus pioneering a peculiar form of monastic asceticism. In the sixth century his exploits were repeated by Saint Symeon the Younger (521–592), known also as Saint Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain. These Syrian monks were widely venerated in ancient Rus'. In the twelfth century, churches in Kiev and Novgorod were dedicated to Saint Symeon the Stylite. The two saints were portrayed in decorative art, miniature painting, icons, and frescoes. The feast day of Saint Symeon the Stylite was significant also because it occurred on the first day of the new year. Early Russian menologia, like Byzantine ones, listed the names of both Symeons. Often, however, the two saints were merged and their feast day was given as September 1 (this being the feast of Saint Symeon the Elder, while the other Symeon's proper feast was May 24). Russian iconographers' manuals emphasize the similar appearance of the two saints, which can be seen in the present icons.

Only in Russia were icons of pillar saints included in the Deesis tier of a church's iconostasis. Apparently, the first occurrence was in the last decades of the fifteenth century, whereas previously, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the stylites were portrayed among other monastic saints on the masonry chancel screens of Muscovite churches. In the seventeenth century, their presence on the iconostasis became almost obligatory. Most often, the image of Saint Symeon was paired with that of Saint Daniel the Stylite (409–493).

The present icons, painted about 1497, come from the Deesis tier of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of the Dormition of Belozersk Monastery and are the earliest surviving monuments of this kind. The stylites' figures originally flanked a row of saints, turned in prayer toward Christ Pantokrator, who represented, in hierarchic order, all categories of holiness. The inscriptions here are very poorly preserved, but the remaining letters plus monastic documents from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century make it possible to identify the images as the two Saint Symeons. IDS

REFERENCES: Vilinbakhova et al. 1981, p. 34, no. 21; Lelekova 1988, pp. 251–54 (with earlier bibl.); Petrova 1997, p. 33; Dmitrieva and Sharomazov 1998, p. 241; Petrova 2002, pp. 98–99, nos. 15–16; Solov'eva 2002, pp. 170–74.

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197. Icon of Saint Cyril of Belozersk with Scenes from His Life

Dionysius (ca. 1440–after 1503) and his circle
Moscow, beginning of the 16th century
Pigments and gold on canvas on two recessed pine boards joined with two insert struts
150.5 x 116.7 cm (59¼ x 46 in.)
Sequence of scenes: 1. Cyril tonsured at the Simonov Monastery; 2. Cyril's conversation with Sergius of Radonezh; 3. Cyril ordained as a priest; 4. Cyril resigns as archimandrite of the Simonov Monastery; 5–6. The Virgin appears to Cyril, Cyril hears a voice and sees a light indicating the location of the future Belozersk Monastery, Cyril and Ferapont leave the Simonov Monastery, Cyril erects a cross on the shore of Lake Siverskoe, Cyril builds a cell with the help of Auxentius and Matthew; 7. Miracle with Andrew who wanted to set Cyril's cell on fire, arrival of the church officials; 8. Cyril saves the monastery from fire; 9. Cyril receives the envoys of Prince Belevskii; 10. Cyril appears in a dream to Prince and Princess Belevskii and announces the birth of an heir; 11. Cyril miraculously increases the eucharistic wine; 12. Cyril miraculously multiplies the monastery's bread at a time of famine; 13. Fishermen are saved from drowning in the lake; 14. The monk Dalmatius miraculously resurrected by Cyril for communion; 15. The Virgin and Cyril appear in a dream to the boyar Roman Aleksandrovich; 16. Princess Kargolomskaia and another woman are healed of blindness on seeing a book in Cyril's hands; 17. Cyril foretells to Christopher his own death and an epidemic at the monastery; 18. Cyril parts from the brethren and blesses his successor Innocentius; 19. Cyril's burial; 20. Cyril and the priest Flaurus appear to the servant Auxentius; 21. Miraculous healings at Cyril's tomb, Cyril appears to an elder on the eve of Prince Mikhail Andreevich Vereiskii's arrival at the monastery

197, detail of Saint Cyril's conversation with Saint Sergius of Radonezh

197, detail of the monk Dalmatius miraculously resurrected by Saint Cyril for communion

INSCRIBED: Beside the Saint's head о аг(и)ос Кирилос чюд(о)творец (Saint Cyril the Miracle Worker); on the scroll held by the saint, Не скорбите, братіа, но по семѹ wбразѹ разѹмѣите аш(е) ѹгодна дѣла моа (*sic*) бѹдѧт б(о)гѹ і не wскѹдѣет мѣсто сїе. Токмо любов имѣите меж собою [...] (Do not grieve, brethren, but understand from what you see that my deeds will be pleasing to God, and this place shall not be impoverished. Just have love among yourselves . . .

PROVENANCE: From the lowermost tier of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of the Dormition, Belozersk Monastery; included in the 1929–33 exhibition of monuments of early Russian painting in Germany, Austria, England, and the U.S. (Chicago); entered the State Russian Museum in 1933.

CONDITION: There are small losses and abrasions of pigments and gilding throughout; the inscriptions were retouched at restoration. The overpainting was cleaned at the Central State Restoration Workshops in Moscow, 1928–29, by E. A. Dombrovskaia.

State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (DRZh-2741)

This icon is the earliest surviving portrait of Saint Cyril and, evidently, the first one ever painted. It is based on the fifteenth-century vita of the saint by Pachomios the Serb (Pachomios the Logothete), which the painter followed quite precisely, without, however, being fully dependent on it. The selection of scenes does not simply follow the narrative, but rather reveals an independent, well-conceived iconographic program, comparable in significance to the work of the hagiographic writer. The icon was permanently placed in the lowermost iconostasis tier of the Catherdral of the Dormition of the Belozersk Monastery. Documentary evidence shows that it occupied the fourth position to the right of the altar, next to other highly venerated images: the Virgin that Cyril had brought from Moscow, and the two eponymous icons of the Dormition. It also stood next to a door in the south wall of the cathedral, through which one entered to reach the saint's tomb. Together with this tomb, where the coffin holding the relics was covered with embroidered shrouds, the present monumental image was doubtless perceived as the saint's monument. In the sixteenth century, the icon received a silver revetment with precious stones. Several embroidered hangings were placed beneath it (cat. 198).

The principal theme of the painted vita cycle concerns Cyril's monastic exploits, since the icon was meant to glorify the great ascetic missionary in the principal church of the very monastery he had founded. The saint's pictorial biography does not start, as customary, with the scene of his birth, but rather with his tonsuring at the Simonov Monastery and his conversation with Sergius of Radonezh. These events are conceived as the true beginning of Cyril's life, while his childhood and stay at the house of Timofei Veliaminov, both predating his entering the monastery, are consciously excluded from the narrative. Only those episodes from the vita are chosen for illustration that relate to Cyril's monastic activities, his labors building the new monastery, the miraculous effect of his prayers, and his power of foreseeing the future. The Virgin is represented several times as the unfailing assistant of the monastery that was placed under her protection.

Scholars unanimously attribute the icon to the Moscow icon painter Dionysius or to his immediate following. It belongs to a group of vita icons by Dionysius and his circle that portray major figures of the Russian Church. These are, first of all, the icons of Saint Sergius of Radonezh in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity at Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery and the Cathedral of the Dormition, Moscow Kremlin, and of Saint Demetrius of Prilutsk in the Vologda Regional Art Museum. To a lesser degree, to the group belong also two icons of metropolitans Peter and Alexius of Moscow, kept, respectively, in the Kremlin Cathedral of the Dormition and in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow. The images on these icons are all characterized by idealized elevated expression, slowness of motion, flowing outlines, and rhythmic harmony of contours and color. The small vita scenes along the icons' frames are based on similar stylistic principles. The absence of vertical dividing lines between horizontally adjacent scenes is a novelty in vita icons, doubtless introduced by Dionysius under the influence of monumental painting. IDS

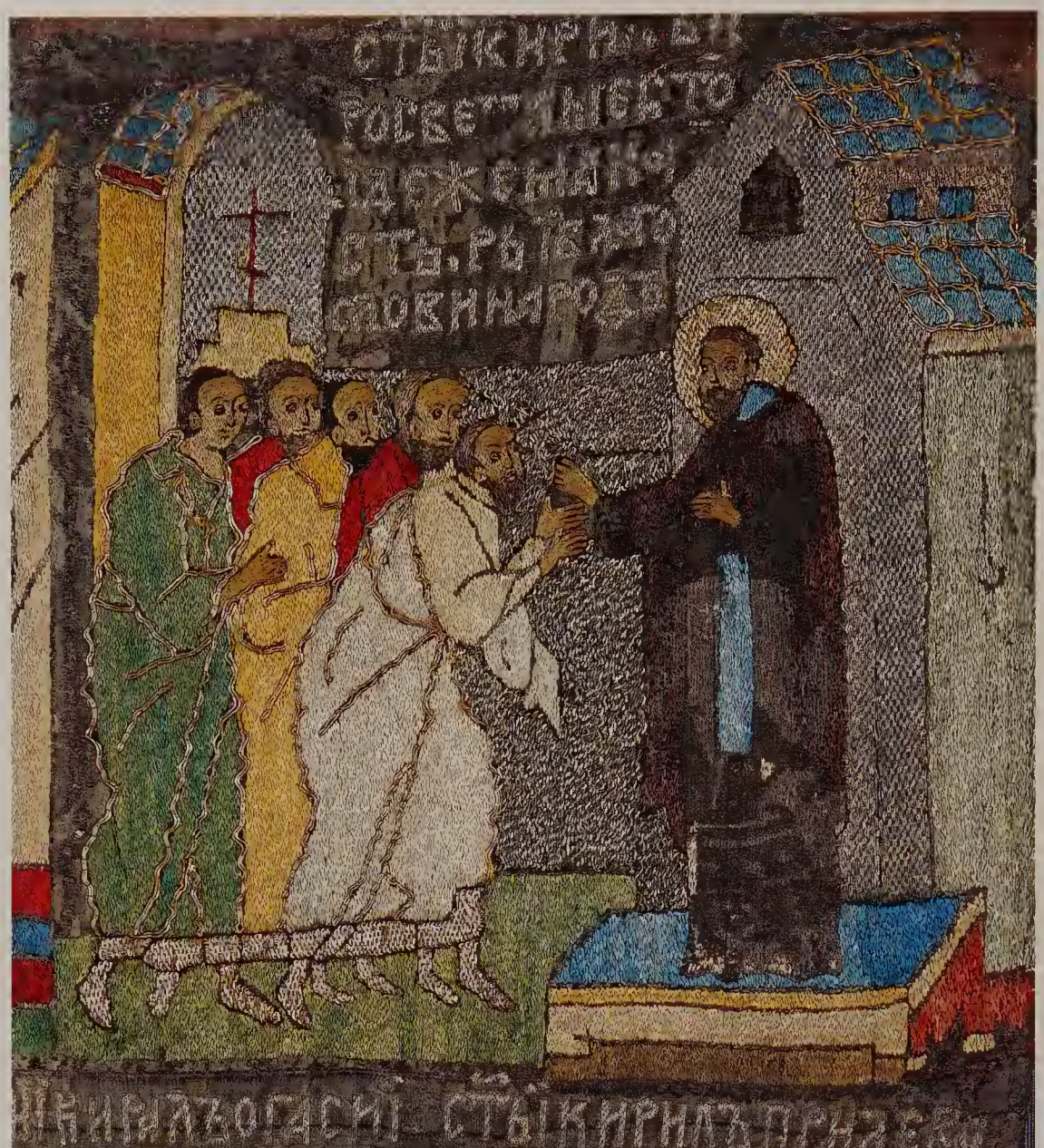
References: Nikol'skii 1897, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 111–12; Kochetkov 1981, pp. 332–35; Vilinbakhova et al. 1981, no. 63; Smirnova 1989, pp. 295–96, figs. 155–157 (with earlier bibl.); Baltimore 1992, pp. 240–43, no. 71; Lazarev 1997, pp. 325, 388–89, no. 120; Petrova 1997, p. 38; Dmitrieva and Sharomazov 1998, pp. 46–47, 238; Petrova 2002, pp. 84–88, no. 10.

198. Embroidery Icon of Saint Cyril of Belozersk with Scenes from His Life

Moscow, beginning of the 16th century
Damask embroidered with gold and silver silk threads
99.5 x 118 cm (39⅛ x 46½ in.)
Sequence of scenes: 1. Cyril's birth; 2. Cyril tonsured at the Simonov Monastery; 3. Cyril's conversation with Sergius of Radonezh; 4. Cyril appointed abbot of the Simonov Monastery; 5. The Virgin appears to Cyril, Cyril hears a voice and sees a light indicating the location of the future Belozersk Monastery; 6. Cyril blesses the people, consecration of the spot for building a monastery; 7. Miracle with Andrew who wanted to set Cyril's cell on fire, arrival of church officials; 8. Cyril saves the monastery from fire, arrival of the elder Ignatius (?); 9. Envoys of Prince Mikhail Belevskii come to Cyril, Cyril appears in a dream to Prince Belevskii and announces the birth of an heir; 10. Miracle with Theodore the Possessed; 11. Miraculous increase of the eucharistic wine; 12. Miraculous increase of the eucharisitic bread; 13. Fishermen are saved from drowning in the lake; 14. Miracle with the monk Dalmatius, miraculously resurrected for communion by Cyril's prayer; 15. The Virgin and Cyril appear in a dream to the boyar Roman Aleksandrovich; 16. Princess Kargolomskaia is healed of blindness; 17. Cyril instructs the brethren before his death and appoints his disciple Innocentius as abbot; 18. Cyril's burial; 19. Cyril appears to an elder on the eve of Prince Mikhail Andreevich Vereiskii's arrival at the monastery
Inscribed: In the central field, in Slavonic, **ɛ(вя)ты прп/одобны / Кирилъ/н чюдотво/рецъ игуменъ Белозерскі** (The Venerable Saint Cyril, Miracle Worker and Abbot of Belozersk)
Provenance: Entered the State Russian Museum in 1923 from the Belozersk Monastery.
Condition: The fabric, which shows aging and losses, has been reinforced with modern lining; the embroidery is markedly worn, and the embroidered outline is almost completely lost.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (DRT-276)

The embroidery was made for the lowermost iconostasis tier of the Belozersk Monastery Cathedral of the Dormition. Originally it hung under the icon of Saint Cyril (cat. 197), and was later kept in the monastery's treasury. It is one of the few surviving textiles with vita scenes. Such embroideries could replicate specially venerated icons, but would more often contain only crosses and ornament.

The makers of the painted icon and of the embroidery evidently used the same version of Saint Cyril's vita, formulating iconographic programs that, except for a few variants, are almost identical, both in the content and in



198, detail of Saint Cyril blessing the people, consecration of the place for building a monastery

the sequence of most scenes. Also similar are the large inscriptions that accompany each scene in both the painted and the embroidered icon. The preliminary drawings for the icon and the embroidery were, however, executed by two different masters, who both produced remarkably beautiful portraits of the Belozersk abbot and vita cycles that are equally the result of two individual readings of a single literary source. In the embroidery, the saint's biography opens in a traditional manner, with the scene of his birth, and the independent approach of the embroidery's makers is particularly noticeable in the first half of the cycle. In the second half the scenes mostly follow the painted model, simplifying its compositions.

The embroidering was evidently done by two women. The more experienced of the two executed the subtly spiritualized portrait of the saint in the central field. The preliminary drawing for it was done by a painter who was close to the work of Dionysius (ca. 1440–after 1503; see cat. 197). The second embroideress worked on the vita scenes, which are bright and beautiful in color but less fine in terms of design. Stylistically, the embroidery is close to works produced in Moscow at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the workshop of Solomonia Saburova, the wife of Grand Prince Basil III (r. 1505–33). IDS

References: Varlaam 1859, pp. 61–62; Maiasova 1971, p. 26, fig. 40; L. Likhacheva 1980, pp. 26–27, 31–32, no. 25, fig. p. 56; Pleshanova and Likhacheva 1985, pp. 29, 207, no. 93; Baltimore 1992, pp. 244–45, 319, no. 72; Petrova 1997, p. 49; Petrova 2002, pp. 90–93, no. 11.

199. Embroidery Illustrating the Transfiguration and Church Festivals

Moscow, second half of the 15th century
Silk, gold, and silver thread on satin and taffeta
49 x 51.8 cm (19¼ x 20⅜ in.)
Inscribed: At the top of the central scene, in Slavonic, Прѣшьбраженне Г(оспод)а нашего І(ису)с(а) Х(рист)а (The Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ); in the border, a liturgical text, the troparion for the feast of the Transfiguration, Прѣшьбразнлс[я еси] на / горѣ, Х(рист)е Б(ож)е, по/казаа оученикомь славоу с/воею ако жо мо/жахоу. Да бъсїаеть / намь грѣш(н)ымь свѣт / твои прегно/гоущиы / м(о)л(и)твами Б(огороди)ца. / Свѣтодавче, слава тебѣ. (Thou [wast] transfigured on the mountain, O Christ God, showing to Thy disciples Thy glory as each one could endure. May Thy eternal light shine forth upon us sinners, through the prayers of the Theotokos. Light-bestower, glory to Thee)[1]
Provenance: Belozersk Monastery; entered the State Russian Museum in 1923.
Condition: There are major losses in the silk background down to the base, and the silk and gold threads are worn. The pearls originally strung along the edge and along the halos of the prophets, as well as the three stones from Christ's halo, are now lost. The work was restored in 1926 and 1962.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (19)

A depiction of the Transfiguration fills the central space. In the border, passages from the liturgical inscription alternate with twelve

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scenes connected with Church festivals, illustrating the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, Epiphany (the Baptism), the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis, the Ascension, Pentecost, the Old Testament Trinity, and the Dormition of the Virgin. The iconography of the festivals is typical of late-fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century painting in Moscow. Peculiar to this embroidery, however, is the simplicity of the landscape and the architectural backgrounds, as well as a certain "denseness" of composition: the broad border, closely packed with multifigure scenes and text, detracts somewhat from the iconic monumentality of the central scene.

A similar composition and iconography are displayed by a late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century Byzantine icon of the Twelve Feasts in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow (13877). A very similar distribution of scenes is found on an embroidered altar cloth showing the Trinity and the Twelve Feasts from the Trinity–Saint Sergius Monastery, Sergiev Posad, now in that town's State History and Art Museum-Reserve (361).

The work's bright palette is dominated by the contrasting green satin of the central field and red taffeta of the border; to these are added the multicolored silk threads of the embroidery. In the Transfiguration scene, the garments of the apostles are almost indistinguishable from the surrounding rocks, and against this mosaic-like background the figure of Christ, with its white tunic and white-and-blue mandorla, stands out: "And his face shone like the sun, and his clothes became dazzling white" (Matthew 17:2). The details, outlines, and inscriptions are embroidered with doubled gold thread, creating a pattern in relief that resembles the gold cells of cloisonné enamel.

The iconography, style, embroidering technique, and materials as well as a paleographic evaluation of the inscriptions all point to a Moscow workshop of the second half of the fifteenth century as the source of this embroidery.

199, detail of the hospitality of Abraham

The text in the border unites the diverse festival scenes into a continuous liturgical cycle. This inscription may be related to the function of the cloth, which a 1601 inventory of the Belozersk Monastery lists as a "shroud [*plashchenitsa*] that priests carry in their hands."[2] At that time the work was kept "by the treasurer Deacon Isaiah in the treasury,"[3] suggesting how greatly it was valued; probably it was solemnly carried out on the days of important Church feasts. OK

1. See *Horologion* 1997, p. 569.
2. Dmitrieva and Sharomazov 1998, p. 152.
3. Ibid., p. 136.

REFERENCES: Varlaam 1859, pp. 62, 98; L. Likhacheva 1980, pp. 7, 12, no. 13; Pleshanova and Likhacheva 1985, p. 205, fig. 91, no. 85; Maiasova 1989, p. 206; Baltimore 1992, pp. 254–55, no. 76; Athens 1994, pp. 252–53, no. 58; Vicenza 2000, pp. 178–81, no. 53; L. Likhacheva et al. 2002, no. 56, pp. 217–18.

200. Tomb Cover of Saint Cyril of Belozersk

Moscow, workshop of Solomonia Saburova (wife of Grand Prince Basil III), 1514
Taffeta and canvas embroidered with silk, gold, and silver thread
198.5 x 84 cm (78⅛ x 33⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Slavonic, Сдѣлан бысть покровъ сїи повелѣнїемъ Василїа божїею м(и)л(ос)тию г(осу)даря всеа Рꙋси и великого князѧ володимерскаго и московскаго и новгороцкого и тверскаго и пековскаго и иныхъ (added и смоленскаго) в лѣто ҃ѕ҃кв҃ въ ҃а҃ лѣто г(осу)д(а)рьства его (The present cover was made at the behest of Basil, by the grace of God Lord of all Rus' and Grand Prince of Vladimir, and Moscow, and Novgorod, and Tver, and Pskov, (added: and Smolensk),[1] and others, in the year 7022 [1514], in the ninth year of his reign)
PROVENANCE: Belozersk Monastery; entered the State Russian Museum in 1923.
CONDITION: There are losses of silk thread on the clothing. The original dark brown base is preserved only under the saint's figure. In the monastery, the embroidery was transferred onto a green velvet base. The work was restored in 1963–64; during the restoration, the base and the recent inscription were removed, and the image with its dedicatory inscription was transferred to a new base, close in color to the original one.
State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg (DRT-306)

The iconography of the image is traditional for embroidered tomb covers of this kind. Saint Cyril is shown full length, blessing with his right hand and holding a scroll in his left. The depiction is markedly linear and flat; the face and hands, embroidered with flesh-colored silk threads, lack shadows or nuance. The cloak is rendered in dark brown silk, the habit in light brown. Muted colors such as these were traditional for embroidered tomb covers. The monotonous palette is enlivened by the light blue of the cowl and scapular and the gold of the halo, scroll, and inscription. The figure's outer contours and the folds of the garment are delineated by relief stitches.

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the iconography of Saint Cyril underwent a complex process of "iconization." His historical portrait was gradually transformed into an ideal, conventionalized image; a major influence on this transformation was exerted by the famous icon painter Dionysius. Features of the image seen here include elongated proportions, slanting shoulders, a small head, and elegantly shaped wrists. Stylistically it is close to an icon of the saint by Dionysius or his immediate followers (cat. 197) and an early-sixteenth-century embroidered hanging (cat. 198).[2]

Eight embroidered tomb covers with the image of Saint Cyril are known, of which the present work is one of the earliest. Generally, the venerated tomb of a Russian saint contained a coffin with relics, icons, and embroidered cloth covers. The latter reflected a certain idea that holiness must be concealed and also were connected to the rite of veneration (touching, kissing, and lighting candles). Because the cloth was in contact with the saint's remains, it was itself venerated as a relic. Dedicating an embroidered tomb cover was thus a personal act of piety, a permanent token of prayer, and an investment for the sake of one's "eternal memory." Particularly venerated tomb covers were kept in monastic treasuries; in inventories they are designated as "festal" covers. The present embroidery, presented to Saint Cyril's Belozersk Monastery by Grand Prince Basil III and Solomonia Saburova, was such a festal tomb cover. A product of the princely workshop, the cover is distinguished by high-quality execution and subtle gradations of color.

OK

1. Smolensk was annexed by Muscovy on August 1, 1514. Evidently by that time the embroidery had already been finished, and the words "and Smolensk" in the prince's title were added in smaller characters. Possibly the very dedication of a cloth cover for the chest containing the relics of Saint Cyril of Belozersk was connected with Basil III's Smolensk campaign.
2. An embroidered tomb cover with Saint Paphnutius of Borovsk (State Russian Museum, 297) can be considered a parallel to the present example.

References: Varlaam 1859, pp. 56–57; Nikolaeva 1971, pp. 71, 143, 180–81, figs. 43, 75; L. Likhacheva 1980, pp. 26, 30–31, no. 24; Pleshanova and Likhacheva 1985, pp. 28–29, 205, fig. 97, no. 91; Maiasova 1989, p. 209; Baltimore 1992, pp. 146–47, no. 37; Athens 1994, pp. 257–58, no. 62; L. Likhacheva 2001, pp. 44, 50; L. Likhacheva et al. 2002, p. 112.

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The Icon as a Ladder of Divine Ascent in Form and Color

ARCHBISHOP DAMIANOS

Holy icons have become the focus of historical, art historical, and social appraisal in our days, inciting much scholarly research and being displayed in special museum exhibitions, like the one at present. It is evident that scholars, by resolving issues pertaining to the facture of icons (the material means and process of their making), to the pictorial techniques involved, to the period styles, and to the level of artistry of their creators, have succeeded in placing icons in their proper historical and cultural framework.

And yet, in the eyes of every Orthodox Christian, holy icons are more than artful and historical objects. They are a vital entity and a vibrant presence in the liturgical life of the Church, which is the very context that sanctioned and fostered their creation, existence, and use from early Christian times. When seen in this light—πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες, "comparing spiritual things with spiritual" (1 Corinthians 2:13)—the icons' multifaceted dimensions and intrinsic meaning can be approached, assessed, and revealed with a new fullness of significance, and the creative act of the gifted individuals responsible for their facture becomes a part of the act of the living Church, proclaiming the truth of the Incarnation of the Logos, the Word of God.

The present essay was born from a desire to impart the reflections and insights that the vital presence of icons evokes in the spiritual life and ascesis of a monk of Sinai. It is a sharing of a lifelong experience, expressed in the spirit of Saint Paul's command, "These things commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also" (2 Timothy 2:2). By extension, however, the thoughts communicated here can be the reflection of every Orthodox Christian, whether monastic or layman. For we all respond to the same Gospel call, and we all belong to the living Church, "neither is there respect of persons with Him" (Ephesians 6:9).

The reader should be reminded that the Monastery of Saint Catherine, known more accurately as the Sacred and Imperial Monastery of the God-Trodden Mount of Sinai, is the oldest continuously inhabited Christian monastery in the world (fig. 11.1). Spiritual and ascetic life began here by the end of the third century A.D., and the fortified monastery proper, along with the magnificent basilica, was constructed at the command of Emperor Justinian the Great in the middle of the sixth century. The geographical isolation of the site, the perfect climatological conditions, and the zeal of the monks contributed to the preservation of the liturgical objects that accumulated over the centuries within the fortified walls of the monastery. Among these, the collection of Byzantine icons is the richest in the world, and it includes the greatest number of sixth- and seventh-century encaustic panels to have survived the scourge of Iconoclasm (fig. 11.2).

The basilica and the chapels of the monastery are adorned with a multitude of icons, which are thus a presence in the daily liturgical life of both the Sinai brethren and the ever-present succession of pilgrims. In this manner they fulfill to the utmost the very reason for their existence: they are the focus of both private and common prayer, and they are venerated, hymned, censed, and contemplated, so that they become most powerful buttresses in our Christian ascesis, and material supports in religious life and worship.

Speaking in a purely Sinaite vocabulary, it can be said that icons substantiate in form and color the veritable truths contained in *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* of Saint John the Sinaite, who is also known as Saint John Klimax (fig. 11.3). This book, written in the seventh century, became the most popular text of the Orthodox Church after the Holy Scriptures and the service books. It is a terse manual of the spiritual life, abounding in pointed maxims, initially addressed to monastics, but offering

I should like to express my appreciation to Evangelos Zournatzis for his invaluable assistance in the composition of this essay.

Fig. 11.1. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, 6th century. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 11.2. Icon with Christ Pantokrator. Encaustic on wood, 6th century. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt. Photo: Bruce White

words of illumination and direction to every Christian who seeks to lead a true life of perfection in Christ.

Upon a first cursory reading, the *Ladder* disheartens the modern reader by its severity, its refusal of compromise, and its demand for total dedication—just as icons, with their hieratic and spartan compositional schemes and their seemingly stagnant and repetitive iconographic formulations, appear to those who view them as an artistic genre. But neither the *Ladder* nor Byzantine icons were meant to caress man's ears and eyes, respectively. On the contrary, both are invitations to pilgrimage, asking for an "existential reading" on our part and demanding purity of heart and spirit. Their proper function is initially didactic and eventually anagogical (spiritual, mystical). They are meant to probe man's soul, to incite him to transcend the maelstroms of the surrounding reality, and to ascend into the realm of higher truths.

For those willing to indulge in the text of the *Ladder* and thereby extract new meanings and new hopes, the "rungs" of the *Ladder* are shafts of illumination breaking through the obscurity of human existence. In every one of them, the Christian receives profoundly realistic insights on how to achieve the control of his material and spiritual self. Control of the mortal body is needed to attain ἀπάθεια, "dispassion," and then the process of κατὰ χάριν θέωσις, "man's deification through Divine Grace," can begin. To Saint John Klimax, the body of man is the starting point of the path leading to his receiving the deifying grace of God, becoming a bearer of the Holy Spirit, in hypostatic union with God.

The icon of Christ, which is the crown of all icons, renders palpable the mystery of the Incarnation of the Logos, not simply as a reminder, but as an organic part, an extension, and a perpetuation of it (fig. 11.2; cat. 217). It summarizes visually the whole plan of Divine Economy, namely, the sanctification of creation brought about by the Logos becoming flesh and dwelling among us. And as such, it embodies the Christian's focus of veneration. According to the most succinct words of the kontakion sung on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (in which the Church celebrates the restoration of icons after the tumultuous period of Iconoclasm):

Ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς	The uncircumscribable Word of the Father
ἐκ σοῦ, Θεοτόκε,	became circumscribed, taking flesh
περιεγράφη σαρκού- μενος,	from thee, O Theotokos;
καὶ τὴν ῥυπωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα	and having restored the defiled image
εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναμορ- φώσας,	to its primordial glory,
τῷ θείῳ κάλλει συγκατ- έμιξεν.	He suffused it with divine beauty.
Ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦντες τὴν σωτηρίαν,	But we, confessing our salvation,
ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ταύτην ἀνιστοροῦμεν.	record it in deed and word.

We "record [our salvation] in deed," that is, in depicting the holy icons, "and [in] word," that is, in copying the Holy Scriptures: these are the painted and the written records of our salvation.

Fig. 11.3. Icon with the Heavenly Ladder of Saint John Klimax. Tempera and gold on wood, late 12th century. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 11.4. Icon of Saint Nicholas with Busts of Saints. Tempera and gold on wood, late 10th–early 11th century. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt. Photo: Bruce White

In like manner, icons of the All-Holy Theotokos and the saints are the images of those men and women who became θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Peter 1:4) during their earthly life (fig. 11.4; cats. 207, 239). These icons point to the historicity of the saints' sanctification, as the icon of Christ points to the historicity of His Incarnation. And they show them not as they might be, but as they were and are now: within the living reality of the historical and eschatological Church. Icons therefore are, in many respects, *living* images of the saints, evoking their perpetual presence and providing Christians constantly with visual paradigms of their attainment of *theosis*. It is interesting to note in this context a custom of the Orthodox Hellenes that points to this conception of living images: icons of private devotion, that is, icons that are in people's homes, are taken to the church and are left there for forty days, when they are first acquired; they are also taken to the church every year during the feast day of the saint represented in them. In both cases the icons λειτουργοῦνται, "partake in the Divine Liturgy," as people say.

Byzantine culture achieved one of its most highly sophisticated expressions in formulating the pictorial language and the formal alphabet that would convey the salvific message of the Incarnation through icons. Undoubtedly, this pictorial language has undergone shifts and fluctuations over the course of time, not only during the Byzantine era proper but also in the centuries succeeding the fall of the empire. (One should be reminded that the creation of icons is not limited to the political entity of Byzantium, which ran its course of time in history; it is rather a function of the spirituality of the Orthodox Church, which is eschatological, and transcends nations and history.) Therefore, the formal alphabet of icons is in innate harmony with the abecedary (the alphabet book) handed down by tradition, and at the same time it allowed artists to express their own freedom of creative spirit, even as calligraphers in a scriptorium, who all write using the same alphabet, each employ that alphabet in a unique handwriting.[1]

The modern viewer of icons is often perplexed. To him or her, the figures of the saints in icons are somewhat stiff, and they seem to conform to an inflexible set of iconographic formulas. The pictorial space is utterly restricted, and scenic backgrounds, when they have been painted at all, are somehow flat and very summary; there is no linear perspective, cast shadows are missing, and the ever-present gold background further defies any illusion of the inhabited natural world. The participants in narrative scenes can be restricted to the mere protagonists, and these rarely show a facial expression apart from calm or sorrow (see cat. 228). It would seem that this undeniable spartan spirit informing the holy images can, at best, be appreciated or cherished as an aesthetically pleasing abstract art form concurrent with many modern theories on art. In this case, the icon runs the risk of becoming an exotic object and a pleasantly decorative curiosity. But this is not what icons are meant to be for the Orthodox Christian.

We have already mentioned that icons call for an "existential reading" on our part, an openness of heart and spirit. They are a forceful visual statement of the faith of Christians that the "communion of the Holy Spirit" invests both the living participants of the Church and "every righteous spirit in faith made perfect" (as it is stated in the prayers of the Divine Liturgy), that is, the people of all ages who were baptized in the name of Christ. Hence the saints, being the champions and paradigms in the arena of *theosis,* confront us face-to-face, thereby establishing this communion in a visual sense. Their physiognomies are readily identifiable, because their facial traits, the type of garments they wear, or the attributes they hold are handed down by tradition. They are deeply rooted in the collective sensibility and memory of the living Church, and the inscriptions designating every saint or every narrative scene are there to strengthen this memory.

As for their corporeal immobility and measured stance, these are but a visual reminder and a reflection of their perfect union of body and soul, achieved by their inner disposition of ἡσυχία, "stillness." Saint John Klimax, in the culminating "rungs" of his *Ladder,* is remarkably eloquent about this particular state of being that leads man to a perfect inner and outer poise. On this level, man's deeds, words, and demeanor are

confined to the very essentials and assume a hieratic dignity, for he is plunged into the ocean of incessant inner prayer. In addition to that, at the very heart of Orthodox theology lies a deep respect for man's ontological dignity, which was restored by the Incarnation. Hence, in terms of psychological ethos, holy images emanate a noble restraint and comeliness that reflects their transcendental nature. This has a bearing on their physiognomical ethos as well: none of the persons represented in icons—not even Judas or those who tortured Christ—looks ugly and repulsive. To depict them as such would be a denial of the dignity of the "restored" man.

By the same token, the painters of icons respect the physical reality of the human body. Despite the fluctuations in the proportionality or corporeality of the figures, a phenomenon that is linked to periods and styles, the body of man is respectfully confronted as a living entity. It is clearly articulated and organically structured, and it moves freely within its allotted pictorial space, as do the garments that drape it.

From an art historical point of view, it is an indisputable fact that Byzantine art is deeply indebted to the classical tradition in more than one way, for it constantly employs the formal vocabulary of classicism and is often inspired by its content. (Kurt Weitzmann, who studied the icons of Sinai in depth, has eloquently substantiated this indebtedness of Byzantine tradition to Hellenic classical art.) In addition to that, from a strictly theological point of view, the body of man is an entity to be respected ontologically. There is no body-soul dualism in Orthodox doctrine: Christ's Incarnation closed the gap between Creator and creature, and man's body became the "temple of the Holy Spirit," as the holy Apostle Paul wrote (1 Corinthians 6:19).

And yet, there remains a certain tension between body and soul. Saint John Klimax expressed this with profound insight in one of the most moving and humanely compassionate passages in the *Ladder*:

Πῶς μιμήσω ὃν φύσει ἀγαπᾶν πέφυκα;	How can I hate him whom by nature I habitually love?
πῶς ἐλευθερωθῶ ᾧ εἰς αἰῶνας συνδέδεμαι;	How can I get free of him with whom I am bound forever?
πῶς καταργήσω τὸ καὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀνιστάμενον . . . ;	How can I escape what will share my resurrection? . . .
ἂν λυπήσω, ὅλως κινδυνεύσω, ἂν πλήξω, οὐκ ἔχω διὰ τίνος τὰς ἀρετὰς κτήσομαι . . .	If I mortify him, I endanger myself. If I strike him down, I have nothing with which to obtain virtues. . . .
Τί τὸ περὶ ἐμὲ μυστήριον;	What is this mystery in me?
Τίς ὁ λόγος τῆς ἐμῆς συγκράσεως;	What is the meaning of this blending of body and soul?[2]

We are called to ascend, to appropriate to ourselves that which has been wrought by Christ, to partake of the restoration that has been accomplished by His Incarnation and Resurrection.

It is the saints who have been completely filled by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and who are thus the closest human images of God. The pictorial world they inhabit in their representations is the created world, which, however, is transformed into its primordial glory through the grace of the Logos and the grace of their presence—a world, we may add, that is suffused by divine light surpassing by far the brilliance of the sun. This light is the Uncreated Light of Mount Tabor. The Byzantine artists' choice to hint at that light, by means of an all-pervasive and scintillating gold background, is very sophisticated indeed. As the natural sun has been eclipsed by the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, so have cast shadows: their employment would create the illusion of a fictive pictorial space, which would be detrimental to the desired evocation of the transcendental. In the same line of reasoning, linear perspective is avoided, and elements of the natural world, such as landscape settings or architectural backgrounds, are rendered with a fine sense of discernment.

As a final observation, let us not forget that what raises painting to an art and a creative act is its power to "rephrase" the perceived reality, not in terms of what is fleeting and corruptible

Fig. 11.5. The Transfiguration, from the Hexaptych Icon (cat. 227). Tempera and gold on wood, mid-14th century. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 11.6. View of the apse with the Transfiguration mosaic, 6th century. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt. Photo: Bruce White

but in terms of what is permanent and incorruptible. In other words, painting benefits from its inherent faculty to abstract, to add, to cut, and to align, until its outcome pleases our ingrained impulse to finally see the world in a state that is more akin, more congenial, to our spirit. For the Orthodox Christian, this state is the world (both animate and inanimate) transfigured into its primordial beauty and comeliness (εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον κάλλος) through the Incarnation of the Logos. And this has been successfully translated into visual terms in icons.

Indeed, by their captivating formal purity, transparency, and clarity, icons create what we might call a resonance or an uplifting in the spiritual sense. They are statements of faith, milestones along man's path to perfection, images of the invisible comeliness of the Kingdom of Heaven, and open channels leading to it. Their material presence in the context of the Church actuates the concluding prayer of the Divine Liturgy, ἁγίασον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ Οἴκου σου, "sanctify them that love the comeliness of Thy House." Their spiritual presence is as compelling as our Lord's Incarnation, and their power is as transfiguring as the light of Mount Tabor (fig. 11.5).

For more that fourteen hundred years, on every single day the monks of Sinai have stood in their stalls, in the monastery's basilica built by Emperor Justinian, participating in the early service that commences before dawn. They are figures of prayer and contemplation amid the wilderness of the desert, brethren gathered from far lands, each of them ὡσεὶ στρουθίον μονάζον ἐπὶ δώματος, "like a sparrow alone upon the house top" (Psalm 101:8). Yet they are not alone, for they are in the presence of the saints, those athletes of faith—their own saints, the saints of Sinai—whose icons hang against the walls of their ancient basilica. Painted through the centuries, these icons have been testimonies of faith, tabernacles of prayer, and repositories of hope for entire generations. Each of them has its own mystical history—the prayers, the hymns, the contrite supplications, and the thankful words of those who have venerated them. Over them all, the splendid sixth-century mosaic of the Transfiguration adorns the apse of the basilica. In the darkness of the cold night, under the still light of the oil lamps, the figures of the saints acquire a life of their own, as do the majestic figures of the apse mosaic, especially that of our Transfigured Lord, whose white garments glimmer even in darkness. The communion of the Holy Spirit unites us all in the celebration of the Eucharist.

As the Divine Liturgy reaches its triumphal culmination, the first rays of the sun break through the apse windows. Shafts of subtle morning light pierce the darkness, illuminating the basilica with ever increasing intensity. The mosaic scintillates in an ineffable brilliance, as do the holy icons. To the monks of Sinai, what was felt as a discernible presence until this point now becomes a most vivid and palpable reassurance: the Uncreated Light of Mount Tabor is a living light that illuminates all those—monastics and laymen alike—who seek in humility and purity of heart their union with God (fig. 11.6).

201, detail

201. Icon with Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Scenes of Her Passion and Martyrdom

Sinai (?), early 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
75.3 x 51.4 cm (29⅝ x 20¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: On center panel, left, Ἡ ἁγία (Saint), right, Εκατερήνα (Catherine)
At top: 1. η α(γία) προσευχομενη (The saint in prayer)
2. η αγ(ία). . . . (The saint. . . .)
3. illegible
At right:
4. η αγ(ία) διαλεγόμενη (The saint interrogated)
5. προσπεσών(τες) ἡ ῥητορες η(ς) τοὺς πόδας τ(ῆ)ς ἁγ(ίας) (The rhetors falling at the feet of the saint)
6. η ρητορες εν τη καμ(ιν)ω (The rhetors in the furnace)
At left:
7. η αγ(ία) τύπτετε (The saint is struck)
8. πρόσπεσων η δέσποινα τὴν αγ(ίαν) εν τη φυλακει (The empress falling before the saint in the prison)
9. ἡ αγ(ία) δηαλεγομένη μετὰ τοῦ ἐπαρ(χου) καὶ τοῦ βασιλεος (The saint interrogated by the eparch and the emperor)
At bottom:
10. η αγ(ία) εν το τροχω (The saint on the wheel)
11. (ἡ) α(γία) και η δε(σποι)να δηαλεγόμενα(ι . . . β)ασιλ(έως) (The saint and the empress interrogated [by the] emperor)
12. η αγ(ίες) ξυφη τελοῦνται (The saints are put to death by the sword)
CONDITION: The condition is fragile. The icon is broken at the upper left, and there are two tall vertical cracks which affect mainly the central figure of the saint. New wooden struts have recently been attached to the back of the icon.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This large icon depicts the royally clad Saint Catherine of Alexandria surrounded by twelve small-scale scenes from her life. A form of panel known as a vita icon (see that of Saint George, cat. 228), this is the only extended cycle devoted to the life of Catherine in any medium that survives in the East from the Byzantine period.[1] The cycle begins in the upper left corner with a scene showing Catherine, a highly educated princess of Alexandria, kneeling before an approaching angel; it ends in the lower right corner with the scene of her beheading alongside the converted wife of Catherine's tormentor, the emperor Maxentius (r. 306–12). In between come scenes of interrogation; of debate (Catherine, a learned young woman, easily overwhelmed the "rhetors," the philosophers mustered to dissuade her from attacking the pagan practices of the emperor; the rhetors promptly converted and were burned in a pyre); and of her imprisonment and torture. There are no miracles and there is no concern with Catherine's place of burial: the emphasis is on the tortures sustained and survived by the saint and on her steadfastness in confronting secular authority. The episode of Catherine on the wheel is represented here for possibly the only time in Byzantine art,

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despite the fact that the wheel became an essential attribute of the saint in Western art. The saint is dressed exactly the same in every scene, with a jeweled loros, two-tiered golden crown, and deep blue robes; this consistency makes her easy to spot and facilitates the reading of the narrative.

The figure of Catherine in the center of this icon is dressed somewhat differently, with more attention to detail. The clothing is contemporary and Byzantine, although particularly close parallels to the shieldlike detached thorakion blazoned with the double-barred cross are also found in Georgian monuments of the late twelfth century. Indeed, though

both derive from Byzantine originals, this Catherine resembles images of the Georgian Queen Tamar more closely than she does any contemporary Byzantine empress.[2]

The story of Catherine and Mount Sinai is an interesting one. Both Greek and Latin traditions about the saint report that her body was removed by angels from her place of martyrdom in Alexandria and laid to rest at the top of a mountain near Mount Sinai. But her veneration in the East, though widespread, was never particularly strong, and not at first focused in any way on the monastery on Sinai that had been founded by Justinian (r. 527–65). There is in fact no mention of her relics being housed there in any Greek source earlier than the early thirteenth century. Catherine was far more highly venerated in the West, and it may well have been Western pilgrims to Sinai arriving with the expectation of finding her remains at the monastery that prompted the Sinai monks to locate the relics atop the highest mountain in the area and bring them down into the monastery basilica. The Sinai monastery, dedicated to the Virgin since its foundation in the sixth century, began to be referred to as the monastery of Saint Catherine by the Latins in the early thirteenth century, by the Greeks not until the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[3]

This icon may have once hung near the saint's tomb in the bema of the basilica at Sinai. The exact function of the various vita icons remains unclear. But some of the saints whose lives were chosen for extended illustration have particular relevance to Sinai (Catherine, Moses), and the fact that most of the extant early vita icons come from Sinai or from areas where it had dependencies suggests that the monastery may have played a significant role in the spread of this artistic form.[4]

The reverse of the icon is decorated with horizontal bands of black (and faded red) wavy brushstrokes. NPŠ

1. Baltoyianni 1982–83.
2. Compare the images of Saint Catherine and of Tamar at Vardzia in Eastmond 1998, figs. 55, 59, colorpls. 13–14; Gap'rindašvili 1975, fig. 121. The somewhat unusual sash with a central gem is worn by Maria of Antioch, wife of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80), in Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica gr. 1176, fol. IIr, a manuscript of the third quarter of the twelfth century; see Spatharakis 1976, figs. 155, 157.
3. N. Ševčenko 2003.
4. N. Ševčenko 1999, pp. 162–65.

References: Sotirou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 166, vol. 2, pp. 147–49; Stubblebine 1966, pp. 91–92, fig. 10; Galey 1980, p. 94, fig. 70; Weitzmann 1984, pp. 154–55, fig. 13; Weitzmann 1986, pp. 95, 97, fig. 25; Mouriki 1990, pp. 114–15, 386 nn. 70–71, fig. 46; Krüger 1992, pp. 65–67, figs. 116, 222; Belting 1994, pp. 377, 380, fig. 227; Vokotopoulos 1995, no. 61, p. 204; N. Ševčenko 1999, pp. 153–54, fig. 6; Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001, no. S60, pp. 244–46, pl. p. 245; N. Ševčenko 2003, fig. 1.

202. Greek Psalter

Byzantine, ca. 1274
Tempera on parchment
15 x 10.5 cm (5⅞ x 4⅛ in.)
Inscribed: Above the nun's head, ΘΕΟΤΙΜΗ (Theotime)
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Gr. 61)

The Orthodox nun Theotime prostrates herself before the enthroned Virgin, who holds the Christ Child as he turns and blesses the nun. The image represents the final stage in the evolution of devotional images of the Virgin. From about the tenth century on, she acted as an intercessor between the supplicant and Christ; by the Late Byzantine period she merely presents Christ to the supplicant, who interacts directly with him.[1]

Theotime wears the garb of a typical thirteenth-century monastic: a mandyas, or circular cape, over a himation, a full-length tunic, both of plain, dark brown fabric (usually wool), along with the head covering known as a skepe. Monastics' clothing could be of any neutral color, with brown, not black, being the most common, for a true black dye was difficult to obtain and very expensive. Theotime's hat is not the traditional skepe resembling a headscarf but probably a turban, which by the twelfth century had become common for women and men, both lay and monastic. The monastic rules, or typika, note that nuns received only two sets of clothing a year, in accordance with their vows of poverty, and that their old garments were given away, probably to charities.[2]

This psalter is decorated with scenes from the life of David and other stories from the Hebrew Bible, as well as with illustrated chapter headings and historiated initials. The

202, fol. 256v

depiction of Theotime, on folio 256v, suggests that it belonged to her, and its small size further implies that it was a personal, devotional book rather than one read during the liturgy.

JB

1. Nancy P. Ševčenko, "The Mother of God in Illuminated Manuscripts," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 161.
2. Talbot 2000, p. 1258.

REFERENCES: Clark 1952, pp. 1, 22; Kamil 1970, p. 64; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 48–49.

203. Lectionary

Byzantine (eastern Mediterranean),
late 14th–early 15th century
Tempera on vellum; 273 fols.
30.5 x 22.5 cm (12 x 8⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: On fol. 87v, to the left of the saint's halo, O AΓ(IOC) ΛOYKAC (Saint Luke); flanking the Virgin, MH(TH)P Θ(EO)Y (Mother of God); above Christ's head, I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C (Jesus Christ)
PROVENANCE: On fol. 1r, a note in Arabic by a more recent hand states that a certain Ibn Yūnūs donated the manuscript to the Monastery of Ṭūr Sinā. On fols. 65v–66r, two prayers for intercession in Greek by two different and later hands mention the members of three families.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Gr. 233)

203, fol. 87v

To lectionary number 233 of the Sinai Monastery, which on the basis of the script may be dated to the twelfth century, were later added three miniatures with portraits of evangelists: a full-page representation of Matthew (fol. 32v), a portrait of Mark in the place usually occupied by a decorative headpiece (fol. 67r), and a portrait of Luke (fol. 87v).[1]

While the first two portraits follow faithfully and without any particular inspiration familiar Late Byzantine models, that of Saint Luke is startling for many reasons. The first—the depiction of the evangelist as a painter—derives from the tradition stating that Luke painted the first portrait of the Virgin.[2] This legend, although widely diffused since shortly after the end of the Iconoclastic period,[3] appears in Byzantine art only from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century onward.[4] At about the same time, the theme appeared in the West, where it spread rapidly, perhaps because of the growth of painters' guilds, which adopted Luke as their patron saint, and also because of the change of attitude toward their craft that took place among professional artists.[5] Similar socioeconomic changes may be observed in the Byzantine world of the Palaiologan period. Painters now climbed higher on the rungs of the social ladder and became more aware of their individual artistic personalities.[6] It is therefore quite probable that the emergence of this iconographical theme in Byzantium may be linked to these changes.[7]

The realistic and detailed rendering of the secondary elements is another impressive feature. The wooden throne, with ornamental motifs carved in relief and rendered in monochrome,[8] and the easel with the painter's paraphernalia reveal the freedom of the miniaturist who does not have to follow an established iconographic model in composing his own representation.

Impressive also is the pompous decorative frame. Similar elaborate decorative bands with acanthus leaves are found in the wall paintings of the Chora Monastery (1315–21).[9] However, the addition of pairs of birds drinking water among the flowers, the decorative alternation of colors, and the naturalistic sense of volume are typical of similar compositions in manuscripts from Armenian Cilicia and the Crusader East[10] and lend the theme a Western air.

This combination of Byzantine, and especially Palaiologan, elements with Western features prompts us to search for stylistic parallels in the Latin East and specifically in Crete and Cyprus, after the middle of the fourteenth century.[11] In particular, the modeling of the face with a dark brown underpaint and white highlights, the schematic rendering of the garments with geometric metallic folds, and the intense chromatic palette constitute common features in a series of provincial pictorial ensembles of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century in Crete and allow us to date the miniature to the same period.[12]

VAF

1. Clark 1952, no. 233; Spatharakis 1988, p. 4.
2. Michele Bacci, "With the Paintbrush of the Evangelist Luke," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 79–89.
3. Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakēs, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 377.

4. Bacci in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 82. For the first examples of the iconographic theme, see D. Klein 1933, pp. 26–61; "Lukasbilder," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1968–), vol. 3, cols. 120–21.
5. J. Schaefer 1986.
6. Kalopissi-Verti 1994.
7. Kalopissi-Verti 1993–94, p. 141.
8. For the grisaille ornaments reproducing figures, masks, and floral motifs in architectural backgrounds and furniture in late Palaiologan painting, see Otto Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Paleologan Art," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, p. 158; Mouriki 1980–81.
9. Underwood 1966–75, vol. 3, pls. 212–223; see also Lepage 1969.
10. Buchthal 1957, pls. 74bc, 75bc, 83, 85; Der Nersessian 1993, figs. 289–290, 295, 322, 330, 342.
11. Bissinger 1995, pp. 125–26; Carr 1995a, 1995b; Emmanuel 1999.
12. Bissinger 1995, nos. 157, 159, 164, 175; Spatharakis 1999, pls. 1–3, 4b–6, 19–27, figs. 3–15, 24–54, 242–277. On this group of Cretan monuments, see Borboudakis 1985.

REFERENCES: Clark 1952, no. 233; Spatharakis 1988, pp. 3–5, fig. 2; Athens 2000–2001a, no. 55, pp. 390–91.

204. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1346
Tempera and gold on vellum; 490 fols.
25.2 x 19.5 cm (9⅞ x 7⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: On fol. 16v, to the left of Christ's halo, IC XC (Jesus Christ); above the saint's image, O AΓ(IOC) MAΤΘAI(OC) (Saint Matthew)
CONDITION: The manuscript leaves are generally in very good condition, though affected by gray stains and rust marks. The manuscript has been rebound, and the edges have been heavily trimmed. The sewing is weak near both joints of the book, with many breaks of thread, and the first two gatherings are completely detached. The left board is also detached and the right board is loosely held. The spine lining is coming away from the spine along both joints but is largely secure in the center of spine.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Gr. 152)

204, fol. 16v

A product of a Constantinopolitan scriptorium, the Tetraevangelion (Gospel book) of Sinai was completed in 1346 by the scribe George Galesiotes[1] for Isaac Palaiologos Asan, according to a note at the end of the codex. Isaac,[2] a grandson of Michael VIII Palaiologos, played an important role in the political affairs of the capital during the Civil War of 1341–47. From the beginning of the conflict, Isaac supported Anna of Savoy,[3] who was defending the rights of her nine-year-old son, John V Palaiologos, against the usurper of the throne, John Kantakouzenos. In 1345 Isaac had assumed the administration of the empire.[4] In the dedicatory note of the codex, in order to laud the empress's trust in him, he takes particular care to stress the ties of kinship that bind him to the young emperor and heir to the throne.[5]

The illustrations of the manuscript are of particular interest. Instead of the conventional series of evangelists' portraits, each Gospel text is preceded by a miniature showing the author presenting his Gospel to Christ. In the miniature of fol. 16v, Christ is portrayed standing on the left and blessing the evangelist Matthew, who approaches, bowing reverently, and hands him the Gospel. This scene, which is repeated almost without variation for the three other evangelists,[6] parallels similar compositions of the mid-Byzantine period, the most typical being that of codex Vat. gr. 756 from the eleventh century.[7] Inspired by the idea of the Mission of the Evangelists to propagate the word of God, which is implied in the prefaces of the evangelical texts, the theme symbolizes the harmony of the Four Gospels, the source of which is Christ himself.[8]

The painter of the miniatures seems to be very well acquainted with the achievements of the artists who had worked a few years earlier (1315–21) at the Chora Monastery. His figures, with small expressive heads and rich garments that end in flying folds, faithfully copy similar prototypes from that most important monument of Constantinople, without however attaining the vividness and profoundly human character of the latter.[9] Moreover, the monotonous repetition of the almost identical compositional scheme in all four miniatures, the lack of architectural background or a natural setting, and the simple frame devoid of any ornamental band convey the impression of a rather unpretentious work that is not in keeping with the high social position of the person who had commissioned it.[10] VAF

1. For the scribe, see Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, p. 72.
2. For Isaac, see A. Papadopoulos 1938, nos. 44, 55; *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976–), vol. 1, no. 1494.
3. Guilland 1967, vol. 1, p. 550; Nicol 1968, pp. 47, 60.
4. He was probably awarded the title of mesazon, an office accorded to persons in the emperor's trust; see

Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (Vienna, 1976–), vol. 1, no. 1494. For the office, see "Mesazon," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 2, p. 1346.

5. "του περιποθήτου θείου του κραταιού και αγίου ημών αυθέντους και βασιλέως πανυπερσεβάστου κυρού Ισαακίου Παλαιολόγου του Ασάν" (ordered by the dearest uncle of our lord and king, Isaac Palaiologos Asan). For the note, see Hatch 1932.
6. See, for example, the miniature in fol. 389v (John), reproduced in Spatharakis 1981, vol. 2, fig. 460.
7. Galavaris 1979, p. 106, figs. 83, 84.
8. Ibid., pp. 104–7.
9. Demus in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, p. 153.
10. Buchthal 1975, pp. 164–65.

REFERENCES: Hatch 1932, pl. 58; Belting 1970, pp. 4, 58–59, fig. 26; Weitzmann 1973, p. 29, fig. 42; Otto Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Paleologan Art," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, p. 153, fig. 48; Buchthal 1975, pp. 162–65, fig. 29; Spatharakis 1981, vol. 1, pp. 63–64, no. 256, vol. 2, figs. 459–460; Galavaris 1995, p. 259, fig. 214.

205. Icon of Saint Nicholas with Saints and Deesis

Byzantine, 11th century (steatite); 17th–18th century (painting); late 13th–14th century (frame)
Steatite, wood, tempera, and gilding
21 x 16 cm (8¼ x 6¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek on the steatite, Saint Nicholas; on the frame, Jesus Christ, Mother of God, John the Forerunner, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint George, Saint Onouphrios, Saint Blasios

PROVENANCE: The icon with its frame has long been the property of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai.

CONDITION: The steatite icon, once broken in seven pieces, was rejoined and at some date painted. Only minor fragments of the steatite were lost. The frame has a crack extending through the wood from top to bottom. There is paint loss on the frame by the head and feet of Saint Nicholas. The two red lines enclosing the steatite extend over the crack and the paint loss by the head of Saint Nicholas. The paint loss by the saint's feet, which interrupts the inner red line, is more recent.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Saint Nicholas, who is said to have been bishop of Myra, now in southern Turkey, in the fourth century, came to be one of the most widely venerated saints.[1] The steatite icon that forms the core of this small devotional image can be dated to the eleventh century by the oval shape of Saint Nicholas's head, the short beard, low hairline, and the calm monumentality of the pose.[2] The saint is depicted in a very similar style on an icon from Sinai of about the same date (see fig. 11.4). The icon was later inserted into a frame decorated with a Deesis composition and saints.

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205, detail

The large image of Christ over Saint Nicholas's head illustrates the source of his authority to minister. The placement of full-length figures of the apostles Peter and Paul to his sides indicates that Saint Nicholas is here depicted as their equal. At the base are three eastern Mediterranean saints. On the left, Saint George appears in the formal dress of a soldier, following a tradition that dates back to the Early Byzantine era (see also cat. 228). On the right, in ecclesiastical dress, is Saint Blasios of Amorion, a tenth-century monk who spent time in Rome, in Constantinople at the Stoudios Monastery, and on Mount Athos.[3] The nearly naked figure in the center identifies the subject as Saint Onouphrios, the fifth-century Egyptian hermit saint who was praised in the ninth-century writings of Nicholas of Sinai.[4]

The enveloping robes of Saints Peter and Paul, the extensive use of gold striations on the garments, the large heads and feet, and the bright white highlights on the faces suggest that the frame is a work of the fourteenth century. The painting on the steatite, however, would appear to be of a much later date. Byzantine icons traditionally depict Saint Nicholas in ecclesiastical dress very similar to the sober garments that Saint Blasios wears here. The tiny floral patterns on Saint Nicholas's garments and the pastel colors of these garments are related to motifs on seventeenth-century icons and to fabrics used in Ottoman dress from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.[5] The delicately delineated trees and the relative naturalism of the landscape setting on either side of the saint are typical of seventeenth-century works, including an image of Sinai of 1603 attributed to Georgios Klontzas.[6] It is possible that the icon broke in falling from its Palaiologan frame and was painted to hide the cracks when restored to its setting.

HCE

1. New York 1997, no. 65, p. 118.
2. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 14, pp. 106–7, with reference to the publication of the work by the Sotirious.
3. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1, pp. 294–95.
4. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 1527.
5. I know of no Palaiologan icons in which a saint is depicted in flower-strewn ecclesiastical dress. A comparison with Saint Nicholas's robe can be seen in a late-seventeenth-century icon on Patmos by Theodoros Poulakis (1622–1692); it displays the body of Saint Spyridon in traditional garments decorated with crosses on a flower-strewn carpet. See M. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 150, p. 169, fig. 150; Istanbul 1993–94, pls. C87 (1720–25), C133 (1720–25), C136 (1720–25), C137 (1740–45), C150 (ca. 1818), C154 (ca. 1818), where depictions of Ottoman dress show the popularity, by the early eighteenth century, of pastel fabrics decorated with delicate floral designs in repeat patterns.
6. Nikolaos B. Drandakis, "Post-Byzantine Icons (Cretan School)," in Manafis 1990, pp. 129–30, pl. 99.

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, no. 175, pp. 162–63, fig. 175; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 14, pp. 106–7.

206. Miniature Mosaic Icon with Saint Demetrios

Byzantine (Constantinople?), second half of the 12th century
Mosaic (gold, multicolored stones, wax, and paint) set in wax on wood panel
19 x 15 cm (7½ x 5⅞ in.)
Inscribed: Ο Α(ΓΙΟC) ΔΗΜΗ/ ΤΡΙΟC (Saint Demetrios)
Provenance: Formerly in the Monastery of Saint George, Cairo (?).
Condition: There are many cracks across the surface and several losses. Missing from the lower left were the saint's right arm and hand (except for a small section of red sleeve) and a triangular patch extending over his chest armor; these have all been restored in wax and paint.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Saint Demetrios, the venerated patron saint of Thessalonike, is shown frontally and half-length, dressed as a military saint in battle garments. He holds a lance in his right hand and the pommel of his sword (partially restored) in his left (see cat. 139). His elaborate golden armor and dark blue chlamys with folds defined in gold are richly decorative and suggest analogies with a larger mosaic on Mount Athos that dates to the second half of the twelfth century and depicts the saint in court dress.[1]

Although the technique of miniature mosaic reached its height in the Palaiologan period (1261–1453), a number of examples survive from the late eleventh and the twelfth century.[2] Despite the apparent Komnenian style of this icon, its date is controversial, with scholarly opinion dating it from the mid-eleventh to the thirteenth century.[3] However, the linear quality of the drawing and the saint's narrow oval face, widely set almond-shaped eyes, long narrow nose, and small mouth all point to a twelfth-century date, which would make this the earliest icon in the exhibition. Further, the subtle delineation of the rosy cheeks as defined by circular and

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semicircular pink patches argues for a date in the second half of the century,[4] for this detail becomes more pronounced in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The icon is set in a recessed wooden panel with two decorative borders that contrast in style. The narrow, beveled inner border is painted with a simple undulating, vermiculated band, while the outer border has a lush vegetal scroll carved in relief. The differences in style and technique suggest that the outer border is a separately made wood frame that was added at a later date. The lush elegance of the carved scroll, with its fat palmette leaves interlaced with fine delicate tendrils, contrasts starkly with the drier style of the icon and the plain border. It is much more closely related to vegetal scrolls dating to the Palaiologan period.[5] SAB

1. Furlan 1979, p. 43; see O. Demus 1991, pp. 26–28, pl. 5 (Xenophontos Monastery).
2. The earliest is a late-eleventh-century icon of Saint Nicholas on Patmos (M. Chatzidakis 1985, pp. 44–45, colorpl. 1), which Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, p. 80, dates to the late twelfth century. Although there is little consensus on dating mosaic icons, there is a useful listing (by date) in Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 108–9 (see under Komnenisch and Übergangsstil).
3. For a summary of the attributions, see Furlan 1979, p. 43, who inclines to a late-twelfth-century date. For the thirteenth century, see Galey 1979, caption to fig. 118 on p. 119.
4. This feature occurs frequently in the second half of the twelfth century. See, for example, a mosaic icon of Christ in Florence (O. Demus 1991, pp. 34–45, no. 6, pl. 7); and several painted icons in Weitzmann et al. 1982, figs. on pp. 64 (top), 65 and 67 (early thirteenth century). For late-twelfth-century wall paintings with this detail, see Lagoudera (Winfield 2003, color figs. 12, 13, 20, 22, 32–33, 35).
5. Examples of similar vegetal ornament are found in the parekklesion of the Chora Monastery (Underwood 1966–75, vol. 3, pls. 412–423, esp. 413–414, 416, 423) and in the Codex Iveron 5, fol. 218v (ibid., vol. 4, fig. 24), a thirteenth-century Gospel book.

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References: O. Demus 1960, pp. 91, 95; Furlan 1979, pp. 43–44, no. 5, pl. 5 (with bibl.); Galey 1979, p. 119; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 75, 80, fig. 43, p. 131 n. 334 (with bibl.).

207. Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria Dexiokratousa

Byzantine (Constantinople?), first quarter of the 13th century
Mosaic (gold and various other materials) set in wax on wood panel
34 x 23 cm (13⅜ x 9 in.) without frame; 44.6 x 33 cm (17½ x 13 in.) with frame
Inscribed: In roundels flanking the Virgin, $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ (Mother of God); there is no surviving inscription for Christ
Condition: A section of the tesserae is missing, including parts of Christ's chest, right hand, and halo, as well as a portion of the decorative background; this area has been partially overpainted.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Inclining her head toward Christ, the Virgin is represented at a slight angle to the frontal plane. Unlike the traditional Hodegetria, she supports him with her right arm, which accounts for the appellation Dexiokratousa (Right-Handed). Mary is dressed in a dark blue robe and a purplish brown maphorion, both covered by a decorative pattern of chrysography. Christ wears a golden tunic defined by brown folds over a white chiton, which is visible at the neck and left wrist.[1] A blue sash punctuated with red lines is twisted around his upper chest, and its colors are echoed in the *rotulus* he holds in his left hand.

This icon strongly reflects the Komnenian linear style, but its severity has been moderated by attempts at modeling, which prefigure the painterly quality of mosaic icons produced during the Palaiologan period.[2] Alternatingly colored tesserae are used to represent passages in semishadow, notably in the area of the jaw and nose. The most subtle gradations of colored tesserae—shades of ivory, pink, olive, and red-brown—were chosen to depict the flesh tones in the hands and faces. The decorative background, unique in the corpus of mosaic icons, consists of a series of roundels containing an abstract foliate pattern. Similar patterns appear in icons embellished with cloisonné enamel[3] and metal revetments,[4] and a number of thirteenth-century Cypriot and Crusader icons display analogous decoration in metal or gesso (pastiglia).[5]

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The remarkable quality of this work points to an important metropolitan workshop, probably Constantinopolitan,[6] as its origin. However, given the political turmoil of the Byzantine state during much of the thirteenth century, the possibility of a Greek workshop functioning beyond the empire's borders must also be considered.

ECR

1. For the symbolism of and changes in the Christ Child's costume, consult Mouriki 1991a, pp. 165–71.
2. Lazarev 1967, p. 284.
3. O. Demus 1991, p. 54; Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, p. 85.
4. Paris 1999b, pp. 48–51, 74–75, nos. 12, 13, 25.
5. O. Demus 1991, p. 52; Frinta 1981.
6. Lazarev 1967, p. 284; Dab-Kalinowska 1973, p. 297; Furlan 1979, no. 8, p. 48.

208. Icon with the Enthroned Virgin and Child

Byzantine, late 13th century
Tempera on wood
35 x 26 cm (13¾ x 10¼ in.)
Inscribed: Above the Virgin, $\overline{\text{MHP}}/\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ (Mother of God); next to each archangel, left, O/AP[XANΓEΛ] MHX[AHΛ] (Archangel Michael), right, O/AP[XANΓEΛ] ΓAB[PIHΛ] (Archangel Gabriel)
Condition: The work is comparatively well preserved with slight damage, chiefly on the gilt background and on the borders.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The Holy Virgin sits on a lyre-shaped throne, flanked on either side by an archangel. Her head is inclined downward, toward the seated infant Christ, whom she encloses in her left arm. Both the composition and the gesture of the right hand relate this image to the iconographic type known as the Virgin Hodegetria. While rare in Byzantine icons, the enthroned Hodegetria appears in monumental art from the twelfth century, especially in Eastern regions.[1] At the same time the image is widespread in the West, as an element in the sculptural decoration of medieval cathedrals. The enthroned Hodegetria was one of the most popular iconographic types among the Italian masters of the thirteenth century.

The stylistic features of the icon, emphasizing plasticity, movement, and a variety of gestures, justify a dating from the thirteenth century. The modeling of the figures, based on a contrast of dark green shades and ocher highlights, is also typical for Byzantine art from the thirteenth century. The abundance

of gold rays on the garments, known as chrysography, also appears in Italian wall paintings from the same period. This small icon of great artistic merit was probably painted in the ateliers of the Monastery of Saint Catherine by a master painter working for the Crusaders.[2] EB

1. On the iconography of the enthroned Hodegetria, see Lazarev 1995, pp. 232–48.
2. Georgios and Maria Sotiriou, who published this icon for the first time, suggest as a close parallel the Pisan-school Madonna dated ca. 1280 from the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. See Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 191, vol. 2, p. 174. According to P. Vocotopoulos, the icon could be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. See Vokotopoulos 1995, p. 205.

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 191, vol. 2, pp. 173–74; Vokotopoulos 1995, pp. 86, 205, no. 65.

209. Icon with the Virgin Glykophilousa

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, or Saint-Jean d'Acre, 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
25 x 18 cm (9 13/16 x 7 1/16 in.)
Inscribed: In Greek, Mother of God and Jesus Christ
Condition: The icon has extensive losses to the gesso decoration on its frame. The losses on the right side and across the bottom have been replaced by a pattern in black paint since the work's publication by Georgios and Maria Sotiriou in 1956–58.[1] The losses of the paint on the body of Christ and on the drapery between his head and the Virgin are also present in the Sotirious's photograph, as are the black lines restoring the drapery patterns in the missing areas. The upper edge of the free end of Christ's mantle was restored after 1956. The back of the icon is covered with white gesso.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

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In the thirteenth century, formal depictions of the Virgin and Child embodied in the Hodegetria type were increasingly transformed into images representing moments of tender intimacy. Here the Virgin bends her head to rest her cheek against that of her son. Her eyes gaze mournfully into the distance as if foreseeing his Passion, while the young child looks sadly up at her as if recognizing her future grief.[2] The Child, standing on the lower border of the icon, reaches up with one hand to reach behind his mother's neck. A very similar image with a standing Christ Child embracing the Holy Mother is found on an icon from Sinai showing five miniature icons of the Mother of God above scenes of the miracles and the Passion of Christ. There the image is identified as a Blachernitissa icon, which Carr interprets as referring not to the image but to the most famous Marian pilgrimage site in Constantinople.[3]

The intimacy of the poses in this icon is generally understood to be a variant of the Virgin Eleousa (compassionate) type, which came to be called the Glykophilousa in the post-Byzantine era.[4] The gesture of the Christ Child's hand and the head poses of the Virgin and Child are found throughout the Byzantine sphere as far north as Russia (cats. 88, 89). The patterning of the Virgin's mantle is similar to that which Doula Mouriki describes as Venetian on the Sinai Crucifixion icon (cat. 224). The frame of the icon was originally worked in an elaborate gesso pattern, which survives best across the top of the icon. Gesso appears on the background of the Sinai triptych (cat. 216) and on the halos of the Sinai Hodegetria icon (cat. 213). While the use of gesso is often considered a Cypriot tradition, there is no evidence that would limit its use to Cyprus. HCE

1. Sotiriou 1956–58, fig. 201.
2. See Maguire 1981, pp. 91–111, esp. 102, for the Byzantine literary sources of the Virgin's emotional response to Christ's future Passion and their varied applications in Byzantine art.
3. Carr 2002, pp. 77–78, 79–80, 86, 91–92.
4. "Virgin Eleousa," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, p. 2171.

Reference: Sotiriou 1956–58, no. 201, p. 182.

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210. Icon with the Virgin Kardiotissa

Adriatic (?), late 13th–14th century
Tempera and gold on gessoed linen over wood
31.1 x 22.2 cm (12¼ x 8¾ in.)
Inscribed: To the left of the Virgin's head, MH[TH]P Θ[EO]Y (Mother of God); to the right of Christ's image, I[HCOY]C X[PICTO]C (Jesus Christ)
Condition: Surface damage to the front of the panel, especially in the lower portions, has been repaired, and a gray-and-red frame has been added that partly covers tooled patterns in the gold. There is some chipping on the back, which is covered like the rest of the panel with gessoed linen, painted purple. Holes made near the top for hanging have been filled in on the front.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Chrysanthe Baltoyianni dated this forceful little painting to the late thirteenth century and recognized in it a unique early version of iconography later made famous by the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos (d. 1457), who signed his beautiful icon of this type "Kardiotissa" (Virgin of the Heart).[1] The restless color scheme with its leitmotif of bright red, the smooth flesh, the abstract shapes of the features and hair, the jeweled halo, and the incised patterns in the gesso all give the panel a pronounced Italianate quality, which is further strengthened by the similarity of its proportions to those of the Virgin Glykophilousa in the Benaki Museum, Athens.[2] These characteristics may indicate a "Crusader" origin,[3] although the rich modeling of the flesh, the intricate play of fine folds in the maphorion, and the curling delicacy of the incisions suggest a date slightly later than Baltoyianni's—the first half of the fourteenth century, possibly in the Adriatic area.

The painter is deeply responsive to Byzantine forms: note the fine linen of the Child's undershirt; the "moving" twist of his body, both indicating his motion and stirring the emotions of the viewer; the emphasis on his closeness to her mouth by the placement of his eyes on the dominant diagonal of her face; the caress of his tiny hand on her chin, seen already in the Pelagonitissa (cat. 211). Mary's gestures, the Child's twist, his hand and cheek on her face, and the shape of his head are additional parallels with the Benaki icon. The raised arm, by contrast, announces the distinctive Kardiotissa pose. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich suspected that the Kardiotissa, no less than the Pelagonitissa and Kykkotissa (cats. 91, 93), had a Middle Byzantine root.[4] This painter's deep conversancy with Byzantine art suggests that she was right. AWC

1. Byzantine Museum, Athens, T1582; see Baltoyianni 1994, pl. 54.
2. Benaki Museum, Athens, 2972. See most recently Gordon 2002a; Milanou 2002; Vassilaki 2002, colorpl. 11.
3. That is to say, from the Holy Land before 1291. Certain features of the painting might make an origin in Sinai or Cyprus possible. The bulb at the base of the Child's ear reflects a mannerism common in fourteenth-century Cypriot painting and well exemplified in a late-thirteenth-century panel from Asinou (A. Papageōrgiou 1969, pls. on pp. 20, 21). In addition, the scrolling patterns found on the halo and along the frame practically replicate those in the halos of the late-fourteenth-century icons of Saint Peter and Saint Michael the Archangel from the Chrysaliniotissa Church (ibid., pls. on pp. 31, 40) and of the Virgin Theoskepaste from Kalopanagiotis (Nicosia 2000–2001, pp. 284–85, no. 20; the incisions do not show up in the reproduction). The color scheme, modeling, and proportions of the figures are quite unlike those on Cyprus, however, and I do not know of Sinai icons that reflect them either.
4. Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p. 16.

Reference: Baltoyianni 1994, pp. 109–10, fig. 5.

211. Icon with the Virgin Pelagonitissa

Byzantine, early 15th century
Tempera on gessoed linen over wood
28.5 x 18.9 cm (11¼ x 7½ in.)
Inscribed: Flanking the Virgin's image, MH[TH]P Θ[EO]Y (Mother of God); to the left of Christ, I[HCOY]C X[PICTO]C (Jesus Christ). Both are in red
Condition: A crack runs vertically through the panel one-third of the way from its right edge, creating considerable paint loss, and there are surface abrasions in the panel's lower portion. The panel has lost much of the gessoed linen that covered its back; strips of leather have been glued along the crack. Two holes have been drilled in the upper frame for hanging, and a smaller crack runs downward from the left hole.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This exquisitely painted small icon, surely made for intimate devotion, displays the

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iconographic type known as the Pelagonitissa, after Pelagonia (present-day Bitolj) in medieval Serbia.[1] The panel is not labeled "Pelagonitissa," however, and the pose was not tied exclusively to this name. It already had a wide circulation before a particular painting in Pelagonia acquired fame for working miracles and gave its name to many examples of the type.

The Pelagonitissa shows Mary gazing pensively over the head of a bare-legged Child who rises in a serpentine twist, his unhaloed head bent back against her mouth and his left hand on her cheek, while she grasps one leg and supports him on a golden cloth. Along with the Kardiotissa (cat. 210) and the Kykkotissa (cat. 93), it is one of a range of deliberately affective late-eleventh- and twelfth-century iconographic types that Viktor Lazarev called the "Virgin with the playful Child" and André Grabar the "Virgin of tenderness."[2] A late-twelfth-century icon showing the Pelagonitissa type still emerging allowed Manolis Chatzidakis to trace its constituent motifs to themes of Christ's human vulnerability; Rebecca Corrie linked the bare legs and golden cloth to both infancy and burial.[3] The pose appears fully developed in the early thirteenth century in an icon labeled "Abraamiotissa" and in two manuscripts; the first dated example labeled "Pelagonitissa" is the despotic icon of 1316–18 at Dečani in Kosovo.[4] Subsequent icons may or may not bear the name. Because of their especially potent affect, icons with poses of this sort could be employed both for intimate private devotion and as images likely to precipitate publicly acclaimed miracles.

AWC

1. On the type of the Pelagonitissa, see most recently Babić 1988, pp. 71–77 (with excellent bibl.).
2. Lazarev 1938, pp. 42–46; A. Grabar 1975a.
3. M. Chatzidakis 1979, pp. 185–86, pl. 38, p. 22; color repr. in New York 1997, p. 124, no. 71; Corrie 1996a.
4. See Babić 1988, p. 74, fig. 20, for the icon, which is at the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos. Its name derives from a famous and ancient icon in the Abraamite Monastery in Constantinople; "the 'iotissa' suffix is a standard one and means in essence Our Lady of" (ibid., p. 74 and n. 47). The manuscripts are of fascinatingly different origin: one is a Serbian Gospel book destroyed at Prizren in 1941 (ibid., p. 73), the other a Syrian psalter of 1203 in the British Library, London, add. 7154, fol. 1v (ibid., p. 73, fig. 19). For the Dečani icon, see ibid., p. 72, fig. 11.

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 235, vol. 2, pp. 205–6; Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p. 13, fig. 4; Babić 1988, pp. 74–75, fig. 21; Mouriki 1990, pp. 122–23, pl. 74.

212. Icon with the Virgin Blachernitissa

Byzantine, 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood, canvas, mixed media
99.2 x 67 cm (39 1/16 x 26 3/8 in.)
Inscribed: Above the Virgin, ΜΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); flanking Christ, ΙΣ ΧΣ (Jesus Christ); next to the archangels, left, Ο/ΑΡΧ[ΑΝ]Γ[Ε]Λ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ (Archangel Michael), right, ΟΑΡΧ[ΑΝ]ΓΕΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (Archangel Gabriel)
Provenance: From the chapel of Saint Symeon Stylites in the basilica of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.
Condition: The panel has a vertical split in the wood exactly in the middle and another smaller one in the lower part; there are also scattered scratches, particularly on the raised border of the panel.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

In this strongly frontal half-figure depiction, the Virgin's hands are extended in a gesture of prayer. In the round medallion over her breast is Christ Emmanuel, holding a scroll in the left hand while blessing with the right. The miracle-working icon with a similar image of the Virgin and the blessing Emmanuel in a shield at her breast was kept at the main church of the Holy Virgin in Blachernai Monastery in Constantinople, from which derives the iconographic type known as Blachernitissa. The Blachernitissa, whether the Virgin is depicted as a half-length figure or in full length, gives visual expression to the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the virgin birth (7:14), and thus to the miracle of the

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Incarnation. In the upper left and upper right corner flanking the Virgin are the half-figures of archangels holding censers. The composition reflects the post-Iconoclastic program for the Byzantine sanctuary apse, in which the Theotokos is shown in the conch of the apse with two archangels, and for this reason is of great interest for the development of the Blachernitissa type.

The style of the icon dates it to the thirteenth century.[1] The elongated figure and strictly frontal pose of the Theotokos, the facial type and proportions, the almond-shaped eyes with the pupils in the corner, and even the manner of representing the folds of the maphorion all recall Constantinopolitan models of the late Komnenian period. Because of the presence of some Western elements—the pearls decorating the medallion and the chiton of Christ Emmanuel, the gold garments and wings of the archangels—some scholars believe the icon was commissioned by the Crusaders. At any rate, it was connected with the artistic activity of the Orthodox population of the eastern Mediterranean. The small circles scattered over the gold background of the icon, literally filling the background and the borders, belong to a special technique that combines the use of red-colored varnish to imitate gold leaf. This technique is characteristic of icons made at Sinai from the twelfth century onward and offers evidence that the icon was made in the workshops of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine. EB

1. The date of the icon is still disputed. The dating from the second half of the thirteenth century is accepted by Mouriki, whereas Piatnitsky suggests the mid-thirteenth century. See Mouriki 1990, p. 117, fig. 61; Piatnitsky in Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001, no. 57, pp. 239–41.

References: Mouriki 1990, p. 117, fig. 61; Chrysanthe Baltoyianni, "The Mother of God in Portable Icons," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 140, fig. 85 (with earlier bibl.); Yuri Piatnitsky, "Icon with the Mother of God Blachernitissa," in Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001, no. 57, pp. 239–41.

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213. Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria

Byzantine (Cyprus), last quarter of the 13th century
Tempera on wood, priming on textile, with relief ornaments in gesso
94 x 74.7 cm (37 x 29⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: In the top left corner (both fragmentary), in Latin, [M]A[T]ER DOMINI (Mother of the Lord); in Greek, MH[TH]P Θ[EO]Y (Mother of God)[1]
CONDITION: The original background has been covered by a layer of ocher paint. The icon has been subjected to several later restorations, the extent of which can be determined only by laboratory examination and conservation.[2]
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This depiction of the Virgin and Child follows the standard iconographic type of the Hodegetria, the only exception being the garment of the Child. He is shown wearing a long tunic secured by bands at the shoulders and around the waist, as well as a capelike himation fastened at the shoulder. This type of Child's garment commonly appears in Cypriot painting from the end of the twelfth century.[3]

In addition to the Child's attire, the icon presents other technical and stylistic features that allow it to be classified in the so-called maniera cypria of the thirteenth century. The most typical technical characteristic is the relief-gesso ornament found on the halos of both figures, on the border and lozenge-shaped decoration of the Virgin's maphorion, and on the cuff of her chiton. This technique, together with the rinceau pattern enclosing fleurs-de-lys on the nimbi, constitutes a "trademark" of Cypriot icons from the thirteenth century.[4]

The compact, linearly modeled face of the Virgin is similar in many ways to Cypriot icons portraying Mary or female saints, such as the Hodegetria from Moutoullas, the Saint Marina from Pedoulas, and the Kykkotissa from Asinou.[5] The Sinai Virgin shares with these the large almond-shaped eyes with light-colored irises and small black pupils, the small full red lips, the slim dainty nose, and a strong decorative character revealed in the richly ornamented purple maphorion.

The style of the previously mentioned Cypriot icons, including the present work, is characterized by a combination of features from the Byzantine Komnenian tradition and elements of the Romanesque West. Works in this style may be dated fairly safely to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, on the ground of their affinity with the frescoes of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, which bear the inscribed date 1280.[6] Also of particular note are the ornamentation around the neck of the Child, with its pearls on a black ground; the more general use of black as, for example, in the folds of the Virgin's maphorion and the scroll in the Child's hand; the extremely linear modeling and porcelain-like texture of the Virgin's face; and her somewhat dreamy expression. All refer us to a group of icons at Sinai that have been connected with Cyprus but have been attributed to Syrian artists working on the island.[7]

This icon, a Cypriot work showing Syrian influences, was probably produced for a Western client, as the Latin inscription suggests. As such, it reflects the complex social and cultural conditions that arose in the Crusader states of the eastern Mediterranean during the thirteenth century.[8]

VAF

1. According to Mouriki 1990, the two inscriptions are contemporaneous.
2. Ibid.
3. Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 30–32, figs. 3, 27, 38, 49; Mouriki 1987b, pp. 405–6. On the connection of this type of garment with the Passion and its possible relation to children's clothing in the medieval period, see Corrie 1996a, pp. 50–52.
4. The relief-gesso decoration probably constituted a cheaper substitute for the more costly and technically more complex metal revetments of icons; see Frinta 1981; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 20, 55–56. For the rinceau motif, see Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 29–30, 64.
5. Ibid., figs. 27, 37–38. Two more Hodegetria icons from Moutoullas have recently been added to these examples; see Vokotopoulos 1999b, pp. 161–67, colorpls. 10–11.
6. Mouriki 1984b, pp. 205–6; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 33, 37.
7. The most characteristic examples of this group are the icon of Saint Sergios on horseback, portrayed with a female donor (cat. 229), and the double-sided icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and Saints Sergios and Bakchos (cat. no. 230); see Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 66–71, figs. 62–64; Mouriki 1990, p. 120, fig. 66. On the attribution of this group to Syrian artists of the Tripoli area, see Hunt 1991.
8. The same complex sociocultural conditions are reflected in other similar icons; see Folda 1992.

REFERENCES: Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 63–64, figs. 26, 40; Mouriki 1990, p. 117, fig. 60.

214. Diptych with Saint Prokopios and the Virgin Kykkotissa

Crusader, Saint-Jean-d'Acre or the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, ca. 1280s
Tempera and gold on two wooden armatures with linen and gesso foundation
Left wing 50.9 x 39.9 cm (20 x 15¾ in.); right wing 50.5 x 39.9 cm (19⅞ x 15¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the left wing, Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗΟC Ο ΠΕΡΙΒΟΓΙΤΗC (Saint Prokopios of the Enclosure [Noised Abroad (?)]); above, ΙC XC (Jesus Christ); on Christ's book, Ἐγώ εἰμι το Φ[ω]C τοV κόCMοV Ὁ ΑΚΟΛΟVΘΩ[N] . . . ("I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me . . ." [John 8:12]); flanking the angel at the left, Ὁ ΑΡΧ(ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) ΜΗΧ[ΑΗΛ] (Saint Michael); flanking the angel at the right, Ὁ ΑΡΧ(ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (Saint Gabriel); at the sides, Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] ΠΕΤΡΟC (Saint Peter); Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] ΠΑVΛΟC (Saint Paul); Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC Ιω ω[?] ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC (Saint John the Theologian); Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] ΘΟΜΑC (Saint Thomas); Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] ΘΕΩΔΟΡΟC (Saint Theodore); Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC (Saint George); below, Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΧΡΙCΤΟΦΟΡΟC (Saint Christopher); Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΚΟCΜΑC (Saint Kosmas); Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΔΑΜΗΑΝΟC (Saint Damian). On the right wing: ΜΡ ΘV (Mother of God); ΙC XC (Jesus Christ); above, ΜΗΡ ΘV (Mother of God); Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC VΟΑΚΙΜ (Saint Joachim); Ἡ ΑΓΙΑ ΑΝΑ (Saint Anna); at the sides, Ὁ ΜΩΗCΗC (The Prophet Moses); Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC Ιω Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC (Saint John the Forerunner); Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] ΒΑCΙΛΙΟC (Saint Basil); Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC (Saint Nicholas); Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] Ιω (Saint Jo[hn Klimax]); Ὁ ΑΓΙ[ΟC] ΟΝΕΦΡΙΟC (Saint Onouphrios); below, Ἡ ΑΓΙΑ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΝΑ [*sic*] (Saint Catherine); Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΚΟΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC (Saint Constantine); Ἡ ΑΓΙΑ ΕΛΕΝΙ (Saint Helena)

CONDITION: The front surface of the left wing is in excellent condition. Flaking of the paint and the thick gold ground occurs along the inside portion of the frame, next to Saint Thomas and Saint George. A slash across the right hand of Saint Prokopios extends down into his drapery, and his left hand is discolored. The front surface of the right wing is in excellent condition. Some flaking of the paint and the thick gold ground occurs along the inside portion of

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the frame, next to Moses, Saint Basil, and Saint John Klimax; a very large area of the gesso exposed below Basil and above John results in the loss of part of the inscription for the latter. The rear surfaces of these wings are covered with wavy red brushstrokes in a patterned decoration comparable to that of other icons found at Sinai and on Cyprus.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

On the left wing a frontal, bust-length Saint Prokopios appears fully armed, with spear, sword, and shield, in a magnificent cuirass and blue chlamys as two angels place a copiously jeweled diadem on his head. Prokopios, the Virgin, and the Christ Child all have distinctive jeweled halos decorated with pearls and red and blue stones.

On the right wing is a bust-length depiction of the Virgin Kykkotissa, one of the miraculous archetypes painted by Saint Luke according to tradition.[1] The Virgin wears a deep maroon maphorion with a dark-blue-striped coif covered by a beautiful scarlet silk veil embellished with golden designs and a jeweled hem that echoes her halo. On the dark blue cuff of her tunic there is a golden double four-pointed star, similar to that found on the shoulder of the Virgin Hodegetria on a double-sided icon at Sinai (cat. 230). The golden heart-shaped designs with flourishes and circular medallions on the veil also appear on the drapery of the Virgin's bier on a handsome contemporaneous Sinai icon of the Koimesis.[2] The Virgin turns her head and inclines it toward the figure of the Christ Child, who reclines luxuriously in a lavish white silk garment decorated with large six-pointed stars, small lozenges, jeweled hems, armbands, and cuffs, and a red silk harness.

The program of holy figures on the left wing is linked to the conversion of Prokopios (Christ and the two angels), to saintly characteristics possessed by these figures, including Peter and Paul, that parallel those of Prokopios and to their witness, as a body, to the historicity of salvation, as in the unusual pairing of John the Theologian and Thomas.[3] Theodore and George are Prokopios's saintly comrades-in-arms. The inscription identifying Prokopios, with its unusual spellings of both his name and his epithet, has been variously interpreted,[4] but the image itself very likely reflects a famous icon at the sanctuary of the saint in Jerusalem or possibly in Caesarea, where he was martyred.[5] Certain Western features appear on this wing, however, such as the beardless youthful imagery of John the Theologian, and perhaps the concentration of attributes that Peter holds in one hand.

On the right wing, the program of holy figures surrounding the Virgin is entirely Sinaitic, suggesting an origin at Sinai; there may also be a Cypriot ecclesiastical linkage because of the Virgin Kykkotissa imagery. The Virgin appears alone in the Burning Bush, surrounded by saints who are related to her or to the site and the monastery. Again certain Western features are noted, among them the bearded Moses and Constantine and Helena holding separate reliquaries of the True Cross,[6] the latter echoing the Crusader cult well established since the twelfth century. Doula Mouriki, Maria Aspra-Vardavakis, and Robin Cormack propose that this diptych is a special commission for the Monastery of Saint Catherine,[7] perhaps for the abbot himself and possibly done by one of the outstanding Crusader painters working there at the time. Clearly the unusual combination of Prokopios as a military saint and the Virgin Kykkotissa is understandable in a Crusader frame of reference linking Jerusalem and Cyprus with Sinai.

Parallels to the style of this work have been noted in various regions. In addition to the icon painting at Saint Catherine at Sinai, scholars have cited the *maniera cypria* icon style linked with Syria from Cyprus,[8] the royal Armenian style,[9] and the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of Saint-Jean-d'Acre.[10] In this respect the diptych seems to be a remarkable example of the "international" character possessed by Crusader paintings of top quality. Along with the outstanding quality of the figure style and the elegance of the design, which can be linked to the same workshop that produced the two double-sided icons (cats. 223, 230) and the iconostasis beam (cat. 235), the most distinctive feature of this diptych is the extensive use of chrysography. It appears on nearly every figure, the only exceptions being the Virgin on the right wing and the two ascetic saints John Klimax and Onouphrios. In its linear decorative character, this chrysography differs from that found in other well-known Byzantine icons at Sinai such as the Annunciation, from the twelfth century, and the Hodegetria mosaic icon and full-length Virgin and Child enthroned with Angels, both from the early thirteenth century. It is also different from the chrysography that marks the work of major Tuscan painters of the mid- and late thirteenth century, such as Guido of Siena, Coppo di Marcovaldo, Cimabue, and Duccio.[11] This exceptional gold decoration helps to identify the diptych as one of the masterpieces of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of the 1280s. JF

1. Mouriki 1990, p. 119.
2. Weitzmann 1978, p. 119, pl. 40. The Koimesis icon is also executed in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style associated with Acre in the period beginning from about the 1260s and ending in 1291.
3. Aspra-Vardavakis in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 444–46, no. 71.
4. Weitzmann 1966, p. 67, reads ΠΕΡΙΒΟΓΙΤΗC as a misspelling of ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΙΤΗC, "of the enclosure," referring to the holy precinct of Prokopios in Jerusalem, whereas Aspra-Vardavakis (in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 445) reads ΠΕΡΙΒΟΗΤΟC as "noised abroad," meaning famous. See also Aspra-Vardavakis 2002, pp. 92–93.
5. Walter 2003, pp. 94ff.
6. Weitzmann 1966, p. 68.
7. For Mouriki and Aspra-Vardavakis, see notes 1 and 3 above. For Cormack, see "Sinai: The Construction of a Sacred Landscape," in London 2000–2001, p. 44.
8. Aspra-Vardavakis in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 446; Mouriki 1990, pp. 118–19.
9. Weyl Carr 1998, pp. 97–99.
10. Weitzmann 1966, pp. 66–69.
11. See, for example, Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 62, 64, 66; Hills 1987, pp. 3–63.

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, figs. 188–190, vol. 2, pp. 171–73; Weitzmann 1966, pp. 66–69; Weitzmann 1978, pp. 112–13, no. 37; Weitzmann 1982, p. 435; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 205, 227; Weitzmann 1984, pp. 150–52, fig. 8; Hills 1987, pp. 3–63; Mouriki 1990, pp. 118–19, 190–91, fig. 65; Belting 1994, pp. 336–37, 339, fig. 205; Maria Aspra-Vardavakis, "Diptych: A. St. Prokopios, B. The Virgin Kykkotissa, and Saints," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 444–46, no. 71; Aspra-Vardavakis 2002, pp. 89–104.

215. Icon with the Virgin Galaktotrophousa

Byzantine, ca. 1250–1350
Tempera on wood
19.3 x 17.5 cm (7⅝ x 6⅞ in.)
Inscribed: Flanking the Virgin, MH[TH]P Θ[EO]Y (Mother of God); flanking Christ, I[HCOY]C X[PICTO]C (Jesus Christ)
Condition: Areas of lost pigment, especially in the figure of the Child, have been sketched in by a later hand. The back of the icon is whitewashed but without adornment.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This poignant little panel has been published only by Doula Mouriki, who assigned it a fourteenth-century date, although the soft, opaque modeling of the flesh, the heavy stars and fringes on Mary's maphorion, and the vermiculated pattern on the frame recall thirteenth-century panels on Sinai.[1] The nursing Virgin, known as the Galaktotrophousa (milk giver), is not seen often in Byzantine art.[2] Its appearance on two seals, in addition to this and two other small panels at Sinai,[3] might mean that the nursing image was largely confined to personal icons. However, the Child's transparent clothing definitively links this panel to a far-flung and influential iconographic type. The same diaphanous tunic appears in all three of the Galaktotrophousa icons at Sinai, as well as in a famous late-twelfth-century

Galaktotrophousa icon in southern Italy, known as the Madonna del Pilerio.[4] The recurrent linking of such clothing with the nursing motif may indicate the existence of an established iconographic type, very probably developed in late-eleventh- or twelfth-century Byzantium when eucharistic controversies made Jesus's human physicality especially significant in art.[5] This type obviously made a powerful impression in the West, where it was repeated in both icon and miniature painting.[6] Far less is known about it in Byzantium. Whether its reappearance here in Sinai should be seen as evidence that the type was widespread also in Byzantium, or as evidence of a connection through Mediterranean commerce with southern Italy, is unclear. Nevertheless, this icon is precious for showing that the type did have a life not only in the art of western Europe but also in that of Byzantium.

AWC

1. For the modeling of the flesh, see the beautiful Glykophilousa icon on Mount Sinai, which Mouriki 1990, colorpl. 62, assigns to the first quarter of the thirteenth century; for the fringes and stars, see the icons of the thirteenth-century painter Petros, including that of the Blachernitissa with Moses and Patriarch Euthymios, in ibid., pl. 48. A vermiculated frame, in a battered condition, is seen on the icon of the Crucifixion reproduced in ibid., pl. 58.
2. On the Galaktotrophousa, see Miljković-Pepek 1957; Cutler 1987a.
3. For the seals, see Cutler 1987a, p. 341 and fig. 1: seal of Romanos, metropolitan of Kyzikos (1054–79); fig. 2: seal of Michael Ophydas (ca. 1060–1085). The panels are Sinai 558 (published in Mouriki 1991a, fig. 30 [25.2 x 17.5 cm; 9⅞ x 6⅞ in.]) and Sinai 1680.
4. Di Dario Guida 1992, pp. 57–67, pls. 10–11, fig. 26.
5. Certainly the diaphanous garment of Christ is well established in twelfth-century Byzantine art, as Mouriki brings out (1991a, pp. 167–70). She theorizes that its more extreme manifestation—when, as here, it constitutes Christ's sole clothing—may be the product of a return influence, that a motif once Byzantine flowed back from the West in exaggerated form. Yet the Child does appear in Byzantine art dressed only in the transparent tunic, as exemplified by the scene of the Presentation in the Temple in the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament; see Goodspeed et al. 1932, vol. 1, fol. 59v.
6. See Di Dario Guida 1992, pls. 13 (the Madonna in San Francesco, Aversa), 27 (the Madonna di San Guglielmo in the Museum of the Abbey of Montevergine). It recurs in a form very similar to the present work on fol. 197v of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, latin 3025, a *Sententiarum libri IV* of ca. 1260–75 by Peter Lombard; see Marques 1987, p. 169, fig. 201b. The same tunic, though now with a Virgin Glykophilousa, is seen in the initial "O" of the *Song of Solomon* in Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon, Ms. 410, fol. 207v; see Mouriki 1991a, pp. 168–69, fig. 31.

Reference: Mouriki 1991a.

216. Triptych with the Virgin and Child Enthroned, Scenes from the Life of the Virgin, and Saints Nicholas and John the Baptist

Crusader, Saint-Jean d'Acre or the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, late 1250s
Tempera and gold and silver on three wooden armatures with linen and gesso foundation
Center panel (box) 56.8 x 47.7 x 5.1 cm (22⅜ x 18¾ x 2 in.); left wing 53.7 x 21.7 x 1.1 cm (21⅛ x 8½ x ½ in.); right wing 53.8 x 21 x 1.1 cm (21⅛ x 8¼ x ½ in.)
Condition: The triptych is in excellent condition overall. The center panel has some paint flaking along the lower frame, as well as some damage and repainting to the angel standing at the right. The left wing is slightly warped, and the Dormition scene on the lower part of its inner surface is discolored below the figure of the Jew at the bier. The paint surface of the outer wings has flaked and been repainted. There is a wire hanger attached to the surface of the frame, at the top.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This small, boxlike triptych was evidently made to be portable. When its wings are closed, the left shows Saint Nicholas standing frontally in red-and-white Western episcopal garments and holding a crozier decorated in black and white. He blesses in the Greek manner with his right hand. On the right wing, Saint John the Baptist appears as a Byzantine type, standing frontally, but the medallion of the Agnus Dei that he holds is a Western-style attribute; he also points with his right hand. Both figures have raised gesso halos ornamented with studs as well as lozenge and cabochon designs.

With the wings open, the Virgin and Child enthroned with two standing angels form the focus of the triptych. The full-length Virgin is of the Byzantine Hodegetria type, while the Child, who grabs her hand and reaches for her face, reflects Western adaptations. The figure of the Child is also distinguished by lavish chrysography, with the gold mostly "poured" vertically over his drapery. The straight-backed throne has an unusual bead-and-polygon decoration on its flat framing elements, and the footstool is configured with

216, open

red and white checkerboard tiles rendered in perspective. The tooling on the piece is extraordinary, with incisions and raised studs on the gold ground, studs and incised vine-scroll designs on the halos, and raised-cross lozenge designs on the cloth of honor hanging down the back of the throne.

The inner wings feature four scenes from the Virgin's life: the Finding of Jesus in the Temple and the Lamentation on the right wing, and the Dormition and the Triumph of the Virgin on the left. The principal figures all have raised gesso halos, and the backgrounds are made of elaborate raised and gilded gesso.

This work is remarkable for its blending of three distinct styles. The center panel is done in a Tuscano-Byzantine Crusader style, its figures and fleshy faces reminiscent of the school of Guido of Siena.[1] The inner wings reflect a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style linked to that of the Arsenal Bible.[2] A Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style characterizes the outer wings, which are early examples of the workshop style that later produced two other works in this exhibition (cats. 214 and 223).[3] The rich stylistic ensemble of this triptych and its focus on the cult of the Virgin might signify the patronage of a corporate

216, closed

217, obverse

217, reverse

entity such as one of the confraternities active in Acre about 1260. JF

1. Derbes 1989, p. 198.
2. Weitzmann 1963b, p. 189.
3. Weitzmann 1966, pp. 69–74. Weitzmann called this painter the Master of the Knights Templars, an artist I propose be considered a major figure in the Workshop of the Soldier Saints; see Folda 2004.

References: Weitzmann 1963b, pp. 185–90; Weitzmann 1966, pp. 59–60; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 297–302, 333–34, 432–36; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 215, 216, 233; Derbes 1989, p. 198.

217. Icon with Christ Pantokrator

Byzantine, 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
43 x 30 cm (16⅞ x 11⅞ in.)
Inscribed: Flanking the halo of Christ, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ); above the opened book, ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ Ο ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘ[ΩΝ] ΕΜ[Ο]Ι ΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΡΙ[ΠΑΤΗΙΣΗ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΚΟΤΙΑ, ΑΛΛ'/ ΕΞΕΙ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ] ("I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life" [John 8:12])
Condition: There is extensive peeling of the pigment layer, especially in the gold background and on the borders.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The half-length image of Christ holding an open Gospel in his left hand and blessing with the right is the most popular iconographic type employed in depictions of Jesus in the Orthodox world. Usually called the Pantokrator (All-Sovereign), the image is essentially a portrait of the mature Christ. It first appeared in the sixth century, and the earliest known icon to bear a similar image is at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, as is the present work. The markedly plastic modeling of the image and the hand using several tones of dark green and ocher, along with the heavy folds of the chiton and himation, is typical of the mature Byzantine style of the thirteenth century. A number of scholars believe the Pantokrator type served as the model for Italian and, especially, Venetian master painters.[1] EB

1. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, p. 179.

Reference: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 196, vol. 2, pp. 178–79.

218. Icon with Christ

Cairo, ca. 1250
Tempera on wood
28.5 x 16.2 cm (11¼ x 6⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: IC XC (Jesus Christ)
CONDITION: The paint surface is better preserved on the body of Christ than on the face. The more serious losses are to the gold ground and to the painted-band ornament on the front and sides of the raised border. The back has no decoration.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Once thought to be a Crusader work of the mid-twelfth century, this icon is now attributed to a mid-thirteenth-century Coptic painter whose style was related to that of contemporary Islamic miniatures. In 1249/50 the same artist completed an illuminated Coptic-Arabic New Testament, close in size to the present object, for a secular patron in Cairo (cats. 262, 263).[1] Comparable also are the furniture with inset panels of ornament, the drapery consisting of firmly defined ovoids, and the delicate blessing gestures. The faces of Christ in the manuscript (see, for example, the miniature of the Ascension) have the same prominent eyebrows, mustache, and beard.

The history of Coptic icon painting is discontinuous and incomplete, and perhaps for that reason no comparable panels have been found.[2] A few Coptic icons survive from the Early Middle Ages, and many more from the early modern period. Icons from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are rarer and more Byzantine in style (cat. 116). One, set amid the intricately carved wooden panels at the Church of the Virgin al-Muʿallaqa, Cairo (cat. 260), was signed about 1300 by a Greek painter.[3]

The icon presently at Sinai was not intended for such public display. The paint on the outer edges of the frame indicates that the panel was likely a freestanding object, perhaps destined like the Cairo New Testament for a private patron.

RSN

1. Nelson 1983, pp. 201–8; Hunt 1985, p. 141.
2. There is nothing similar in Van Moorsel 1991 or Atalla 1998.
3. Hunt 1987, pp. 41–43.

REFERENCES: Nelson 1983, pp. 201–8; Hunt 1985, p. 141.

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219. Icon with the Deesis and Five Saints

Crusader, late 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
50 x 37 cm (19¾ x 14⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: ΜΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); IC XC (Jesus Christ); ΟΑΓ Ιω ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC (Saint John the Forerunner); ΕΓω ΗΜΙ το ΦωC ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ Ο ΑΚΟΥΛΟΥΘωΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΗCΕΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ CΚΟΤΕΙΑ ΑΛ ΕΞΕΙ ΤΟ ΦωC ΤΥC ΖωΗC ("I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life" [John 8:12]); Ο ΑΓ ΝΕΟC ΜΑΡΤΗC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (The Holy New Martyr Michael); Ο ΑΓ ΝΕΟC ΜΑΡΤΗC ΓΕωΡΓΙΟC (The Holy New Martyr George); Ο ΑΓ ΝΕΟC ΜΑΡΤΗC ΠΑΥΛΟC (The Holy New Martyr Paul); Ο ΑΓ ΝΕΟC ΜΑΡΤΗC ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC (The Holy New Martyr Philip); Ο ΑΓ ΝΕΟC ΜΑΡΤΗC ΜΑΤΕΟC (The Holy New Martyr Mateos)
CONDITION: The icon is in good condition.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

At the top of this icon is the traditional Byzantine image of the Deesis: Christ flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, who extend their hands toward him in intercessory supplication. Below, five saints raise their hands in prayer. The panel belongs to the Crusader group of icons, which employs stylistic and iconographic elements of both the Byzantine and the Western artistic traditions. In its sensitive rendering and modeling of the Virgin's face, this work recalls the Sienese Madonnas of the late Dugento and early Trecento. The two-tiered format echoes those seen in Italo-Byzantine altar panels, and the saints in the lower zone display the

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Western form of the monastic tonsure.[1] The reverse of the panel bears horizontal bands of red and greenish brushstrokes on a white background, a common characteristic of Cypriot icons.[2]

The text that Christ displays is from the Gospel of John, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (8:12). Although this verse is read only once during the Byzantine liturgical year,[3] it occurs on other icons of Christ at Sinai. Inscriptions give the names of the five saints as follows, reading from left to right: the Holy New Martyrs Michael, George, Paul, Philip, and Mateos.[4] Although their identities are uncertain, they bear certain attributes of Western clerical figures, including the shaved monastic tonsure. Three wear belted brown tunics with darker outer mantles, which resemble Franciscan habits, while George's belted white tunic is typical of the reform monastic orders such as the Cistercians and Carthusians. The central figure, despite his Latin tonsure, wears vestments characteristic of a Byzantine hierarch: a folded omophorion (pallium) decorated with large dark crosses that rests over his shoulders, and the long polystaurion, a phelonion (chasuble) decorated with many crosses. While the omophorion was the insignia of all bishops, the polystaurion was originally the prerogative of patriarchs but by the fourteenth century its use was extended to metropolitans as well. The individuals depicted here could be local saints of Sinai, Western saints venerated in the Latin Church, or Orthodox saints rendered with a mixture of Byzantine and Latin attributes. In any case, the icon, probably painted by an Italian artist in Sinai or Cyprus, reflects the multicultural milieu of artists and clients in the Levant during the Crusader period.[5]

JC

1. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 198, vol. 2, pp. 180–81.
2. Mouriki 1987b, pp. 413–14, fig. 3; Vokotopoulos 1999b, p. 162, figs. 2, 4, 11.
3. Mateos 1962–63, vol. 2, p. 226, for the fourth Thursday after Easter.
4. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, p. 180, incorrectly reads their epithets as "New Prophets," an identification that is never employed.
5. Weitzmann 1972b, p. 293 (reprinted in Weitzmann 1982, p. 401), states that the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Constantinople were the three main centers of Crusader artistic production. See also Weitzmann 1984, pp. 143–70, discussing the Italian presence and artistic influence in the Crusader art of the East, and Mouriki 1985–86 (1995 rpt.), pp. 393–409, outlining the close artistic connections between Sinai and Cyprus.

REFERENCE: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 198, vol. 2, pp. 180–81.

219, reverse

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220. Templon Beam with Feast Scenes

Crusader, ca. 1260
Tempera and gold on wood
28.9 x 232.4 cm (11⅜ x 91½ in.)
INSCRIBED: Ο ΧΕΡΕΤΗCΜΟC (The Annunciation); Η ΓΕΝΗCΗC (The Nativity); ΗΠΑΠΑΝΤΗ (The Meeting); Η ΒΑΠΤΗCΙC (The Baptism); Η (ΜΕΤΑ)ΜΟΡΦΩCΗC (The Transfiguration); Η ΑΝΑCΤΑCΗC ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΕΟΥ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ (The Resurrection of the Righteous Lazarus); Η ΒΑΙΟΦΩΡΟC (The Entry into Jerusalem); ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΔΗΠΝΟΝ (The Holy Supper); Η ΣΤΑΥΡΟCΗC (The Crucifixion); IC XC (Jesus Christ); Η ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC (The Resurrection); Ι ΑΝΑΛΗΨΥΜΟΥ (My Ascension); ΤΗC ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟCΤΗC (Of Pentecost); Η ΚΗΜΗCΙC ΤΗC ΘΚΟΥ (The Koimesis of the Theotokos)
CONDITION: The beam is in stable condition.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The three wood panels of this work present thirteen scenes from the life of Christ—the twelve canonical feasts known as the dodekaorton plus the Last Supper—in chronological sequence. The work was originally constructed in one long piece as the epistyle (horizontal entablature) that rested atop the columns of the templon (chancel barrier) dividing the sanctuary from the nave in a Byzantine church. The templon, which had open space between the columns, is the precursor of the iconostasis (closed-off icon screen) found in present-day Orthodox churches. The images represent major festal celebrations from the Church's liturgical year: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis (Resurrection, or Descent into Hell), the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Koimesis (Dormition of the Virgin). The scenes from the life of Christ, known as the Christological Cycle, are events commemorated during the Divine Liturgy and identified with the Eucharist itself. They are therefore eminently suited to adorn the barrier in front of the altar area.

This templon beam is one of seven surviving at Sinai that must have been made ad hoc for the liturgical needs of various chapels within the monastery and its surrounding shrines. It has been studied by Kurt Weitzmann, who described how the work was characteristic of Crusader art in its mingling of Western and Byzantine stylistic and iconographic elements.[1] Stylistic features of this genre that are relevant here include diamond and pearl ornaments within a black background used as a framing device, the pearl ornament of the nimbi, the large, rolling eyes of the figures, the dominant use of red, and the variant spellings and incorrect grammar of the inscriptions.

A number of iconographic elements also point to deviations from the customary Byzantine presentations. The Annunciation occurs as the Virgin is at a well, weaving a skein of purple wool; in the Byzantine tradition, she is either weaving or fetching water from the well, but not both. In the Nativity, Weitzmann noted that one of the Magi had distinctly Mongol features, and he proposed that this figure was a portrait of the Mongol general Kitbuqa, who claimed to be descended from one of the Magi and who was an ally of the Crusaders against the Muslims.[2] In the Transfiguration, contrary to the standard Eastern depiction of Moses as a beardless youth, the prophet is portrayed with long dark hair and a beard, as in the Latin tradition, while the mandorla surrounding Christ, rendered in elaborate spiky red rays, is also not customary.[3]

In the Raising of Lazarus, Lazarus is shown as a bald and bearded figure seated upright on top of the sarcophagus rather than as a youth standing at the opening of his tomb.[4] In addition, Lazarus is given the epithet ΔΙΚΕΟC (righteous or just) which is uncommon in the Byzantine iconographic tradition but consistent with the liturgy of the Orthodox Church: the typika for the commemoration of this miracle on the Saturday before Palm Sunday identify Lazarus as *dikaios*.[5] The Crusader image of the Nativity, also from Sinai (cat. 221), employs the same epithet, which is also found on Cypriot images and may reinforce the island's connection to this piece as well.[6] A final deviation from Byzantine practice is the inscription reading the Resurrection of Lazarus rather than the traditional Raising of Lazarus, which by identifying Christ as the worker of the miracle, served as an affirmation of his divinity.

The present work is the only templon beam found at Sinai to include an image of the Last Supper, a scene not usually part of the epistyle repertoire. Weitzmann noted that Christ's being placed at the center, between Peter and Paul, with John at the back of the table, is not characteristic of the Byzantine type.[7] Furthermore, the scene is inscribed as "ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΔΗΠΝΟΝ" (The Holy Supper), a Western term, instead of the Eastern title, "Ο ΜΥCΤΙΚΟC ΔΕΙΠΝΟC" (The Mystical Supper), which clearly equates the event with the sacrament of the Eucharist. The Anastasis also is peculiar. Rather than the more frequently encountered form in which Christ, advancing either to the right or left, actively raises up Adam and Eve from Hades, here he stands frontally and is flanked by those he will resurrect, a type that is rare in Byzantine art.[8] Within the explosive red mandorla with its whirling pointed rays, Christ seems to float in the air rather than rise from the tomb. Another significant detail is that Christ's hands and feet do not reveal the marks of the Crucifixion, which are consistently rendered in Byzantine versions in order to indicate the reality of the Incarnation,

220, detail

the Passion, and the Last Judgment[9] as well as to emphasize the dogmatic teaching that Christ's crucified and resurrected body are one.

Although the Ascension scene follows the Byzantine formula rather closely, it has an odd inscription, Ι ΑΝΑΛΗΨΥΜΟΥ (My Ascension). This personalizing phrase never accompanies Byzantine depictions of the event and is not easily explained. The unusual aspects and significance of the Pentecost image have also been identified by Weitzmann.[10] Peter is privileged at the center of the group of apostles instead of sharing the honor with Paul, as in the customary Eastern rendition; this focus on Peter alludes to the claims of the Roman papacy regarding Petrine primacy. Finally, Weitzmann described the variant elements of the Koimesis.[11] Usually, the Virgin's bier is flanked by groups of apostles headed by Peter and Paul. Apostles are found here only on the left side, headed by Peter, while on the right they have been replaced by angels with their imperial orbs, thus emphasizing the courtliness of the event and alluding to the Virgin as "Queen of Heaven," again a Latin theme.

Weitzmann concluded that these images were painted by a Venetian artist active in the Levant. If so, there may be a Cypriot connection, as previously stated, for the island was a prominent artistic center during the Crusader period.[12] Yet, given the Western tenets expressed pictorially in the scenes, the templon beam may well have been intended for a Latin chapel at Sinai that had adopted Byzantine liturgical ritual. JC

1. Weitzmann 1963b, pp. 181–83, figs. 3, 4 (reprinted in Weitzmann 1982, pp. 293–95); Weitzmann 1966, pp. 62–64, figs. 22–24 (reprinted in Weitzmann 1982, pp. 336–38); Weitzmann 1986, pp. 82–86, figs. 15–17.
2. Weitzmann 1966, pp. 63–64; Weitzmann 1986, p. 84.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Dmitrievskij 1895–1917 (1965 rpt.), vol. 1, p. 126; Mateos 1962–63, vol. 2, p. 62.
6. Nicolaïdès 1996, p. 76, fig. 63.
7. Weitzmann 1963b, p. 182; Weitzmann 1986, p. 84.
8. Kartsonis 1986, pp. 152–64, figs. 51–54, classifies this as the "third type of Anastasis." Weitzmann 1986, p. 85, also discusses the rarity of this form. See also New York 1997, no. 68.
9. Kartsonis 1986, pp. 153–55.
10. Weitzmann 1963b, pp. 182–83, fig. 4; Weitzmann 1966, p. 63; Weitzmann 1983b, p. 26, fig. 28; Weitzmann 1986, p. 85.
11. Weitzmann 1966, p. 64; Weitzmann 1986, p. 85.
12. Weitzmann 1972b, p. 293 (reprinted in Weitzmann 1982, p. 401); Mouriki 1985–86 (1995 rpt.), pp. 393–409, discusses the close artistic connections between Sinai and Cyprus.

REFERENCES: Weitzmann 1963b, pp. 181–83, figs. 3, 4 (1982 rpt., pp. 293–95); Weitzmann 1966, pp. 62–64, figs. 22–24 (1982 rpt., pp. 336–38); Weitzmann 1983b, p. 26, fig. 28; Weitzmann 1986, pp. 82–86, figs. 15–17.

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221, 222. Two Icons from a Templon Beam

221. The Nativity
Crusader, third quarter of the 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
33.7 x 24.9 cm (13¼ x 9¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: Η ΓΕΝΗCΗC (The Nativity); IC XC (Jesus Christ); MP ΘΥ (Mother of God); Ο ΔΗΚΑΙΟC ΙΟCΗΦ (The Just, or Righteous, Joseph)
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

222. The Baptism
Crusader, third quarter of the 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
33.5 x 23.2 cm (13¼ x 9⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: Η ΒΑΠΤΗCΗC (The Baptism); IC XC (Jesus Christ); Ο ΑΓΙΟC Ιω Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC (Saint John the Forerunner); ΑΝΓΓΕΛΟC ΚΥ (Angel of the Lord)
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

These icons are thought to have belonged to a series of images created for the entablature of a templon depicting the twelve liturgical Great Feasts (the dodekaorton) of the Church year.[1] They have been assigned to a group of Crusader icons reflecting the hybrid of Byzantine iconographic traditions and Latin stylistic elements.[2] The latter can be seen here in the sturdy, thickset figures, their bulging, wide-open eyes, the pearl decoration on the contours of the nimbi, the heavy use of red in place of gold, the hesitant letter forms of the inscriptions (along with their variant spellings and breathing marks), and the ill-fitting placement of the figures within their settings. The back of each panel is painted white with horizontal rows of wavy red brushstrokes.

Each image conforms to the standard Byzantine treatment of the christological scene depicted.[3] The Nativity focuses on three elements: the cave with the Virgin; the Christ Child wrapped in swaddling clothes in a manger resembling a marble altar or sarcophagus, a eucharistic reference as well as an allusion both to the grotto shrine in Bethlehem and to Christ's entombment in the Holy Sepulchre; and the ray of light descending from the star, which indicates the divine nature of the Child. Secondary scenes of the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Bathing of the Infant frame the central event. Joseph's peripheral position is meant to demonstrate that he had no physical role in the miracle of the Virgin Birth. His identification as Ο ΔΗΚΑΙΟC ΙΟCΗΦ (the Just, or Righteous, Joseph) is rare in scenes of the Nativity, although at least one Cypriot example is known.[4] This epithet is, however, applied to him in the Gospel of Matthew (1:19), in the Byzantine liturgical typika for the commemoration of his feast on the Sunday after Christmas,[5] and in *The Painter's Manual* of Dionysios of Phourna.[6]

The icon of the Baptism also follows the traditional Byzantine presentation. At the center Christ stands in the Jordan River while John the Baptist places his right hand on the Savior's head, and two angels attend. The divine light descending on Christ symbolizes the voice of God the Father and also encloses the figure of the Holy Spirit, represented as a dove (Matthew 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22). The cross surmounted on steps in the water represents the one erected in the Jordan during the medieval period in order to mark the spot as a pilgrimage site. The angel in the foreground is inscribed as ΑΝΓΓΕΛΟC ΚΥ (Angel of the Lord), which although not customary can also be found accompanying some Cypriot depictions of angels.[7] The

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epithet here alludes to the miracle of the Healing of the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda (John 5:1–9), liturgically celebrated on the third Sunday after Easter, in which the therapeutic powers of the water were attributed to the descent of the "Angel of the Lord." Patristic commentaries and the hymns for this feast day contrast the physical cures brought about by the pool to the spiritual healings of Christ's baptism and the sacrament of Baptism in general.[8]

For the Orthodox Church, the feast of the Baptism is primarily understood as a manifestation of the Trinity and is called Theophania (Theophany)—the manifestation of God. The Nativity also is celebrated as the entry of the divine presence into the world through the birth of Christ. These two icons thus express the dogmatic teachings of the Incarnation, in which the human and the divine are united. Although their style and variant inscriptions point to production by a Crusader painter, the significant epithets assigned to Joseph and the angel indicate a liturgical and theological subtlety intended for an Orthodox clientele. The Cypriot parallels for the inscribed epithets and the painted patterns found on the reverse may identify either the island as their place of origin or a Cypriot painter working at Sinai as their maker.[9] JC

1. Mouriki 1990, p. 119.
2. Weitzmann 1972b, pp. 289–90, fig. 10 (reprinted in Weitzmann 1982, p. 397, fig. 10); Mouriki 1990, p. 119.
3. For a recent discussion of the iconography of these two scenes from the Christological Cycle and their relevant bibliographies, see Nicolaïdès 1996, pp. 71–79, 83–87, figs. 63, 67.
4. Ibid., p. 76, fig. 63. In the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the same church, the figure of Joachim is similarly inscribed as O ΔIKAIOC, also not a common practice.
5. Dmitrievskij 1895–1917 (1965 rpt.), vol. 1, pp. 37, 360; Mateos 1962–63, vol. 1, p. 160.
6. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909, p. 75; Hetherington 1974, p. 27. The *Manual* (ibid., p. 76) stipulates that Joachim is also to be called O ΔIKAIOC.
7. Mouriki 1985–86 (1995 rpt.), p. 351; Nicolaïdès 1996, p. 95, fig. 72.
8. For an example of such commentaries, see John Chrysostom on this pericope in *PG*, vol. 59, pp. 203–4. For the hymn, see *Pentkostárion*, ed. Phos (Athens, 1974), pp. 82–83.
9. For the Cypriot parallels, see Mouriki 1987b, pp. 413–14, fig. 3; Vokotopoulos 1999b, p. 162, figs. 2, 4, 11. Weitzmann 1972b, p. 293, states that the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Constantinople were the three main centers of Crusader artistic production; Mouriki 1985–86 (1995 rpt.), pp. 393–409, discusses the close artistic connections between Sinai and Cyprus.

References: Weitzmann 1972b, pp. 289–90, fig. 10 (rpt. 1982, pp. 397–98); Mouriki 1990, p. 119, figs. 68, 69.

223. Two-Sided Icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis

Crusader, Saint-Jean d'Acre or the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, ca. 1280s
Tempera and gold on wood armature with linen and gesso foundation; metal attachment on the halo of Christ
120.5 x 68 cm (47½ x 26¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, on the titulus, :IHVS :NAZARENUS:REX:IUDEORUM: (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews); above the Virgin, :MATER: :DNI: (Mother of God); above Saint John, :SCS: :IOHANES: (Saint John)
CONDITION: On the obverse, the raised gesso frame is damaged along the lower edge, and its wood exposed. The image surface is generally in excellent condition, with only small incidental flaking, single slashes across the lower abdomen and nailed feet as well as under the proper right arm, and three irregular linear striations over the angel at the top left. On the reverse, the orange frame is heavily damaged at the upper left corner, exposing wood; otherwise there is serious flaking all along the top surface. Occasional losses occur on the lower part of the frame. The image surface is in excellent condition except for deliberate defacing of the halo around the head of Christ and the halo and part of the face of Saint John the Baptist. Christ, Adam, and the four male figures standing at the right each have one eye gouged out. There are also two large paint flakes on the lower right of Adam's sarcophagus.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

223, obverse

On the obverse a dead Christ of heroic physique hangs on a strongly beveled cross to which he is attached by three nails in the Western manner. Blood streams from all four wounds, and that from his feet flows over the skull of Adam at the base of the cross on the hill of Golgotha. In their sorrow, Mary and John display distinctive gestures. She stands at the left in a maroon maphorion and blue tunic, her brows knitted and the thumb of her left hand touching her nose; he stands at the right in a copper red cloak and gray tunic with red stripes, holding his right hand to his head with his little finger across his cheek. Above, two mourning angels place either a cloth or hands to their faces. A low, greenish wall topped in red forms the background for the narrow, rocky groundline. The gold ground above is handsomely tooled with a diagonal grid containing four-leafed motifs that contrast with the vine-scroll designs in the halos of Mary, John, and Christ. A tooled metal insert is apparently a later addition to Christ's halo.

On the reverse the basic iconography of the Byzantine Anastasis image is intensified as Christ, the King of Glory, appears in a dramatic star-burst mandorla set against a dark sky filled with five-pointed silver-gold stars and topped with a sunburst. The huge mountain peaks dominating the background evoke those surrounding Sinai. Christ carries an unusual jeweled cross as he tramples on the gates of Hell; a diminutive Hades is bound and prostrate below. Among the worthies of the Old Testament, only four are given halos, including John the Baptist, David, and Solomon, and quite exceptionally, a priestly figure.[1] The priest in remarkably lavish dress is Aaron, the brother of Moses, depicted with the long gray hair and beard that he has in a number of other thirteenth-century Western-influenced icons at Saint Catherine's.[2] He wears a phylactery and, in the Western manner, holds a shofar as an attribute,[3] symbolizing

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his priestly role. Aaron's connection to Sinai is clear, since he is first mentioned in the Bible during the episode of the Burning Bush (Exodus 4:14).

Just as the Sinaitic iconography of the Anastasis image is combined with aspects of Western-influenced imagery, so too does the Crucifixion iconography of Mary and John compare closely with that in other earlier icons among the Crusader group in emotional content and pictorial details. In terms of style, the corpus with the broad hips and the expansive loincloth, featuring a broad "belt" at the waist and a distinctive vertical-fold structure, also occurs in a Crucifixion from an iconostasis beam at Sinai dating to about 1260.[4] The accomplished design of the drapery is especially apparent in the V folds on the loincloth and John's tunic (obverse) and in the complex billowing drapery of Adam's garment (reverse), all marked by elegant white highlighting. The faces of Adam and Eve have been compared to those on panels in the Museo Correr, Venice,[5] indicating that this artist worked in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style equal to the best Crusader work from Sinai, as represented by the Prokopios Diptych (cat. 214), also executed in the 1280s. The size and weight of this work have cast doubt on its use as a processional icon, but it may have been placed on an iconostasis or templon screen, with the Crucifixion facing the people and the Anastasis facing the altar,[6] possibly in the former Latin chapel of Saint Catherine of the Franks at Sinai.

JF

1. The Anastasis fresco at the Church of Christos at Veroia (1315), the earliest Byzantine parallel known to me, contains two priests with halos, lavish costumes, and shofars. See, for example, Kartsonis 1986, fig. 87.
2. See, for example, Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 179, vol. 2, pp. 166–67 (a small thirteenth-century icon of Moses and Aaron).
3. "Shofar," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford, 2003).
4. Weitzmann 1963b, figs. 1–3.
5. O. Demus 1984b, pp. 283–91.
6. Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 204.

REFERENCES: Weitzmann 1963b, pp. 183–85; Weitzmann 1966, pp. 64–66; Weitzmann 1978, pp. 114–15; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 295–97, 338–40, 432–36; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 201–35; O. Demus 1984b; Mouriki 1990, pp. 118, 188–89; "Shofar," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford, 2003).

224. Icon with the Crucifixion

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt; Saint-Jean d'Acre; or Cyprus/Crete, late 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
33.7 x 26.6 cm (13¼ x 10½ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the crossbar at the top of the cross, Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ (King of Glory); on the crossarm of the cross, Η ΣΤΑΥΡΩΣΙΣ (the Crucifixion); over Christ's head, ΙΣ ΧΣ (Jesus Christ)
CONDITION: The icon has suffered losses of paint and gesso on its borders, on the base of the cross, and on the face of the angel to the left of the cross. Cracks are present in the remaining gesso and paint on the borders and at the base of the cross. There has been some consolidation of loose paint and gesso and limited retouching, particularly the outer edge of the halo of the centurion, since the work was published in 1956.[1] The major figures and the

gilded ground beside them are in good condition. Traces of red paint and gesso are found on the back. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

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Byzantine and Western motifs are combined in this moving image of the Crucifixion, which is considered by Mouriki to be one of the most beautiful panels related to Sinai's Crusader group of icons. Recognizing Western motifs on the panel, including the three nails holding Christ to the cross, she attributed the work to a painter schooled in the Venetian tradition, possibly working in an area under Venetian dominance, for instance, Cyprus or Crete.[2] The pose of Christ, especially the unusual way in which the right leg extends over the left, the detailing of the structure of the body, and the mourning angels so closely resemble the Crucifixion on the great Anastasis icon at Sinai that the artist of this image must have known the other icon or its model (cat. 223).[3] Weitzmann and Folda attributed the Anastasis icon to a Venetian or Venetian-influenced school of icon painters working at Saint-Jean d'Acre or Sinai.[4] The Greek rather than Latin inscription on this icon and the identification of Christ as "King of Glory," not "King of the Jews," supports the view that it was produced in the Byzantine sphere.

The emotional pose of Mary Magdalene and the swooning pose of the Virgin do not exist in earlier Byzantine art. Derbes has noted that the Virgin's pose is found in a series of brilliantly illuminated and gilded manuscripts produced in Armenian Cilicia in the latter half of the thirteenth century for the royal court and suggested that the Cilician works were modeled on the Crusader images.[5] The emotional pose of Mary Magdalene, including the hint of a V-shaped neckline, is also found in Cilician art of the era.[6] In the second half of the thirteenth century, the rulers of Cilician Armenia were closely intermarried with the ruling families of Cyprus and the Crusader kingdoms. In the same period the Franciscans were a dominant presence at the Cilician court, as they were throughout the Near East (see cat. 173). One of the earliest images of the swooning Virgin is found in a Franciscan missal of 1254 produced in Venice, in which, as on the Sinai icon and the Cilician manuscripts, soldiers, including the centurion with a small shield, crowd behind the figure of John, and the cross is shown with beveled edges.[7] It is probable that both the icon from Sinai and the Cilician manuscripts are linked by works brought to the East by the Franciscan order. HCE

1. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, pl. 194, for the state of the icon in 1956.
2. See Mouriki 1990, p. 118, where she also identifies the following as Western motifs: the deep blue of the loincloth of Christ; the setting apart of Mary Magdalene, shown standing in a dramatic pose of grief to the back of the other Marys and in a tunic opened to reveal her chest; and the centurion's small shield and the soldiers with him. She considered the lozenge pattern on the icon's borders and the pearl-bordered halos to be typical of the Crusader group, with the style of the chrysography—gold striations on the clothing of Christ, the Virgin, and John—being closely related to Venetian art.
3. Derbes 1989, pp. 191–94 and nn. 11–12, notes the connections between the two works and traces Kurt Weitzmann's attribution of the group of icons with which they are associated to Saint-Jean d'Acre or the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine.
4. Weitzmann 1982, p. 66.
5. Derbes 1989, pp. 191–94.
6. See Korkhmazian et al. 1984, fig. 150, the Entombment of Christ from the Gospels of the Eight Painters (Matenadaran Ms. 7651), where the Magdalene appears in the same pose behind an image of a kneeling, swooning Virgin.
7. See Evans 1990, pp. 32–48, 147–48, for Cilician contacts with the West, the Crusader states, and the Franciscans, and fig. 133, for the Franciscan Crucifixion scene with narrative details from a missal now in Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, no. 86, fol. 166v.

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, no. 194, p. 177; Derbes 1989 (with bibl.); Mouriki 1990.

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classicizing elegance is closely imitated in a miniature mosaic icon of the Late Byzantine era (cat. 133). The relatively simple forms and angular shapes on this image are typical of a small group of works at Sinai that Doula Mouriki believes were painted by Christian Arabs and are stylistically linked to Coptic and Syrian art.[3] The bathhouse with multiple domes depicted here closely resembles an enigmatic Byzantine silver-and-gilt luxury object now in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice. The image on this icon suggests that the Venetian work, often called an incense burner, may be a miniature bathhouse for use in conjunction with the elaborate ceremonies of the bath.[4] HCE

1. "Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 799–800.
2. Effenberger and Severin 1992, no. 124, pp. 214–15; Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 74–76.
3. Mouriki 1990, p. 120.
4. See New York 1997, no. 176, p. 251, for an identification of the San Marco work as an incense burner; see New York 1984, no. 33, pp. 237–43, for an attribution of the work as an incense burner or lamp.

References: Mouriki 1990, p. 120; Effenberger and Severin 1992; Saint Petersburg 2000.

225. Icon with the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, late 13th–early 14th century
Tempera on wood
38.5 x 29.4 cm (15⅛ x 11⅝ in.)
Inscribed: To the left of Christ at the top center of the icon, ΣΑΡΑΝΤΑ ΜΑΡΤΗΡΟΝ (Forty Martyrs)
Provenance: The icon has been the property of the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai since it was painted.
Condition: The icon is in good condition, with limited cracks in the paint on the lower edge. Traces of gesso appear on the back, which is decorated with a red cross with two crossbars and a tang (mount for inserting the cross in a stand) at its base.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The devotional panel depicts one of the more popular groups of saints in Byzantine art. Forty young Roman soldiers are said to have been forced into frigid waters near Pontic Sebasteia in the second century. They were to stay there until they froze or they renounced their faith.[1] One man sought refuge in the warmth of the bathhouse, as shown at the upper left, but the others perished. Here a bust of Christ leans from heaven to reward them with crowns of martyrdom, while two of the men at the center of the icon lift their arms toward heaven in prayer. The writhing bodies of the figures on the icon lack the sophistication of the more realistic figures on two handsomely carved ivory icons of the theme dated to the Middle Byzantine era and now in Berlin and Saint Petersburg.[2] Their

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226. Icon with the Crucifixion and the Nativity

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, late 13th–early 14th century
Tempera on wood
43.9 x 30.8 cm (17¼ x 12⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the Crucifixion, in Greek, "Jesus Christ, Mother of God, John"; on the Nativity, "Jesus Christ, Mother of God"
PROVENANCE: The icon has been the property of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai since it was painted.
CONDITION: The icon is in relatively good condition, with limited paint loss at the lower right border of the icon, the lower edge of the added frame, and various places on the face of the icon, especially that of the black man with the Magi. The back of the icon is roughly covered with gesso. Remnants of its decoration survive: a dark red-brown crosshatched pattern on the body of the panel and dark red-brown paint at the corners.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The two scenes on this handsome icon are united by their dark blue, starry backgrounds. At the bottom is an extensive narrative depiction of the Nativity, while above is the Crucifixion. The icon is thus a moving depiction of Christ's willing sacrifice for humankind. The red marble stone of his manger, alluding to the color of the stone of unction in Jerusalem on which he was laid after his removal from the Cross, makes clear that his birth foretells his death. Doula Mouriki noted that the juxtaposition of the two scenes is without precedent in Byzantine art while recognizing their presence in Ethiopian art.[1] The Nativity and the Crucifixion are also found together on French Gothic ivories in western Europe.[2] Noting the unusual combination of Byzantine and Western motifs in the scenes, Mouriki suggested that the closest parallels were to be found in later thirteenth-century Cilician Armenian art, which has been shown to have been influenced by contemporary French art (cat. 173). Among the Western motifs on the icon that Mouriki noted are the use of one nail through the feet of Christ; the heraldic shield of the centurion in the Crucifixion; and the three Magi, two kneeling in a Western pose and a third, without a crown, who is a black man. Mouriki argued that a black Magus first appears in Western art in the pulpit carved by Nicola Pisano in Siena Cathedral about 1270.[3] Annemarie Weyl Carr, supporting the Mouriki attribution of the icon to an Armenian at Sinai, suggested that the closest parallel to the Nativity scene is to be found in a Nativity image of 1336 by the Cilician Armenian painter Sargis Pidzak—where the kings also kneel in the Western manner (the Matenadaran, Erevan, Ms. 5786, fol. 17).[4] Scott Redford, in his essay in this catalogue, identifies the three dots decorating the dress of the two crowned Magi and the boy with the flute as symbols of power in Islamic courtly circles. Cilician Armenians, who had close ties with Byzantium, with the rising Islamic states of the period, and with the West, are known to have made pilgrimages to Sinai. It is likely that they, like the Catholic pilgrims who came to the site, might have wished to donate an icon in memory of their pilgrimage. HCE

1. Mouriki 1990, p. 120.
2. Detroit–Baltimore 1997, no. 44, pp. 204–5, where the center panel of a triptych shows the Crucifixion with Christ posed in a manner similar to that on the icon over the Adoration of the Magi.
3. Mouriki 1990, pp. 120, 387 nn. 104–5, with references to the remarks of Helen Evans and the dissertation of Paul Kaplan ("The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art," Ann Arbor, 1985).
4. Carr 1998, pp. 74–77.

REFERENCES: Mouriki 1990, pp. 120, 387 nn. 104–5; Carr 1998.

227. Hexaptych Icon with Scenes from the Great Feasts (obverse) and Apostles, Saints, and Angels (reverse)

Byzantine, 14th century
Tempera and gold on wood
31 x 13.5 cm (12¼ x 5⅜ in.) each panel
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, on the upper panels, ΕΒΑΝΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΣ (The Annunciation); Η Χ[ΡΙΣΤΟ]Υ ΓΕΝΗΣΙΣ (The Nativity); Η ΥΠΑΠΑΝΤΗ (The Presentation in the Temple); ΒΑΠΤΙΣΙΣ (Baptism, with the name of Christ); Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ (The Transfiguration); Η ΕΓΕΡΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ (The Raising of Lazarus); on lower panels, Η ΒΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ (The Entry into Jerusalem); ΣΤΑΘΡΟΣΙΣ (Crucifixion, the figures are also identified, ΙΣ ΧΣ [Jesus Christ], ΜΡ ΘΥ [Mother of God], Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ [Saint John the Theologian]); Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΙΣ ΧΣ (The Anastasis, Jesus Christ);

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227, reverse

ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ (Ascension, with identifications ΙΣ ΧΣ [Jesus Christ] and ΜΡ ΘΥ [Mother of God]); Η ΠΕΝΤΙΚΟΣΤΗ (The Pentecost); and Η ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ (The Dormition of the Virgin, with identifications, ΙΣ ΧΣ [Jesus Christ] and ΜΡ ΘΥ [Mother of God]). On the reverse, flanking the two center panels painted with blossoming crosses, Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] ΠΕΤΡΟΣ (The Apostle Peter) and Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] ΠΑΥΛΟΣ (The Apostle Paul); on the upper end panel, Ο/ΑΡΧ[ΑΝ]Γ[Ε]Λ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (The Archangel Gabriel) and Ο ΑΡΧ[ΑΝ]ΓΕΛ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ (The Archangel Michael); on the lower end panel, Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΣ (Saint Basil the Great) and Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟΣ] ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] Ο ΧΡ[ΥΣΟ]Σ[ΤΩ]ΜΟΣ (Saint John Chrysostom)

CONDITION: Almost every panel has a vertical split in the wood in the middle, in the upper or lower part, together with slight peelng of the pigment layer, which are more noticeable on the back of the icon.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This hexaptych is a notable example of a specific type of icon produced in the Monastery of Saint Catherine. On each of six small thin boards there are two scenes from the dodekaorton—the twelve Great Feasts of Orthodoxy—each below a superimposed relief arch. The back of the hexaptych (which Viktor Lazarev called its own tetraptych icon)[1] is also painted. When the exterior panels are closed, the fathers of the church Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom and the archangels Gabriel and Michael appear at the center of the composition, with Saints Peter and Paul flanking them, facing the center. Such hexaptychs depicting scenes from the dodekaorton are in fact a continuation of the twelfth-century practice of monks' producing painted iconostasis beams for their monasteries.[2] The subject matter and relief arches here suggest that the dodekaorton of a templon was condensed into the two zones to make a portable icon.

Both iconographically and stylistically, the images on the individual panels are characteristic of the mature Palaiologan style. Despite the restricted surfaces, the absence of superfluous narrative details contributes to a

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sense of monumentality. The scenes are deeply expressive, owing to the plasticity of the elegant, elongated figures, the dynamic compositions, and the shapes of the rocks and trees. According to Doula Mouriki, who links the hexaptych with Constantinopolitan influences, "a sense of luxury is due to the fine quality of the gold background and to the extensive use of chrysography for the wings of the angels, details of garments, furniture and vessels."[3]

Mouriki sees stylistic parallels between the hexaptych and mosaics at the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii) in Constantinople, the latter dating to about the mid-fourteenth century. According to the Sotirious, the style of the images (and especially of those on the back of the icon) is closer to that of murals at the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos and the Vrontochion Monastery in Mistra, and therefore the icon should be dated toward the end of the century.[4] Lazarev also attributes the hexaptych toward the end of the fourteenth century.[5] EB

1. Lazarev 1967, p. 376.
2. Mouriki 1990, pp. 105–6, figs. 20–22, 25–27; see Vokotopoulos 2002, pp. 115–22, fig. 94.
3. Mouriki 1990, p. 105.
4. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, p. 191.
5. Lazarev 1967, p. 376.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, figs. 213–217, vol. 2, pp. 190–91; Lazarev 1967, p. 376, fig. 534; Mouriki 1990, p. 121, fig. 72; Vokotopoulos 2002, p. 122 (with earlier bibl.).

228. Icon of Saint George with Scenes of His Passion and Miracles

Sinai (?), early 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
127 x 80.6 cm (50 x 31¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: Ο Ἅγιος Γεω(ρ)γιος (Saint George); above the head of the donor, † Αγιε του Θ(εο)ῦ βοηθι τον σων δουλον Ιω(άννην) μ(ονα)χ(ὸν) κ(αὶ) ηερεαν τον εκ ποθου κτισαντα την σιν ηκονα τον ηβερον († O saint of God, help your servant John, the monk and priest, who with desire commissioned your image, the Georgian)
At top:
1. Ο α(γιος) διδων τα υπαρχοντα αυτου πτοχις (The saint giving his belongings to the poor)
2. Ο α(γιος) σιρομενος (The saint led away)
3. Ο α(γιος) διαλεγομενος (The saint interrogated)
4. Ο α(γιος) ραβδιζομενος (The saint beaten)
5. Ο α(γιος) εν τι φυλακι (The saint in prison)
At left:
6. Ο α(γιος) διαλεγομενος (The saint interrogated)
7. Ο α(γιος) κεομενος μετα λαμπαδον (The saint burned with torches)
8. Ο α(γιος) εν το τροχο (The saint on the wheel)
9. Ο α(γιος) επιλιθομενος (The saint put under a stone)
10. Ο α(γιος) εγλητονον τιν κοριν απο του δρακοντος (The saint rescuing the maiden from the dragon)
At right:
11. Ο α(γιος) εν τι ασβετω (The saint in the lime pit)
12. Ο α(γιος) Γεωργιος εν τι φυλακι (Saint George in prison)
13. Ο α(γιος) ξερομενος (The saint scraped)
14. Ο α(γιος) αναστον τον νεκρον (The saint resurrecting the dead man)
15. Ο α(γιος) δηαλεγομενος (The saint interrogated)
At bottom:
16. Ο α(γιος) καταργισον τα ηδολα (The saint destroying the idols)
17. Ο α(γιος) αναστον τον βουν (The saint resurrecting the ox)
18. Ο α(γιος) σιρομενος (The saint led away)
19. Ο α(γιος) ξηφι τελιουται (The saint is put to death by the sword)
20. η κιδηα του αγιου (The funeral of the saint)
CONDITION: The condition is good, except for a crack running vertically the full height of the icon, to the right of the central figure. There is some loss of gold in the central field. The icon has apparently been fitted with a new board at top and bottom.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This icon is one of half a dozen early-thirteenth-century vita icons in the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai (see the icon of Saint Catherine, cat. 201).

In the center is the resplendent image of Saint George as a young warrior. He wears a long-sleeved tunic with a gold hem and cuffs with a single large gemstone on them; over the tunic is a short patterned skirt, split up the center, presumably for easier horseback riding. His cuirass is gold, adorned with fanciful acanthus designs, and molded to the contours of his stomach;[1] lamellar plates cover his upper arm. He wears a gemmed belt and a sash across his upper body. Over his armor is a cape, dropping almost to his ankles and adorned with tablia; it is fastened by a round brooch at his right shoulder. He wears unusually high plaited red leggings, and dark shoes. His features are those used for several youthful saints in Byzantium including Demetrios and Panteleemon (see cats. 121, 206, 232): a slightly oval, utterly unblemished face with arched eyebrows and a long nose. The puffed head of hair with its rows of tight curls is typical of the early thirteenth century. Slung over the saint's right shoulder is a long strap from which a sheathed sword hangs diagonally behind his body. He holds a lance in his raised right hand and rests his left on a very large convex oval shield, its metallic boss facing inward toward the saint. The groundline is spun over with small blooming stalks.

The figure of a donor is included in this central panel, tiny in relation to Saint George but nonetheless larger than the figures in the adjacent narrative cycle. He wears white robes, plus the black cap of a monk, the epitrachelion, or long stole, of a priest, and a belt; his hands are outstretched toward Saint George.

The sequence of twenty episodes around the frame is one of the longest of all known Byzantine George cycles. It does not appear to follow any specific literary text, but begins at the upper left with George giving away his goods to the poor, the first act after his conversion, and ends with his burial, at the lower right. Interrogation and prison scenes are repeated up to three times, while certain expected torture scenes are missing. The compositions on the left and right sides of the icon appear oddly cropped, suggesting a model with all the scenes in a horizontal format. The cycle includes the episode of George rescuing the princess from the dragon. Although it was eventually to replace the standing figure of the armed saint in the center of many an icon, in Byzantine art of this period the episode is still generally treated as a separate composition, not part of an extended narrative cycle.

The Georgian origin of the donor, the priest-monk John the Iberian, has led Efthalia Constantinides to propose that the icon was made for a chapel of Saint George "of the Georgians" at Sinai, no longer extant but attested in manuscript sources.[2] Despite its thoroughly traditional Byzantine presentation, details in this icon do have specific parallels in Georgian works of the eleventh through the early thirteenth century. The large oval shield, pointing to the left instead of, as is customary, to the right, is seen on eleventh-century Georgian metal relief icons of the saint and on frescoes of about 1200.[3] So too the ciborium-like structure with its spiral columns, rising behind the seated ruler.[4] There are many Georgian fresco cycles devoted to the saint, and silver-gilt crosses were adorned with George scenes; furthermore, the scene of Saint George with both dragon and princess, which appears on the Sinai icon, was particularly popular in Georgia, where it was incorporated into painted cycles at an early date.[5] Georgian monks were resident on Mount Sinai from at least the eleventh century, and this icon may well have been made for members of that community, despite the Greek, not Georgian, language of its captions.

No written sources refer to such vita icons, and their precise liturgical or devotional function remains unclear. They possi-

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References: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 167, vol. 2, pp. 149–51; Mark-Weiner 1977, pp. 32–33, 77–78, no. 81, pl. 48; Weitzmann 1978, p. 11, pl. 34; Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1979, pp. 100–101, fig. 5; Weitzmann 1984, p. 157, fig. 19; Weitzmann 1986, pp. 98–99; N. Ševčenko 1993–94, p. 157, fig. 2; Mouriki 1994a, no. 7; Maguire 1996, pp. 188–92, fig. 163; E. Constantinides 1997 (with 20 figs.); N. Ševčenko 1999, p. 151, fig. 2; Freising 2001, pp. 51–52, fig. 12; Walter 2003, p. 137.

bly originated in the eastern Mediterranean as a means of narrating a holy story in a region where diverse cultures were venerating the same saints but in different languages and literary traditions. The form was to have a long and illustrious future in both the Greek and Slavic worlds (see cats. 197, 198, 201) and in the Latin West (see cat. 296).[6]

The reverse of this icon is decorated with alternate bands of red and black wavy brushstrokes. NPŠ

1. Similar breastplates are worn by Theodore and Demetrios on a Sinai icon and by Theodore on an icon on Patmos (both early thirteenth century); see Manafis 1990, p. 169, fig. 40; New York 1997, no. 76.
2. E. Constantinides 1997, p. 99.
3. Weitzmann et al. 1982, fig. p. 100; Privalova 1980, pl. 50; Eastmond 1998, fig. 76 (Betania).
4. See a silver altar cross at Mestia: Mark-Weiner 1977, no. 108, pls. 55–58; Beriże et al. 1983, fig. 200.
5. Walter 2003, pp. 140–42.
6. N. Ševčenko 1999.

228, reverse

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229. Icon with Saint Sergios on Horseback, with Kneeling Female Donor

Crusader, Saint-Jean d'Acre, ca. 1260s
Tempera and gold on wood armature with linen and gesso foundation
28.7 x 23.2 cm (11¼ x 9⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: Below the banner, Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC (Saint); above the shield: CÉPΓΙΟC (Sergios)
CONDITION: On the obverse, the panel is in good condition overall, but a serious split on the right side has caused some paint to flake off and expose the linen. The right side has been repainted, as has an area of flaking paint below the quiver. There are serious losses to the vine-scroll decoration on the border along the bottom, and partial losses along the two vertical sides and the top. On the reverse, two major splits move diagonally from the upper left of the panel. Linen from the obverse has been pulled over the top and extends approximately 2 cm (¾ in.) down from the top. One white sticker bears the designation "S/187," and another "A. [over] 86."
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The youthful, beardless Saint Sergios is shown seated on his Western saddle, holding a Crusader banner and the reins of his horse. Galloping to the right, the horse is momentarily frozen in place as a kneeling female figure, perhaps a widow or mother, reverences the saint's foot.[1] Sergios's round shield is visible behind him, as in other similar icons; his armament—a composite bow in a black case and six arrows, tips up, in an elegant box quiver—is comparable to the one he displays in another icon at Saint Catherine's (cat. 230). The diadem inside his halo, the full-body mail armor over a long blue tunic, and the red leggings with red shoes are all typically found on other Crusader icons portraying mounted military saints.

The imagery suggests that Sergios is represented here as a Crusader turcopole, one of the lightly armed cavalrymen originally recruited from the native population and by this time regularly serving in the Crusader military orders.

The icon's Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, marked by clarity and linear precision, associates it with an atelier in Acre recently characterized as the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints."[2] Two closely related examples appear in this exhibition: the two saints depicted on the exterior of the Acre Triptych (cat. 216) and the icon of Saints Sergios and Bakchos (cat. 230). As the major military center for the Crusaders, Acre is the likely place for the execution of this work, even though Sergios is most closely connected with Sergiopolis (al-Ruṣāfah) in Syria, a former Byzantine city in the hands of the Muslims at this point in the thirteenth century. The icon may have been a pilgrim's gift to Sinai. JF

1. Hunt 1991, pp. 99–104.
2. Folda 2004.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 187, vol. 2, p. 171; Weitzmann 1966, pp. 71, 72, fig. 49; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 345, 346, 435; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 206, 232; Hunt 1991, pp. 99–104; Onasch and Schnieper 1997, p. 73.

230. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and Saints Sergios and Bakchos

Crusader, Saint-Jean d'Acre, ca. 1280s
Tempera, gold, and silver on wood armature with linen and gesso foundation
94.2 x 62.8 cm (37⅛ x 24¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, above the head of the Virgin, $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$ (Mother of God); above the head of Christ, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ); on the reverse, at the left, Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC CÉPΓΙΟC (Sergios), at the right, Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC BÁKXOC (Bakchos)
CONDITION: On the obverse, the surface is seriously degraded, and the paint heavily flaked. Some gouging on the paint surface exposes the linen ground. Parts of the surface have a thick paint overlay of a dirty ocher-brown color, apparently the product of a recent attempt at repainting. On the reverse, large areas of flaked paint appear on the orange-colored frame, especially at the top and bottom. A large crack visible down the center of the panel has damaged the shoulder, arm, and leg of Sergios.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

On the obverse of this double-sided icon, the bust-length Virgin is shown wearing a

230, obverse

230, reverse

maroon maphorion bordered in gold and adorned with distinctive golden stars and white highlights, along with a medium dark blue coif and tunic. She gestures toward the full-length Christ Child, dressed in a golden garment and sandals, who blesses and holds a scroll. Both figures have pearl-decorated halos. It is an image of the Virgin Hodegetria Aristerokratousa, now heavily damaged, painted in an exquisite Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.

Against a gold ground on the reverse, the youthful, beardless figures of Saints Sergios and Bakchos ride, on white and palomino horses respectively, across a bluish green groundline. Each has an elaborate diadem but no halo and wears chain-mail body armor over a tunic as well as a maniakion around his neck.[1] Pearls decorate the spurs and cuffs of the elegant costumes and the tack of the horses.

Seated on a Western saddle, Sergios holds a Crusader banner and the reins of his horse, as his red chlamys billows out behind him. Bakchos carries a red spear, Sergios a composite bow in a red case behind the cross on his saddle. Sergios's eleven arrows, painted meticulously with four different tips, are placed tips up in an inlaid box-quiver comparable to that seen in the previous entry (cat. 229).

Apparently one of the finest extant productions of the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints" in Acre,[2] this icon features the flat, elegant linearism and extraordinary polished finish characteristic of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. A telling detail, the double four-pointed star on the Virgin's proper right shoulder, is very similar to one found on the cuff of the Virgin Kykkotissa (cat. 214). Although no donor is shown with Saints Sergios and Bakchos, their pairing here as Crusader turcopoles (cavalrymen) suggests that their image may have been combined with that of the Virgin Hodegetria to create a large liturgical icon for a member of one of the military orders. JF

1. Walter 2003, pp. 153–54. The maniakion is a torque made of precious metal, here decorated with pearls. In Byzantine art, it is often worn by members of the imperial bodyguard.
2. Folda 2004.

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, figs. 185–186, vol. 2, pp. 170–71; Weitzmann 1984, pp. 148–49; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 67–71; Mouriki 1990, pp. 119, 192; Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 252–54; Walter 2003.

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231. Icon with Saints George Diasorites and Theodore Stratelates on Horseback, with the Donor George Parisis

Crusader, Saint-Jean d'Acre or the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, ca. 1260s (?)
Tempera and gold on wood armature with linen and gesso foundation
32.5 x 22.2 cm (12¾ x 8¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: Above the figure at the left, Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΓΕΏΡΓΙΟC/Ὁ ΔΙΑCΩΡΙΤΗC (Saint George Diasorites); above the figure at the right, Ὁ ΑΓΙΟC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC/Ὁ CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗC (Saint Theodore Stratelates); to the right of the kneeling figure, ΔΕ[ΗCΙC] ΤΌΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ[ΕΟ]Υ ΓΕΏΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΙCΙ[ΟΥ] (Pray for the servant of God, George Parisis)
CONDITION: The main image is in good condition, with some damage to the face and body of George (repainted) and other small flakes. Major paint losses on the upper left and lower right two-thirds of the frame expose bare wood, which is marked by small splits. The icon is covered with an extremely heavy coat of varnish. The wood is exposed on the reverse. A number, "101360," is painted in large black letters, and a white sticker bears the designation "3/761." Part of the hanger metal protrudes at the top center.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

On a gold ground Saint George, youthful and beardless, and Saint Theodore Stratelates, with a two-pointed beard,[1] ride on their prancing steeds above a diminutive male pilgrim identified as George Parisis.[2] Dressed in a brown robe, the pilgrim kneels and gestures as he looks up toward his patron saint. Saint George gazes out at the viewer and is seated on an elegant Western saddle that holds a staff with a small white Crusader banner. He wears a diadem inside his halo, a long dark blue tunic under his cuirass, dark red leggings, and black buskins; a bright red chlamys covers the right side of his body and unfurls dramatically behind him in a flamelike design. Saint Theodore is similarly outfitted, but he wears a long bright red tunic under his cuirass. The dark blue cloak flying up behind him forms the background to his head and halo as he looks toward Saint George. Neither saint carries weapons, for they are represented here as on parade. Their handsome horses, white and palomino, have elegant red or black tack with pearl-encrusted bridles and stirrups, as well as unusual two-tone red and black tassles decorating their forelocks.

Although the main cult site for Saint George in the Latin Kingdom was at Lydda, the eponymous epithet "Diasorites" is not known otherwise from the Crusader East.[3] Furthermore, this icon is very different in style from the mid-thirteenth-century example now in the British Museum, London, that is attributed to Lydda.[4] The lower image on the Freiburg Leaf, dated much earlier (ca. 1200) and probably executed by a German pilgrim in the Latin East, represents the same two saints and attests to their popularity.[5] This icon may have been done at Acre, in the region of Tripoli, or even at Sinai for the patron, George of the Parisi family.[6] A Franco-Byzantine Crusader style is evident in the strong Byzantine features of the saints' faces and the elegant chrysography on their cloaks and garments. JF

1. Walter 2003, pp. 65, 123, 127.
2. Although many scholars have identified the patron as "George from Paris," the name is more likely to be "George Parisis." Parisis is a surname that was known in medieval and post-medieval times. I owe thanks to my colleagues Demetrios Tsamis of the University of Thessalonike and Angela Hero for their assistance with this problem.
3. See Gerstel 2001, p. 284, no. 31. My warm thanks to Dr. Gerstel for identifying this unusual epithet and for the following reference on its eponymous character: G. Demetrokalles, "Ho naos tou Agiou Georgiou tou Diasoritou tes Tragaias Naxou," *Technika Chronika* 217 (August 1962), p. 17.
4. Cormack and Mihalarias 1984; New York 1997, p. 395.
5. Weitzmann 1975, p. 68; see also Folda 2003.
6. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 204, 220, attributes the icon to Sinai. Hunt 2000, p. 18, suggests that the artist was a Syrian Melchite working near Tripoli.

REFERENCES: Weitzmann 1966, pp. 79, 80; Weitzmann 1975, p. 68; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 353, 354; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 204, 220; Cormack and Mihalarias 1984, p. 134; Hunt 1991, pp. 106–9; Hunt 2000, pp. 17–18; Gerstel 2001.

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catalogue 231, and both have halos. Despite the prancing gait of the horses, they float above the naturalistic groundline, which is articulated and uneven; there are curiously abstract trees decorated with a three-dot design under the horse at the left.

The artist appears to work in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style similar to that found in the inner wings of the Acre Triptych (cat. 216). Robin Cormack proposes that he is the same artist as the one who made the Saint George icon in the British Museum.[2] The rolling eyes and stocky proportions of his figures and the painterly nature of his work are all noteworthy. Despite the cramped composition, the artist makes an ambitious attempt to represent the horses' circular movement in space. The horses and Theodore are more successfully rendered than Demetrios, whose head appears above the back of his torso in a thoroughly impossible position.

JF

1. In Byzantine art, this Saint Theodore (Stratelates, or the General) is usually paired with Saint Theodore Teron (the Recruit) or Saint George; Saint Demetrios, patron saint of Thessalonike, is usually paired with Saint George. See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 1, p. 606, vol. 3, p. 2047. See also Walter 2003, pp. 67ff., 109ff.
2. Cormack and Mihalarias 1984, p. 133, wonder if the Saint George icon was done at Lydda. But even if the present work was made by the same hand, it seems still more likely that it was executed in Acre.

REFERENCES: Weitzmann 1963b, p. 195, fig. 19; Weitzmann 1982, p. 307; Cormack and Mihalarias 1984.

232. Icon with Saints Theodore and Demetrios on Horseback

Crusader, Saint-Jean d'Acre, ca. 1250s
Tempera and gold on wood armature with linen and gesso foundation
23.8 x 16.1 cm (9⅜ x 6⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse (both fragmentary), on either side of the figure at the left, [Ὁ ΑΓ]ΙΟC [ΘΕΟ][ΔΩΡΟC] (Saint Theodore); on either side of the figure at the right, [Ὁ Α]ΓΙΟC ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΟC (Saint Demetrios). On the reverse, on either side of cross, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ)
CONDITION: On the obverse, the frame is heavily damaged with virtually all the paint flaked away and the wood exposed, revealing two small splits. The flaking intrudes on the central image along the top and bottom, and the paint surface is damaged by abrasion and some small flaking in various places. On the reverse, the wood is exposed, with a large patriarchal cross painted in red, flanked by the inscription. There is a white sticker with the designation "3/506." Metal from the hanger assembly protrudes at the top of the back at the center.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Saint Theodore, with a forked beard, rides forward behind the youthful, beardless Saint Demetrios in a somewhat unusual pairing.[1] Each soldier holds a staff, both of which probably once had Crusader banners such as those see on the icon in the previous entry (cat. 231). Each wears a chlamys and Byzantine-style armor and is mounted on a sturdy horse with red tack. Theodore is bare-legged, but Demetrios wears a Western-style long blue tunic. That neither soldier is armed or wears a diadem is unusual compared with the imagery in other icons with military saints (see cats. 229–231). Their hairstyles are, however, comparable to those of the figures in

232, reverse

233. Icon with Saints

Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 12th century, probably before 1187
Tempera on wood
33.3 x 23.7 cm. (13⅛ x 9⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: S̄ PAV/LVS (Saint Paul); S̄ IAC[OBVS]/M[AGN]VS (Saint James the Great); S̄ CTE/(P)HAN(V)S (Saint Stephen); from left to right, bottom register, S̄ LORENS (Saint Lawrence); S̄ MAR/TINOS (Saint Martin); S̄ LEO/NARDVS (Saint Leonard)
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The Latin inscriptions, the peculiar arrangement of the figures, and the appearance of Western saints easily betray this icon as the product of a Western artist, although the grouping of saints in this two-tier arrangement is as unexpected in Western medieval art as it is in Byzantium. At the top is Saint Paul, more often found at the side of Jesus, but who here stands to the right of the central figure of the apostle Saint James the Great. Equally unexpected is the placement of Saint Stephen opposite Paul, who is more commonly paired with Peter. Only in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem could such a grouping make sense. Both James and Stephen were martyred in Jerusalem, where Paul, prior to his conversion, was complicit in Stephen's death. James the Great, the icon's primary figure, was considered the first bishop of Jerusalem, and the city's patriarchs derived their spiritual authority from him by descent.

Because the Western saints depicted in the lower row—Martin of Tours, Lawrence, and Leonard of Noblat—enjoyed widespread popularity, they offer few clues in localizing the artist who painted the icon. Focusing rather on details of costume and proportion, Kurt Weitzmann tentatively postulated an origin in southern Italy, perhaps Calabria, at the end of the twelfth century. Subsequently, Jaroslav Folda rightly stressed the surety of a Frankish patron, which can be inferred from the appearance of Saint Leonard of Noblat. As patron of prisoners, Saint Leonard's importance to Crusaders is emphasized here by the manicles that hang from his left hand. Often repeated in Crusader literature was the declaration of Bohemond I (ca. 1058–1111), prince of Antioch, that his liberation in 1103 was due to the intervention of Saint Leonard.[1] The figure of Saint Martin of Tours may also be important, if inadequately understood, in the context of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Two tantalizing hints may be mentioned. The first is the unexpected notation of Saint Martin's feast in letters of gold in the calendar of the Psalter of Queen Melisende, perhaps an indication of the devotion to that saint of her husband, Fulk of Anjou (1092–1143), Latin king of Jerusalem.[2] The second is the decision of Richard Lionheart, in 1190, to go on pilgrimage to Tours prior to setting out on the Third Crusade.[3] The appearance of Saint Martin as an iconic image, vested with miter and crozier, directly under the figure of Saint James, visually implies a parallel between the power and authority of the first bishop of Jerusalem and that of the founder of French monasticism, an association likely to have been made only by a Frankish patron. When the icon reached Sinai is unknown; in any case, it was painted before Crusader icons began to be produced expressly for Saint Catherine's in the thirteenth century. BDB

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1. Paris 1993b, p. 156.
2. Folda 1995a, pp. 154–55.
3. "Diocese of Tours," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/15002a.htm.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 202, vol. 2, pp. 182–84; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 328–30; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 202, 209; Folda 1995a, pp. 461–63, pl. 10.19, colorpl. 41.

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234. Icon with Saint Symeon Theodochos

Byzantine, late 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
24 x 16.5 cm (9½ x 6½ in.)
INSCRIBED: Beside the head of the saint, Ο Α(ΓΙΟC) CVME/ΩN ΘΕΟΔΌΧΟC (Saint Symeon Theodochos); over the head of the Christ Child, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ)
CONDITION: The icon is cracked in several places. There is extensive loss of paint and gilding. The face of the Christ Child is particularly abraded, perhaps through kissing in veneration.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This icon details an event in the life of Christ that is commemorated as one of the twelve Great Feasts of the Orthodox Church, the Hypapante (meeting), known in the West as the Presentation in the Temple. It occurred at the time of Mary's purification, forty days after giving birth. She and Joseph took the Christ Child to the Temple and presented him to the aged priest Symeon (Luke 2:22–38). In the Orthodox rite, Symeon is the more important figure in the event.[1] Early Byzantine depictions tend to show the Child in his mother's arms, while in post-Iconoclastic representations he is often held by Symeon (see cats. 129, 220, 227). Maguire showed that the issues of the Iconoclastic controversy were an important influence on the transformation of the image and linked the change to the writings of George of Nikomedeia (late ninth century), in which the Presentation, as a representation of the incarnation of Christ, is considered proof for the validity of icons. In George of Nikomedeia's writings, the Presentation is also a foretelling of Christ's Passion.[2]

In a variant on the Presentation narrative, this icon focuses on Symeon's role as the Theodochos, the one who receives God. The monumental size and the white hair of the aged Symeon are deliberately contrasted with the small size and youth of the infant Christ, perhaps to emphasize their respective roles as the last of the Old Testament Marian prophets and the central figure of the New Testament.[3] The nimbed halo of the Christ Child, his pose, and his bare legs would have been readily recognized by an Orthodox viewer of the period as symbols of his future sacrifice.[4] The Sotirious dated the icon to the late thirteenth century, which seems appropriate, as the intimacy of the earlier images of Symeon and the Christ Child is no longer present.[5] Derbes has identified it as a twelfth-century work.[6] HCE

1. "Hypapante," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 961–62.
2. Maguire 1980–81, pp. 266–69.
3. Carr 1993–94 stresses these differing roles of Symeon and Christ.
4. Corrie 1996a, pp. 45–49, with related bibliography on the role of the bare legs as references to the Passion of Christ.
5. Sotiriou 1956–58, no. 178, pp. 164–65, fig. 175; Maguire 1980–81, p. 263.
6. Derbes 1989, p. 192, fig. 3.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1956–58, no. 178, pp. 164–65, fig. 175; Derbes 1989.

235. Iconostasis Beam/Altarpiece with Pointed Arches

Crusader, Saint-Jean d'Acre or the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, ca. 1280s
Tempera and gold on wooden armature with linen and gesso foundation
43.3 x 168.5 x 6.4 cm (17 x 66⅜ x 2½ in.)
INSCRIBED: From left to right, Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΓΕΏΡΓΙΟC (Saint George), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΛΟΥΚΆC (Saint Luke), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC Ἰω (Saint John), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΠΕΤΡΟC (Saint Peter), ΜΡ ΘΥ (The Virgin Mary), ΙC ΧC (Jesus Christ), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC Ἰω Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΠΡΌΔΡΟΜΟC (Saint John the Forerunner), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΠΑΎΛΟC (Saint Paul), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΜΑΤΘΈΟC (Saint Matthew), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΜΆΡΚΟC (Saint Mark), Ὁ ἍΓΙΟC ΠΡΟΚΌΠΙΟC (Saint Prokopios); written above the image of Christ, FRA LUDOV[ico] di LUXINA (?) FUIT HIC 1530
CONDITION: The iconostasis panel was cut on the diagonal at each upper end, presumably to accommodate placement in a small chapel. The main panel is surrounded by an inner molding (1.8 cm [¾ in.]) and an outer frame (1.5 cm [⅝ in.]). Dark red overpaint appears along the diagonals at each end of the beam. There are serious paint losses along the top and bottom of the outer frame. Serious flaking on the gold ground occurs along the lower surfaces of the arches and in the spandrels of the arches above arches 1 and 2, 4 and 5, and 8 through 11 (reading from left to right). The thick gold ground has a

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craquelure effect over the surface, as well as some discoloration along the inner surfaces of the arches. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

That a Deesis group—Christ with the interceding Virgin and Saint John the Baptist—should constitute the central part of this iconostasis beam is traditional; however, the Gothic-arch arcade of holy figures is unusual, as is the remarkable short length of the beam. From the usual Byzantine imagery of the disciples, six are selected here, Saints Peter and Paul and the Four Evangelists, and are joined by the Byzantine military saints George and Prokopios. These holy figures are generally depicted according to the standard Byzantine iconography, and some, such as Saint Peter, are based on icons at Sinai. However, at least one, Saint John, with his black hair and beard, follows a Western type. Christ, who looks directly at the viewer, is the only fully frontal figure. Most of the flanking figures, all in three-quarter-profile pose, look toward Jesus, but Saints Luke and Mark also look straight at the viewer.

Among the extant iconostasis beams from Sinai, this one is unique not only in its choice of holy figures but also in their representation as bust-length figures placed in a Gothic pointed-arch arcade and in the coloration of their garments. Despite the figures' adherence to the Italo-Byzantine aspect of the Crusader style, the palette of red, deep red-maroon, bright medium blue, pink, and pastels endows them with a stunning Gothic-influenced byzantinizing quality. Originally rectangular, this beam was apparently cut down later in order to adapt a standard-type iconostasis beam for the decoration of a Western chapel, possibly the Latin chapel of Saint Catherine of the Franks at Sinai.[1]

The formal characteristics of the figures on this beam identify the artist as one of

235, detail of Deesis group

the highest quality working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. He clearly ranks with the painters of the double-sided icon (cat. 223) and the Prokopios Diptych (cat. 214) in his command of figure design and in his elegant use of white highlights. While he apparently belonged to the same workshop as those artists, it is unlikely that he made either of those works. The shallow plasticity of the faces, with their mostly flat brows, and the varied ear types are significant differences with the figures on the icon or diptych. The French Gothic coloration also suggests a very different patron. JF

1. Weitzmann 1984, p. 159; Weitzmann 1986, p. 82. See also Zeitler 2000, pp. 223–37, who raises important questions about this chapel.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, figs. 117–124, vol. 2, pp. 112–14; Weitzmann 1967, p. 16, fig. 7; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 205–6, 229–31; O. Demus 1984, p. 136, fig. 11; Weitzmann 1984b, pp. 158–59; Weitzmann 1986, p. 82; Zeitler 2000.

236. Icon with Moses

Sinai (?), third quarter of the 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
34 x 24 cm (13⅜ x 9⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: In red majuscules, ο προ(φήτη)ς Μωυσης (The prophet Moses); on the scroll, in red majuscules, ειπεν ο κ(ύριο)ς προς . . . (The Lord said to [Moses])
CONDITION: The condition is very good.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

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236, reverse

The image of Moses on this icon is unusual. He is neither the beardless youth preferred in Middle Byzantine art nor the venerable elder favored in the West. This conception of a worried, middle-aged Moses with disheveled hair and sunken cheeks is found in various works of the thirteenth century from the eastern Mediterranean,[1] while the particular stylistic features of this image, among them the oval cheekbones, closely spaced eyes and amorphous hands, and the drapery folds falling from the neck in sharp vertical pleats, find their closest analogies in a small group of Sinai icons that have been attributed, on the basis of their similiarity to two panels in the Museo Civico Correr in Venice, to a Venetian atelier working on Sinai in the latter part of the thirteenth century.[2] The rarity of the icon type—a bust of Moses without accompanying figures or narrative context—supports the hypothesis that this icon was made for, or even on, Sinai, where Moses had been highly venerated for centuries.[3] With his frontal pose and full head of brown hair, Moses here is being deliberately assimilated to a Christ Pantokrator (see cat. 217).

Moses holds a scroll on which is written a phrase associated in Exodus (for example, 3:7) with several moments in his life, not solely with the command to ascend Mount Sinai. In this abbreviated form, it stresses the unmediated nature of Moses's conversations with God.

On the reverse of the panel is a double-barred cross in red-brown paint that is flanked by an acrostic: ΙΣ ΧΣ ΥΣ ΘΥ = Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς ὑ(ιὸ)ς Θ(εο)ῦ (Jesus Christ son of God). There are also various catalogue numbers (824/105, S 105, S 3/743) written or pasted on the board. NPŠ

1. Compare the Moses on this icon to that on the thirteenth-century Crucifixion triptych on Sinai, in Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 193. Weitzmann attributes the type to French artists active in Acre.
2. O. Demus 1984b. The group includes an iconostasis beam and an icon of Saint Antipas, both dated ca. 1270:

Weitzmann et al. 1982, pls. pp. 229–31; Weitzmann 1984, pp. 158–59, figs. 22a–b; Weitzmann 1978, pl. 39.

3. For the special liturgical celebrations of Moses on Sinai in the early thirteenth century, see Dmitrievskij 1895–1917 (rpt.), vol. 3, pp. 409–10.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 195, vol. 2, p. 178; Weitzmann 1963b, p. 198; Weitzmann 1978, pp. 110–11, pl. 36.

237. Icon with Saints Peter and Paul

Sinai, mid-14th century
Tempera on wood
25 x 20.8 cm (9⅞ x 8¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: Flanking the left figure, Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟC)/ ΠΕΤΡΟC (Saint Peter); flanking the right figure, Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟC) ΠΑΥΛΟC (Saint Paul)
CONDITION: The panel has been damaged in places, with partial loss of the paint surface.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

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The two principal apostles are portrayed full length on a green ground and turned three-quarters toward each other; this conversational pose is emphasized by their eye contact. The most brilliant feature of the representation is Peter's colorful orange himation, while Paul's dark clothes are enlivened by the closed red Gospel that he holds in both hands.

The icon's composition and dimensions recall those of illustrations in Palaiologan manuscripts. Striking iconographic similarities to the miniature painting of the apostles Jude and Paul exist in a codex of the Praxapostolos in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1208, ca. 1300).[1] Stylistic differences are, however, equally apparent: the conventional handling of the drapery in the panel at Sinai and the absence of any organic connection between the fabric of the clothes and the limbs and the elongated proportions distinguish it from the manuscript, in which the figures are superbly modeled. The same iconography is repeated at a later date in the contrastingly robust and dynamic portrayals of Peter and Paul in the Church of Saint Andrew at Treska (1388/89),[2] while Peter's facial type is repeated in a half-length portrait of the saint at Sinai, dated toward the end of the fourteenth century.[3]

The two figures here are slender, with disproportionately small heads and eyes with small black pupils. The geometric drapery with comb-shaped white highlights and the pointed hems of the himation are typical of the period. Similar features can be found in mid-fourteenth-century works such as Gospel book no. 81 in Patmos (1334/45) (cat. 165)[4] and especially in Gospel book 152 in Sinai, executed for Isaac Palaiologos Asan in 1346 (cat. 204), and the miniatures in the Gospel Book of Romanos at Hilandar Monastery (1360, cod. 9).[5] These works reproduce, without notable creative inspiration, models established in masterpieces of Palaiologan art from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, including the mosaics and wall paintings of the Chora Monastery.[6]

The small size of the icon might indicate that it was intended for private devotion or for placement on a small proskynetarion (icon stand) on the feast day of the two saints. In addition, it accords with the suggestion, made in the context of other works, that portable icons and manuscript illustrations were executed by the same painters.[7] It should also be noted that most of the works from this period in the collection of Saint Catherine's have similar dimensions.[8]

AD

1. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, p. 197; Buchthal and Belting 1978, pl. 40.
2. Prolović 1997, pp. 186–87, figs. 94–95, pl. 1a.
3. Weitzmann 1983, fig. 41.
4. Doula Mouriki and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Illuminated Manuscripts," in Kominis 1988, figs. 41–42.
5. Bogdanović et al. 1978, fig. 80.
6. Underwood 1966–75, vol. 2, nos. 4, 5, 89, 96, vol. 3, nos. 230, 235; M. Chatzidakis 1974a, pp. 170–72.
7. Buchthal and Belting 1978, pp. 66–68.
8. Mouriki 1990, pp. 122–23.

REFERENCES: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 224, vol. 2, p. 197; Vokotopoulos 1995, no. 114.

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238. Icon with Saint Theodosia

Byzantine (Constantinople), first half of the 13th century
Tempera on wood
33.9 x 25.7 cm (13⅜ x 10⅛ in.)
Inscribed: Flanking the saint, Η ΑΓΙΑ/ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΑ (Saint Theodosia)
Condition: The panel is in good condition.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The half-portrait of this monastic saint and martyr has a wide integral frame. Theodosia holds a plain gold cross in her left hand and raises her right in a gesture of supplication. The oval face is dominated by the strong nose, the small fleshy mouth, and the large brown eyes, which gaze intently at the viewer.

The full modeling of the face and limbs distinguishes this Saint Theodosia from an important group of other fine early-thirteenth-century icons at Sinai, which have closer affiliations with late Komnenian painting.[1] With its flickering highlights, lively expression, and individualized character, this exceptional portrait most closely recalls the wall paintings at Mileševa (1222–28), executed by a leading contemporaneous metropolitan workshop.[2]

In spite of its vague historical origins,[3] the cult of Saint Theodosia achieved widespread popularity from the twelfth century onward, as is indicated by the enkomia in her honor and the reports of pilgrims to Constantinople who visited her miracle-working relics.[4] A Constantinopolitan nun, Theodosia was one of the heroes of the Iconoclast period and was credited with leading the stubborn resistance to the destruction of the icon of Christ on the Chalke Gate.[5] The wide circulation and enhancement of this story was probably responsible for her regular inclusion in representations of the Triumph of Orthodoxy.[6] In the famous icon in the British Museum (cat. 78), Theodosia and Empress Theodora, the only females depicted, represent the two main components in the victory of the Iconophiles: monasticism and imperial power.

Despite the fact that relatively few portraits of holy women survive from the Byzantine period, there are five icons of Saint Theodosia at Sinai.[7] Since no chapel of that name has been identified in the monastery or nearby,[8] the presence of these portraits must reflect the close relationship between the monastery and Constantinople, a center of Theodosia's cult.[9] At the same time, female monastic saints could be models not only for nuns but also for monks, as is suggested by the collections of lives of holy women that were aimed at both monasteries and convents.[10]

AD

1. Mouriki 1990, pp. 109–16, figs. 36, 37, 40, 49, 50; Mouriki 1991–92.
2. Đurić 1974b, figs. 17–21; Nagorni 1982; Đurić 1987b, *passim*.
3. Auzépy 1990; Kazhdan and Talbot 1991–92, pp. 392–95.
4. Mouriki 1994b, pp. 216–17; Talbot 2001, pp. 9–11; Majeska 2002; Talbot 2002, pp. 165–68.
5. C. Mango 1959, pp. 108–18.
6. Athens 2000–2001a, no. 32; Drandaki 2001.
7. Mouriki 1994b, *passim;* Galavaris 1993–94; for icons of Saint Theodosia elsewhere than Sinai, see Baltoyianni 2001.
8. For instance, the existence of a chapel of Saint Marina at Sinai explains the presence of several icons of the saint there; see Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973, pp. 8–9; Folda 1992, p. 117 n. 51.
9. Mouriki 1994b, p. 219.
10. One theory that cannot be excluded regards the five icons of the saint in Sinai as perhaps connected with one of the convents in the area (Mouriki 1994, p. 219). For the lives of holy women, see Rapp 1996.

References: Mouriki 1990, p. 111, fig. 39; Mouriki 1994b.

239. Icon with Saint John Klimax

Sinai (?), 15th century
Tempera on wood
23 x 19 cm (9⅛ x 7½ in.)
Inscribed: In red majuscules, Ο ἅγιος Ιω(άννης) ὁ τῆς κλίμακος (Saint John of the Ladder)
Condition: The condition is relatively good, despite diagonal slashes, some peeling paint, and two holes at the top center for hanging the icon from a wall.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This icon depicts one of the most venerated monastic authors in Byzantium, John Klimax (b. before 579–ca. 650) (John "of the ladder"), who lived as a hermit near the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai and eventually became its abbot. His famous *Heavenly Ladder* sought to address issues a monk would confront from the moment he parted from his family until he achieved the perfect monastic existence, a journey conceived as the ascent of a ladder of thirty

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rungs. Manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder* were frequently illustrated, above all with the image of monks eagerly ascending a ladder to the welcoming figure of Christ, or falling off, prey to demons.[1]

Though John himself is regularly included among the monastic saints depicted on icons, mosaics, and frescoes, a panel such as this containing the isolated bust of the saint is virtually unparalleled. He is presented here as a frail, narrow-shouldered monk with a pointed white beard, rather after the model of Saint Antony. His monastic garb, the koukoullion (hood) and the three-buttoned mandyas (cape), is given considerable importance. His face has a rather sallow greenish tone; his cheeks are slightly sunken, and there are thin white highlights under his eyes and alongside his nose, all features typical of fifteenth-century painting. The painting is modest, but effective, with its fine play of diagonals and its starkly reduced range of colors that serves to focus attention on the ascetic visage. The special importance of John to Sinai, and the rarity of this subject in icon painting, suggests that the icon was made for the monastery at Sinai, although whether it was actually painted there is not known. NPŠ

239, reverse

1. J. Martin 1954.

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 238, vol. 2, p. 208; Galey 1980, fig. 87.

240. Icon with the Archangel Gabriel

Byzantine (Constantinople or Sinai?), 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood panel with raised borders
105 x 75 cm (41⅜ x 29½ in.)
Inscribed: Ο ΑΡΧ(ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (The Archangel Gabriel)
Condition: The icon is in excellent condition; the orange border around the edge of the panel must be a later addition.
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

One of the masterpieces of Byzantine art, this icon shows the archangel Gabriel as a youth of extreme beauty. His graceful posture and harmonious gestures, along with the calmness of his face, are evocative of classical art. The figure wears a light green tunic and a himation covered with golden highlights. According to the eleventh-century writer Michael Psellos, a fillet such as that around the curly hair signifies the purity, chastity, and incorruptibility of the angels.[1] Gabriel's function as a messenger[2] is indicated by the walking staff he holds in his left hand, while he makes a gesture of adoration and supplication with his right hand.[3]

This icon is undoubtedly part of a larger group, probably forming a Deesis.[4] It was not unusual for angels to be part of Deesis ensembles; in a miniature in the Madrid manuscript of the *Chronicle of John Skylitzes,* for example, icons of Christ, the Theotokos, and two angels turning in supplication toward him are depicted on an epistyle of an unidentifiable structure.[5] The Sinai Gabriel would have been paired with an icon of the archangel Michael,[6] which is also located today in the bema of the basilica at the Monastery of Saint Catherine. Another, almost identical but very damaged icon of Gabriel has been published by Kurt Weitzmann.[7] The group was not necessarily created for the iconostasis of the monastery's basilica, since such icons would have been hung in the general area of the sanctuary as well.[8]

The dating of the icon is problematic. Although it displays characteristics of the Late Komnenian style, the naturalistic rendering of the draping in Gabriel's garments and the intense golden highlights in his himation point to a later date, probably the second half of the thirteenth century. It is very likely that the icon was painted in Sinai, but this cannot be confirmed. In any case, the high quality of the work indicates a greatly skilled and talented artist, trained in a major artistic center.

VNM

1. Snipes 1988, p. 200.
2. Gabriel announces the births of John the Baptist and Christ in Luke 1:11–13, 19, 26–38.

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240, reverse

References: Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 237, vol. 2, pp. 207–8; Walter 1968; Walter 1970a; Weitzmann 1986; Cutler 1987b; Snipes 1988; Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001.

241. Icon with Saint John the Forerunner (Baptist)

Attributed to Michael Damaskenos (active 1555–91)
Crete, second half of the 16th century
Tempera on wood
103 x 32 cm (40½ x 12⅝ in.)
Inscribed: On the scroll, METANO/EITE HΓΓI/KE ΓAP H/ BACIΛEI/A TΩN OY/PANΩN (Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven has come near [Matthew 3:2])
Provenance: Long the property of the Iráklion metochion of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.
Condition: Conservation of the panel was carried out by T. Moschos.
Church of Saint Matthew of Sinai, Iráklion, Crete

A winged Saint John the Baptist is portrayed full length, making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holding a staff and a neatly written scroll in his left. The presence of the wings is based on a long-standing Christian belief that likened the saint to an angel, or even stated that he was an angel of the Lord.[1] Indeed in the Gospels Christ identifies the Baptist with the angel described in Malachi's prophecy (Malachi 3:1, Mark 1:2–3).

The earliest winged portrayal of the Baptist, found in Arilje (1296),[2] is roughly contemporary with a similar representation on a now-lost painted wooden reliquary of the saint's arm that was housed before 1323 in the Church of Saint-Jean-le-Vieux in Perpignan.[3] In Crete wall paintings in the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin at Sklaverochori (ca. 1400)[4] depict the Baptist in the same manner, which became standard in post-Byzantine Cretan painting; fifteenth-century icons by Angelos Akotantos and Andreas Ritzos are typical examples.[5]

Though unsigned, this icon with its fine modeling, rich flesh tones, and painterly white highlights can be attributed with certainty to Michael Damaskenos. It has the same dimensions as the icon of Symeon Theodochos (cat. 242), which must originally have formed part of the same group, probably on a templon, but it follows the traditional Byzantine iconography more faithfully, without deviations or innovations. The adoption of various models and the use of differing styles in the same composition comes as no surprise, as they are among the most characteristic features of Damaskenos's work. Some of his best paintings exhibit these

3. This gesture seems to have multiple meanings; see Walter 1977, pp. 326–27, fig. 10.
4. For the Deesis, see Walter 1968; Walter 1970a; Cutler 1987b.
5. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, cod. vitr. 26-2, fol. 64v a; see A. Grabar and Manousakas 1979, no. 159, fig. 66; Cutler 1987b, pp. 148–50.
6. Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001, no. S62.
7. Weitzmann 1986, p. 87, fig. 19. According to the dimensions provided in Weitzmann's article (64.4 x 49.6 cm; see n. 47), the damaged Gabriel icon is considerably smaller. Weitzmann associated it with the icons of Peter and Paul preserved in the Chapel of the Holy Apostles, arguing that they were part of the same ensemble. The present icon might be a copy of this earlier (?) icon, as suggested by Yuri Piatnitsky in Saint Petersburg–London 2000–2001, no. S62.
8. A miniature in the twelfth-century Sinai. gr. 418, f. 269r attests to this practice. It shows two panel icons, one of Christ and one of the Theotokos turning toward him, hanging to the left and right of (or attached to) a ciborium; see J. Martin 1954, pl. 76, fig. 213; also Walter 1970a, p. 163, fig. 6, and Cutler 1987b, n. 33.

ΜΕΤΑΝΟ
ΕΙΤΕΝΗΜΙ
ΚΕΓΑΡΗ,
ΒΑCΙΛΑ
ΑΤΩΝΥ
ΡΑΝΩΝ

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ΚΑΙΤΑΙΣ
ΠΟCΙΝ
ΚΑΙΝΔΣ
ΓΙΝΟΜ
ΕΝΤΩ
ΙΗΛ

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qualities, for example, the Adoration of the Magi at Iráklion, in which a chorus of traditionally Byzantine angels appear side by side with the figures of the Magi and their retinue, which are directly taken from Italian Mannerism.[6] AD

1. Origen was the first to identify John the Baptist with an angel incarnated to serve God's plan for mankind. On this subject generally, see Katsiotē 1998, pp. 11–13 n. 6 (with further bibl.).
2. Here the Baptist holds his head on a dish; see Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben 1963–76, vol. 1, fig. 149. On the winged Baptist, see also Lafontaine-Dosogne 1983, pp. 7–8.
3. Paris 1992–93, no. 367.
4. Borboudakis 1991, pl. 205a.
5. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1983; M. Chatzidakis 1977a, pl. 210; Iráklion 1993, no. 203.
6. Iráklion 1993, pp. 451–53.

References: Athens 1985–86, no. 141; Florence 1986, no. 96; Athens–London 1987, no. 67; Baltimore 1988, no. 76; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1988, vol. 2, pp. 365–67, no. Γ^ 25; Manolis Borboudakis, "Icons from the Metochion of the Sinai Monastery in Heraklion, Crete," in Manafis 1990, p. 133, fig. 85; Iráklion 1993, p. 470, no. 113.

242. Icon with Saint Symeon Theodochos

Attributed to Michael Damaskenos (active 1555–91)
Crete, second half of the 16th century
Tempera on wood
100 x 32 cm (39⅜ x 12⅝ in.)
Inscribed: On the scroll, ΙΔΟΥ ΟΥΤΟC/ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΕΙC/ ΠΤΩCΙΝ/ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑCΤΑ/CΙΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ/ ΕΝ ΤΩ/ Ι(CΡΑ)ΗΛ (Behold, He is destined for the rising and the falling of many in Israel [Luke 2:34])
Provenance: Long the property of the Iráklion metochion of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.
Condition: Conservation of the panel was carried out by S. Baltoyannis and N. Kailas.
Church of Saint Matthew of Sinai, Iráklion, Crete

The full-length figure of Saint Symeon supports Christ Emmanuel on his left arm, while his right holds the Child's bare right sole and a neatly written scroll. The personalities of the two figures are well brought out by the artist: the contemplative, mature wisdom on the face of the elderly prophet and a seriousness that contrasts with the natural, childish features of the infant Christ. The limbs have been modeled in a free painterly style, with a profusion of flesh tones and white highlights that give an accurate rendering of the joints, muscles, and facial features. The sketched preliminary design and the small modifications made by the painter are clearly visible through Symeon's translucent light blue himation.[1]

In its iconography the portrayal reproduces the condensed, symbolic type of the Hypapante (Presentation of Christ in the Temple) found in the wall paintings of the Virgin at Araka (1192)[2] and at a hermitage on Taygetos (second half of the thirteenth century),[3] as well as on folio 114r of Gospel book 105 Petropolitanus (1265).[4] The type also appears in Crete, in the fine wall paintings of the Church of Saint Anthony at Vrontesi (late fourteenth century),[5] and less frequently in portable icons, for example at Sinai (late thirteenth century)[6] and in a fifteenth-century Cretan icon on Siphnos.[7] Common to all these, in spite of minor variations, are iconographic details hinting at the future Passion of Christ. This association of the Presentation with the Passion had a long tradition in Byzantine homilies and hymns, which influenced the iconography of the episode.[8]

This Saint Symeon belongs to an original composite group that includes the icon of Saint John the Forerunner (cat. no. 241). Though unsigned, both can be attributed with certainty to Michael Damaskenos, one of the most important Cretan painters of the second half of the sixteenth century.[9] In their own ways, Damaskenos, Georgios Klontzas (ca. 1540–1608), and the young Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco, 1541–1614), three artists from Candia active during the second half of the sixteenth century, all aimed at renewing the vocabulary of Cretan painting by introducing features drawn from contemporary Italian Mannerism.[10] Their creation of new iconographic types and reformulation of artistic values were achieved in a particularly fertile environment, when Crete, under Venetian occupation since 1211, underwent a period of socioeconomic development and a flourishing of art and literature.[11] AD

1. On similar Palaiologan and Cretan works with translucent garments, see Drandaki 2002, pp. 66–69.
2. Nicolaïdès 1996, pp. 79–83 (bibl.).
3. Drandakis 1994, pp. 86–87, pl. 44.13.
4. See Nicolaïdès 1996, fig. 66.
5. Kalokyris 1973, fig. 18; for the dating of the Vrontesi wall paintings, see Papamastorakēs 2001, pp. 150–51.
6. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 178, vol. 2, pp. 165–66.
7. N. Chatzidakis 2003, with other examples of icons and miniatures on the same subject.
8. Pallas 1965, pp. 174ff.; Maguire 1980–81; Baltoyianni 1993–94.
9. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1997.
10. It is no coincidence that Damaskenos, who passed part of his life in Sicily and Venice, possessed drawings by Parmigianino (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1994).
11. Maltezou 1988, pp. 139–47; Holton 1991; Benjamin Arbel, "Riflessioni sul ruolo di Creta nel commercio mediterraneo del cinquecento," in Ortalli 1998, pp. 245–59; Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "La pittura di icone a Creta Veneziana (secoli XV e XVI): Questioni di mecenatismo, iconografia e preferenze estetiche," in Ortalli 1998, pp. 459–507; Baroutsos 1999.

References: Athens 1985–86, no. 142; Florence 1986, no. 97; Athens–London 1987, no. 68; Baltimore 1988, no. 77; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1988, vol. 2, pp. 367–70, no. Γ.26; Manolis Borboudakis, "Icons from the Metochion of the Sinai Monastery in Heraklion, Crete," in Manafis 1990, p. 133, fig. 86; Iráklion 1993, pp. 468–69, no. 111.

Byzantium and the Islamic World, 1261–1557

SCOTT REDFORD

Both the written and the artistic records speak to the religious nature of the conflict between the Ottoman Turks and the Byzantine Greeks, a conflict that extinguished the last traces of the Eastern Roman Empire and centered a new, Islamic empire in its place. Because most chronicles were the product of court circles, they tend to reflect ruling ideologies. In addition, with most education in the hands of religious establishments, the views of the pulpit (Christian or Muslim) predominate. Finally, on the Ottoman side, these issues are compounded by the paucity of contemporaneous sources.

Sanctity, whether of portable objects or of buildings, has protected religious artifacts and churches from destruction. Add to this the common practice of passing the holiness of buildings and places from one culture or religion to another, and the result is that many surviving Byzantine buildings are or were churches converted to mosques. These churches and surviving pieces of church furniture and liturgical and devotional objects provide visual evidence for the words of chroniclers detailing a late-medieval world in which religion was paramount, with battles between Orthodox and Saracen, Muslim and kaffir.

The palaces, barracks, and other nonreligious buildings of the Byzantines are long ruined or destroyed, together with their furnishings, while the former Church of Hagia Sophia and other former Byzantine churches remain prominent landmarks in Istanbul. A similar situation applies in Thessalonike, Trabzon (Byzantine Trebizond), and other former Byzantine towns. The resultant scenario convinces with its power and simplicity: the rapid rise of the Ottoman Turkish state beginning in the late thirteenth century was due primarily to its proximity to Byzantium. Conflict was in the name of Islam versus Christianity.

Despite the kind and amount of surviving evidence, the battle of Christianity and Islam as the master narrative of Late Byzantine history does not in fact stand up to the most cursory of readings. Byzantium always possessed eastern and western frontiers, with the western one every bit as dangerous as that of the east. The time period of this exhibition begins with the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople from Latin Christians, whose conquest of the Byzantine capital and fifty-seven-year reign there (1204–61) beggared the empire. For the topic at hand, the rise of the Ottomans, the aftermath of the reconquest of Constantinople was, if anything, more devastating than the years of autarkic exile. The Byzantine historian Georgije Ostrogorski compared the Late Byzantine state to a person with a large head (Constantinople) supported by a spindly body. If we think of one leg of that body planted in Europe and one in Asia, then it is the rise of both the Orthodox Serbs in the Balkans and the Muslim Ottomans in Anatolia (part of modern Turkey) that contributed to Byzantium's demise.

More immediately germane to the Ottomans' swift ascent are two issues: the usurpation of the Byzantine throne by Michael VIII Palaiologos beginning in 1259 and the Latin Christian reaction to the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. The very real threat of a Latin Crusade to recover Constantinople focused Michael's attention westward, leading him to neglect the frontiers that the empire of Nicaea in the east had built up and maintained against the Seljuk Turks. And part of Michael's neglect of the eastern half of the newly reconstituted Byzantine Empire must have been intentional, since the Anatolian Byzantine aristocracy constituted the losing party in his power grab.

It is this Anatolian Byzantine elite—accustomed to prosperity under the empire of Nicaea but now disaffected, disenfranchised, unpaid, and unprotected—that formed natural allies for and prey of the founders of the Ottoman state. Many local Byzantine Greek aristocrats—landowners, governors, military men—joined the ranks of the Ottomans, either converting to Islam or keeping their faith. In this essay, it is this aristocratic element that I wish to focus on in advancing an argument for the expansion of the Ottoman state that is based on class allegiance as much as on expediency, religion, or other factors.[1]

Fig. 12.1. Detail of *The Byzantine Bride Sitt Hatun Carried by an Elephant*. Images from the wedding of Mehmed the Conqueror (fig. 12.8). Tempera on vellum, early 15th century. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Gr. 516, fol. 2v)

In order to understand the seemingly difficult leap from Byzantine to Ottoman allegiance, it is important to establish the baseline of a shared culture, an elite chivalric ethos common to Islam and Christianity in medieval Anatolia (as indeed elsewhere in the medieval eastern Mediterranean). This culture evolved during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Byzantine territories in Anatolia were overrun after the Battle of Mantzikert in 1071 and became home to Turkish Islamic states. The most prominent of these was the Seljuk state of Rūm (Rome, or Byzantium).

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed many wars between Christian and Muslim polities, including the Crusaders, whose armies marched through Anatolia on their way to the Levant several times during the twelfth century. The booty of battle was one way that luxury goods changed hands. Another was through Byzantine diplomacy—so misunderstood and reviled by the Crusaders, calling for war as a last resort—in which lavish gifts were used to seal alliances and mollify foes. Until the Crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Byzantine craftsmanship was unrivaled, and Byzantine goods had been much sought after by the Muslim Seljuks and other courts around the Mediterranean.

Fig. 12.2. Glass ewer with Christian scenes (cat. 258). Yellowish colorless glass with enamel, mid-13th century. Collection of Sheikh Rifaat Sheikh El-Ard, London. Photo: Paul Lachenauer, the Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Many Byzantine nobles served at the Rūm Seljuk court at Konya in central Anatolia or took refuge there (including Michael VIII Palaiologos himself), and Seljuk rulers, pretenders, and other members of the elite visited or took refuge in Constantinople, including three sultans. Turks and Greeks (along with Georgians, Armenians, Franks, and many others) served as mercenary or vassal contingents in each other's armies. There were even special troops composed of the offspring of mixed marriages, the Seljuk *iğdış* and the Byzantine *tourkopouloi*. In the mid-twelfth century, the Byzantine emperor John II or his successor, Manuel I, built an imitation Seljuk palace, complete with tiles and a stalactite muqarnas dome, on the grounds of the Imperial Palace in Constantinople. The Seljuks named their principal royal suburban palace and garden complex outside Konya after its Constantinopolitan counterpart, the Philopation.[2]

During this period, the rise of the Italian mercantile republics linked the economies of the Byzantine, Islamic, and Frankish states of the eastern Mediterranean as never before. Not limiting themselves to transporting others' goods, the Genoese and the Venetians established factories for the production of textiles, glass, leather goods, and ceramics. They catalyzed the creation of a common taste, in which the Atticisms of court art around the eastern and central Mediterranean were transformed into a popular koine and spread to these humbler media, creating an artistic lingua franca that spoke across confessional divides. The Dumbarton Oaks Amphora (cat. 244) is a prime example of this trade. Made in Port Saint Symeon (al-Mina), the port of Frankish Antioch (now Antakya), where the Genoese had a trading concession, it exhibits an ambivalence of imagery that is heraldic, astrological, and mythological at the same time, desirable and displayable in settings from the Crimea to Cairo, Jerusalem to Genoa. Another example can be cited (fig. 12.2): the fine enameled and gilded glass of Syria so prized in western Europe (and imitated in Venice). In Anatolia, important trade fairs centering on the celebrations of saints' days were revived in Trebizond and Chonai, both in Greek territory but both frequented by Italians and Turks and other Muslims. And Genoese and Venetian merchants resided in major Rūm Seljuk cities. Traveling through Islamic Anatolia in the early 1270s, Marco Polo reported that Greeks and Armenians in towns there were engaged in weaving silk and other fabrics; the Spanish Muslim traveler Ibn Sa'īd also reported Turkoman nomads in the Taurus Mountains weaving carpets not for their own use but for export. Greeks under Seljuk rule shared in the general prosperity of the thirteenth century, as a number of rock-cut churches built then in Cappadocia in central Anatolia attest.[3]

Emperor Michael VIII celebrated his return to Constantinople in 1261 with the last known Byzantine celebration of the imperial *adventus*, a ceremony of triumph inherited from the Roman Empire (see the essay by Alice-Mary Talbot in this publication). Less well known are the Rūm Seljuk ceremonies that closely paralleled the old Roman/Byzantine imperial practices of

Fig. 12.3. The Larende Gate of Konya, Turkey. Engraving, from Charles Texier, *Asie mineure: description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie* (Paris: Didot Frères, 1862). Reproduced with the permission of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

adventus and *largitio* (largesse). The Seljuks revived the art of figural stone carving, so it is not surprising that their craftsmen carved Islamic versions of the Roman winged female victory figures symbolizing triumph for a major city gate at the Seljuk capital at Konya, since city gates were the locus of many of these ceremonies (fig. 12.3).[4]

Rūm Seljuk Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubādh (r. 1219–37) also decorated the city walls of Konya with *spolia,* reused statuary and reliefs from the Roman Empire and earlier eras, duplicating Byzantine practice. But he placed his appropriation in an Islamic context, interspersing new and reused sculpture with quotations from the Qurʾan, traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, and the *Shāhnāma,* the Persian national epic. In addition, he also placed carved symbols of his power and authority, from large inscriptions bearing his title "al-Sultan" to what seems to have constituted his own personal insignia, the double-headed eagle (cat. 243). He was not the first Muslim sovereign to employ this symbol, but its association with his prosperous reign raised it above other symbols of medieval sovereignty present at the time and contributed to its popularity.

This mixture of symbols of faith and power typifies medieval Anatolia. Its variety can be best seen by comparing two sets of stone reliefs prominently displayed on two buildings in northeastern Anatolia not far from each other in either time or space. One is Christian: the Church of Hagia Sophia just west of Trebizond, the capital of the empire of Trebizond, which split from the Byzantine Empire after 1204 and outlived it by eight years (fig. 12.4). The other is Islamic: the madrasah (religious and legal school) in the Seljuk/Mongol city of Erzurum, a building known conventionally as the Çifte Minareli (Double Minaret; fig. 12.5). Both date from the middle of the thirteenth century, at or near the beginning of the time period of this exhibition.

The south porch of the Hagia Sophia displays a complex ensemble of reliefs and inlaid stone roundels. The most prominent part of the ensemble consists of a band of reliefs depicting the story of Adam and Eve, including writing in Greek identifying the scenes. However, this band is located within a larger frame, at the top of which hovers an eagle. Under the eagle are three roundels with inlaid stone decoration. One is now ruined. Another displays a crescent moon and a star, symbols commonly depicted on coinage and standards of the day. The third depicts addorsed birds flanking a vestigial tree of life. On the west porch of the same church, the Islamic sculptural technique of muqarnas is prominently displayed, along with carvings taken directly from an Eastern Islamic vocabulary of power: rosettes, bows and arrows, and the three dots that derive from the spots on a leopard's skin.

The authors of the major study of the Hagia Sophia separate the Christian subject matter (called "narrative," i.e., endowed with meaning) from the Seljuk (called "decorative," i.e., without meaning) displayed on the south porch. However, taken as a whole, as it was surely meant to be, the program on the south porch carefully combines Christian and non-Christian symbols of celestial power and cosmology. The more evident horizontal axis, depicting the story of Adam and Eve from Genesis, is balanced by a vertical axis formed by the eagle, doves (flanking a shrunken tree of life), and the two trees that constitute the center of the depiction of the Garden of Eden.[5]

The juxtaposition of religious and secular symbols found on the reliefs on the facade of the Çifte Minareli Madrasah is not as striking. Perhaps the very fact of their placement on a religious building sufficed. Reliefs to the right and left of the entrance portal depict a cosmic conceit different from Genesis. In the relief to the right of the entrance (the left one is similar but was left incomplete), dragons coil beneath a tree of life, on the trunk of which rises a crescent moon, a common medieval Islamic symbol of sovereignty. As on the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond, another such symbol surmounts or surveys the scene, but on the Çifte Minareli Madrasah the eagle has two heads, like the one in Konya (cat. 243).[6]

The conjoining of extrareligious symbols of sovereignty with a religious context continued with the Ottomans. Both

Fig. 12.4. General view of the south porch of the Church of Hagia Sophia, Trabzon, Turkey, ca. 1250–70. Photo: Sarah Brooks

Osman, the eponymous founder of the dynasty, and his son Orhan, who conquered Prousa (Bursa) from the Byzantines in 1326, were buried in Byzantine religious buildings in the citadel of that city—the legendary "Silver Dome" of a prominent religious structure called Manastır (The Monastery) in Ottoman sources and visible from outside the city. Although these tombs and subsidiary structures burned down and were rebuilt in the nineteenth century, we are assured from accounts by early modern travelers that their interiors prominently featured the Seljuk regalia that the Ottomans (possibly spuriously) claimed they had been given as provincial governors of the declining Seljuk state. The regalia that burned were a drum and worry beads; the Ottoman chronicles mention a diploma, robes, a flag, and a sword as having been granted the early Ottomans by the Seljuks on several occasions.[7]

Fig. 12.5. Tree of Life/Dragon/Eagle relief from the portal of the Çifte Minareli Madrasah, Erzurum, Turkey. Stone, mid-13th century. Photo: Walter Denny

Two points arise from this discussion. The first, as stated above, is the importance of a shared courtly or chivalric culture in medieval Anatolia that arose over two centuries of cohabitation and conflict between Greeks and Turks preceding the rise of the Ottomans. This culture's widespread use of nonreligious heraldic signs and symbols was most prominent in media that have largely disappeared, but it survives piecemeal on coins, architectural reliefs, and other displays of public art. The second point concerns the continuation of this culture by Ottoman tribal leaders, who had dubious connections with it but who understood the value of both the objects that symbolized legitimate rule and the ceremonies that surrounded them. In the fifteenth-century Ottoman chronicler Neşrî's account of the fall of Bursa, Köse Mihal, a Byzantine nobleman in Ottoman service, is granted a high-status *ṭirāz* robe after he converts to Islam. Similar gifts must have been bestowed on Byzantine noblemen who became Ottoman vassals, with or without converting.[8]

The rise of the Ottomans caused them to be sought as allies, particularly during the period of civil strife in Byzantium. The troops of Orhan (r. 1347–54) served side by side with Byzantines; Orhan parlayed his alliance into a diplomatic coup: he married the Byzantine princess Theodora in 1342. Byzantine rulers had married their illegitimate daughters to Muslims before, and Ottomans had married Byzantine women (Orhan had much earlier married the daughter of a Byzantine governor), but this

was the first time that a Byzantine royal princess had married a Muslim monarch.

During these late centuries, the diplomatic skills of Byzantium, which had long relied on a combination of art, money, and force, turned increasingly to a last resource, women. Anthony Bryer has called attention to what he characterized as "an imperial finishing school" for brides at the court in Constantinople. He quotes Theodora's father, John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54; writing about a time when Mongols, rather than Ottomans, were the principal object of Byzantine diplomacy):

> *Realising that they could not defeat the barbarians in battle, the emperors of the* Romaioi *escaped destruction by conciliating them with gifts and courtesies. They were made particularly tractable and friendly towards the* Romaioi *by being given brides from among the ladies of the imperial family. . . . So, maidens of exceptional beauty, not only of the aristocracy but also of lowly origin, were brought up in the imperial palace like the princesses and, as the need arose, were betrothed to the* satraps *of the Mongols.*[9]

Orhan's successor, Murad I (r. 1362–89), also married a Byzantine princess. Bryer notes the marriage of thirty-four, or possibly more, Byzantine, Trapezuntine, and Serbian princesses to various Muslim rulers between 1297 and 1461.[10]

To the ceremonies of vassalage mentioned above, we can also add marriage as a social ceremony for the exchange and consumption of luxury goods (including princesses, of course), and as a means of rapprochement between Byzantines and Ottomans. Bryer summarizes Kantakouzenos's description of the strange "marriage" ceremony (with neither bridegroom nor religious authorities of any kind present):

> *Kantakouzenos had ordered a* prokypsis *platform to be built of wood outside the town [Selymbria (Silivri), west of the capital]. Theodora mounted the* prokypsis. *Silk and cloth-of-gold curtains surrounded it. They were drawn to disclose the bride encircled by lights carried by kneeling eunuchs. Trumpets, flutes, and all manner of musical instruments were sounded. When they fell silent, encomia were recited in honour of the bride. Then Kantakouzenos held a feast for Greeks and Turks which lasted for several days.*[11]

Murad I made the Byzantines Ottoman vassals beginning in 1373. With Serbs, Albanians, and Bulgarians also becoming Ottoman vassals in the 1370s and 1380s, in the waning decades of the Byzantine state, Christians and Muslims fought side by side in Anatolia and in the Balkans in the service of the Ottomans. As Ottoman vassals, the Byzantines would have been presented with robes, swords, and other gifts symbolizing their relationship to the Ottomans.

While few if any of the objects of this period of intense contact survive, many wall paintings from the Balkans depict the result of these bonds of sovereignty (by marriage or vassalage) through bestowing of gifts. Many if not most depictions of kings, biblical or otherwise, on the walls of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Balkan churches show kings dressed in robes embellished with common Islamic symbols of power, especially the three dots we first encountered on the facade of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond. An early fourteenth-century wall painting of the family tree of the royal house of Serbia in the narthex of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchal Church at Peć depicts all of the rulers dressed in robes with three dots (fig. 12.6). A representation of King Marko of Serbia, vassal of the Ottomans after 1371, in Markov Monastery near Skopje, FYR–Macedonia, shows him wearing robes with three dots and an abstracted solar disk, both common Eastern Islamic (and Mongol) symbols of sovereignty (fig. 12.7). The fact that the Serbs were not vassals of the Ottomans when the royal family tree was painted about 1330 in the narthex of the Church of the Holy Apostles, Patriarchate of Peć, suggests that these robes had general connotations of sovereignty before they possessed any direct relationship with Ottoman sovereignty (or vassalage).[12]

Fig. 12.6. Serbian royal "family tree." Fresco, early 14th century. Narthex, Orthodox Patriarchal Church, Peć, Serbia and Montenegro

Fig. 12.7. King Marko "Kraljevic." Fresco, 1376–77. South facade, Saint Demetrios Church, Markov Monastery, Skopje, FYR–Macedonia. Photo: Bruce White

If written confirmation of the importance of this symbol is needed, a passage from the travel account of Ruy González de Clavijo, the ambassador of the king of Aragon and Castile to the court of the great foe (and vanquisher) of the Ottomans, Timur (Tamerlane), in Samarqand in 1404, provides it. There, he noted that: "[T]he special armorial bearing of Timur is the three circles set thus to shape a triangle. . . . This device Timur has ordered to be set on the coins that he has struck, and on all buildings that he has erected. . . ."[13] Since Timur married a Mongol princess and insisted on his own legitimacy in relation to the line of Genghis Khan, it is logical to assume that this device was, in origin, a Mongol one. This assumption is verified by a glance at Mongol coinage of both the Īlkhānid dynasty of Persia and the Golden Horde of Central Asia, where this symbol is prominently displayed. Since the early Ottomans legitimized themselves partially by the insignia of the Rūm Seljuk state, itself a Mongol vassal at the time of the rise of the Ottomans, it is not surprising to find the three dots displayed on early Ottoman coinage, which conforms to Īlkhānid Mongol standards of the time. The other widespread Turco-Mongol symbol of sovereignty, the bow, was used to form the stellate outlines inside which the names, titles, and genealogy of the early Ottomans are displayed on their coinage.[14]

The Byzantines had direct relations with both of the westernmost Mongol dynasties. The other Mongol dynasty, the Golden Horde, was key to the fortunes of the Mamlūk sultanate (1260–1517), the Kıpçak (Cuman) and later Circassian slave soldiers ruling in Egypt and Syria. In order to assure a steady supply of young "recruits" for its army, the Mamlūk

Fig. 12.8. *The Byzantine Bride Sitt Hatun Carried by an Elephant* and *Melik Arslan, Sitt Hatun's Brother.* Images from the wedding of Mehmed the Conqueror. Tempera on vellum, early 15th century. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Gr. 516, fols. 2v–3r)

state needed to secure safe passage through the Byzantine-controlled straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles for the Italian ships traveling to Alexandria, Egypt, from the slave markets of Kaffa and elsewhere in the Crimea. These young slave soldiers came from territories under the control of the Golden Horde.

As a result, Byzantine diplomacy tried to balance the conflicting interests of these rival states, especially the Īlkhānids and Mamlūks. Although this balancing act was not always successful, it led to a succession of embassies and treaties between the Mamlūks and the Byzantines. Alice-Mary Talbot's essay in this publication makes reference to one such embassy from the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I (r. 1260–77) at the beginning of the time period of this exhibition, but contacts continued. Antonio Pisanello's drawings of the penultimate Byzantine emperor, John VIII Palaiologos, show him decked out in equestrian finery calculated to impress the assembled multitude at the Council of Ferrara-Florence toward the union of Eastern and Western Churches, during its first phase in Ferrara, in 1438 (cat. 318). What struck Pisanello's eye was the *ṭirāz* band on the emperor's garments giving the names and titles of an early fifteenth-century Mamlūk sultan. The cloth had probably been a recent gift from the Mamlūk sultan Barsbay (r. 1422–38) just before the council. Pisanello's drawings illustrate his interest in other Islamic objects that were part of the emperor's ensemble, including a scabbard (called a scimitar by Pisanello), bow case, and quiver (cat. 318). All three are decorated with symbols of power from the Islamic East, but the bow and arrow themselves were the ultimate Turco-Mongol symbols of sovereignty. Indeed, there is evidence that Byzantine emperors had Ottoman caftans as part of their imperial wardrobes.[15]

As vassals of the Ottoman state, Byzantine and other Christian lords were invited to the nuptials of Prince Mehmed (himself the son of a Christian mother), which were held over several months late in 1449 in the Ottoman capital of Adrianople (Edirne). An early fifteenth-century Byzantine manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography* and Hero's *Pneumatica* has two images of the bride and her brother added as frontispieces, possibly prefatory to its presentation to the bridegroom, who knew Greek well (fig. 12.8). Even though bride and groom were both Muslim, these two images, made by a Byzantine artist, constitute the best evidence we have for this extraordinary period of over a century of vassalage and intermarriage that ended with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The bride, Sitt Hatun, was daughter of the Turkic ruler of the Ẓu'l Ḳâdiroğlu state in present-day southeastern Turkey. She is depicted seated on an elephant (real?), an animal traditionally reserved for royalty in the Eastern Islamic world. There, she balances serenely within a frame draped with white and gold cloth bearing a Palaiologan dynastic symbol. All in all, the frame and curtains are reminiscent of a portable version of the *prokypsis* described above. In a separate image, her brother Melik Arslan is depicted seated cross-legged and wearing a turban and a caftan. The caftan has a *ṭirāz* band on the upper sleeve, but its principal design consists of large double-headed eagles. The double-headed eagle had been adopted as a Byzantine imperial blazon after 1325, but, of course, we have seen it used by the Rūm Seljuks more than a century earlier. Melik Arslan delicately grasps an arrow, Turkic symbol of sovereignty but also of invitation, in his right hand. The artist surrounded his head with an elaborate version of the (by now) old Seljuk title "al-Sultan," possibly copied, in the fashion of Pisanello, from the *ṭirāz* band on his sleeve.[16]

Ceremonial robes from the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (the Conqueror; r. 1444–46, 1451–81) have survived; they bear the triangular three-dot motif as part of the *çintamani* pattern derived from tiger and leopard skins (fig. 12.9). Mehmed is the most famous product of the hybrid environment attendant on the rise of the Ottoman Empire, one that led the Rumanian historian Nicolae Iorga to call the Ottomans "Islamic neo-Byzantinists."[17] Mehmed had the lives of Hannibal, Caesar, and Alexander the Great read to him daily in Greek and Latin. After his troops conquered Constantinople on May 29, 1453, a scant three and a half years after his wedding, he made it his capital, turning the patriarchal Church of Hagia Sophia into the first Ottoman imperial mosque in the city (cat. 249). He donated his share of the booty from the fall of Constantinople to the upkeep of this

Fig. 12.9. Detail of a short-sleeved kaftan with a *çintamani* design traditionally associated with Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror. Late 15th century. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul (13/6). Photo: after Julian Raby and Alison Effeny, eds., *İpek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (London, 2001), pl. 66

building. Mehmed's major building project in Istanbul was his mosque complex, the Fatih Külliyesi, which, according to his historian Tursun Beg, he ordered to be constructed based on the design of the Hagia Sophia but in a fresh, new idiom. This consciousness of his relation to imperial Roman and Byzantine tradition caused Mehmed II to take, along with a host of Islamic titles, the titles "Ḳeyṣâ" (Caesar) and "Pâdişâh-i Rûm" (Sovereign of Byzantium). One of the major historians of his realm was a Byzantine nobleman, Kritoboulos, whose manuscript is on display in this exhibition (cat. 251). When Mehmed built the Topkapı Palace, he had erected on its grounds three pavilions, one in a Turkish style, one a Persian-Karamanid style, and one in a Greek (Byzantine) style. The three pavilions (alas, only the Persian one remains) seemed to represent ideas of imperial dominion.[18]

A host of pious stories surrounded the Hagia Sophia, giving it an Islamic pedigree. The Islamicization of the building did not, however, include changing its name, nor did it cause the mosaics to be covered: all mosaics above ground level seem to have remained on view until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Well over a century after the conquest of Constantinople, Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–74) ordered the total of minarets around this building to be increased from two to four, making it in number as well as in placement of minarets the likeness of his grand mosque in Edirne, the Selimiye. But it was the Ottoman regard for this building, and for the city, that caused Selim to have himself buried not in his extraordinary mosque in the former capital, but within the precinct of the Aya Sofya Camii, the Mosque of Hagia Sophia. This juxtaposition of Ottoman tomb and converted Byzantine church was also perhaps intended to evoke the Ottoman dynastic tombs that lay at the beginning of the dynasty, in Bursa, two and a half centuries previously.[19]

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243. Stone Carving with Double-Headed Eagle

Konya, early 13th century
Carved stone
120 x 98 x 25 cm (47¼ x 38½ x 10 in.)
PROVENANCE: Removed from the walls of the citadel of Konya, central Anatolia, in 1893.
CONDITION: The figure of the eagle is carved in high relief. Though abraded, the stone is in good enough condition to reveal the incised details on the bird's wings, heads, talons, and tail.
Ince Minareli Medrese Müzesi, Konya, Turkey (881)

The motif of the double-headed bird of prey—depicted frontally with open wings, fanned tail, prominent talons, symmetrical heads in profile, and pointed ears—is one of the most distinguishing features of Seljuk art in Anatolia. Its heraldic posture made it a favorite image on the outer walls and on the facades of palaces of the many city-fortresses of central and eastern Anatolia, from Konya (Ikonion) to Diyarbakır, from Divriği to Niğde.[1] The motif was popular also on coins struck at Diyarbakır and at Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf) under the rule of the Artukids.[2] It extended to objects such as the well-known carved- and lacquered-wood Qur'an stand (dated A.H. 678/A.D. 1279) donated to the Mevlevi Dervish order in Konya by a Seljuk vizier.[3] It also found its way onto textiles and into fourteenth-century manuscripts representing the fabulous and all-powerful ʿAnqa bird in a cosmographic text written in the second half of the thirteenth century.[4]

The meaning of the image is manifold and can be read differently according to its use and the medium in which it is depicted. Large stone carvings, such as the present one, must have represented visible symbols of power in Anatolian cities: the double-headed bird is often regarded as the armorial badge of Diyarbakır. The bird was also an individual's royal or courtly emblem. This is evident in the above-mentioned coinage and Qur'an stand and also from tiles found in the summer palace of the Seljuk sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubādh at Kubadabad near Konya.[5] On tombstones, it symbolized the bird that accompanied the spirit of the deceased, if not the spirit itself.[6]

Although the double-headed eagle is familiar to many as an armorial badge of postmedieval royal European families, thirteenth-century images of this bird in the Byzantine world are extremely rare (see fourteenth- and fifteenth-century examples from Byzantium and its Orthodox Christian neighbors: cat. 27; cat. 171, fol. 5v [fig. 1.11]; cat. 298; Bodleian Gr. 35, fol. 1v). Its origin must be sought in the Turkic lands of Central Asia, whence the Seljuks originally came, and it became popular in particular among the Seljuks of Rūm, the Anatolian branch of this dynasty. SC

1. See, for example, Berchem and Strzygowski 1910, figs. 37, 40–41, 44, 47; Otto-Dorn 1978–79, figs. 18–19; Ertuğ 1991, fig. 29.
2. Lane-Poole 1877, pl. 5, nos. 3–5, 7.
3. Istanbul 1983, vol. 3, no. D.176; Ertuğ 1991, fig. 142.
4. A silk textile is published in Berlin 1993–94, no. 84, pl. 10; for the ʿAnqa bird, see Badiee 1984, pp. 99–100, fig. 16; Carboni in Paris–Lugano–New York 1994–95, pp. 86–89, fig. 13.
5. See Önder 1972; Berlin 1993–94, no. 80, pl. 9.
6. Öney 1969, pp. 294–96, figs. 9–10.

REFERENCES: Lane-Poole 1877; Berchem and Strzgowski 1910; Öney 1969; Önder 1972; Otto-Dorn 1978–79; Istanbul 1983; Badiee 1984; Ertuğ 1991; Berlin 1993–94; Stefano Carboni, "The Arabic Manuscript," in Paris–Lugano–New York 1994–95, pp. 77–92.

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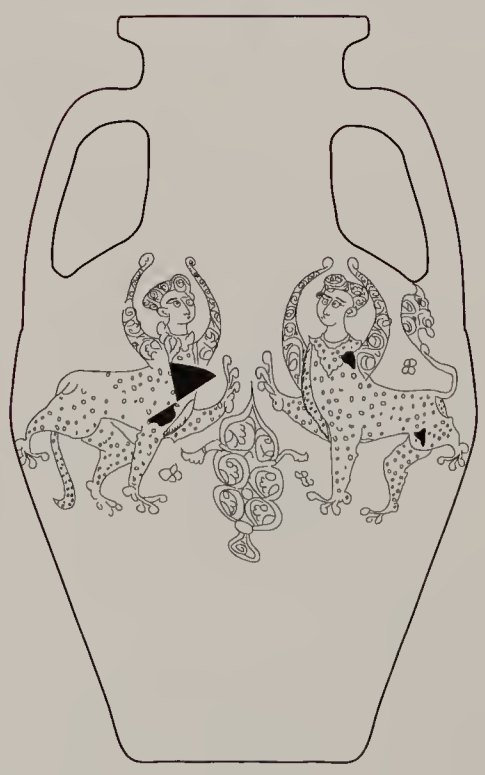
244. Amphora

Frankish (Port Saint Symeon [al-Mīna / Samandağ, Turkey]), mid-13th century
Glazed earthenware with slip-incised decoration
Height 53.5 cm (21⅛ in.); diameter at neck 33 cm (13 in.)
CONDITION: The amphora is basically complete. Some broken areas have been restored.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (67.8)



244, drawings by archeographics.com

This vessel was manufactured in the Crusader port of the Frankish Principality of Antioch, Saint Symeon, in the mid-thirteenth century, sometime before the sack of Antioch by the Mamlūks in 1268. Excavations in the mid-1930s at Saint Symeon, also called al-Mīna ("The Harbor" in Arabic), uncovered quantities of slip-incised tricolor glazed earthenware. Because evidence of its local manufacture in the form of kiln wasters was also uncovered, this pottery has acquired the name of Port Saint Symeon ware.[1]

Recent fieldwork has proved that Port Saint Symeon ware was produced not only in this location, but also at ports and towns further to

the north in the Principality of Antioch and the neighboring Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia. However, ongoing chemical analysis of the bodies of Port Saint Symeon ceramics has established that the eponymous port consistently produced the sgraffito (slip-incised and glazed) pottery with the best and most varied incised decoration, including this amphora and a fragmentary vessel exhibited in New York in 1997.[2]

The amphora depicts four composite creatures, two to a side, with notional vegetal decoration between each pair. On one side are two striding fantastic beasts. The figure on the left combines the body of a leopard with the torso and head of a young man, crescent-shaped wings, and a twisting tail that ends in a dragon's head. It proffers a goblet to the other figure, a griffon, who turns an elaborate, vegetal tail on the offer. The rampant pair on the other side of the amphora face each other. Both creatures have full leopard bodies, without the human torso or arms of the cupbearer, surmounted by human heads, and both display crescent-shaped wings.

Other sgraffito vessels from Port Saint Symeon also depict composite creatures, although none so finely, or monumentally, as on this vessel. In subject matter and format, they exemplify the metamorphic quality of much medieval art, with suggestions of centaurs (especially Sagittarius), cupbearers, and, only slightly later, the prophet Muhammad's human-headed steed, Buraq. Heraldic in presentation, part royal, part astrological, these figures seem to embody portions of stories and myths without recalling any one in particular. As such, they were well suited for depiction on Port Saint Symeon ware, which was the most widely and commonly distributed of thirteenth-century ceramics. The Genoese concession at Port Saint Symeon helps explain the widespread distribution. Images were concocted there to fit a wide variety of settings—Latin, Orthodox, and Muslim—around the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins. SR

1. See A. Lane 1938, p. 45, for mention of kiln wasters.
2. New York 1997, no. 268; currently on display at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. See Redford 2004 for evidence of Port Saint Symeon ware production at sites elsewhere along the Gulf of Iskenderun. This amphora has been attributed to Port Saint Symeon based on an ongoing program of neutron activation analysis of Port Saint Symeon ceramics under James Blackman of the Smithsonian Institution and the author. Sampling of the amphora was undertaken with the kind permission of Susan Boyd, Curator of the Byzantine Collection at Dumbarton Oaks. Dr. Helen Evans, Curator for Early Christian and Byzantine Art at the Metropolitan Museum, has also kindly allowed this program of analysis to include the bowl fragment 1984.111; Eunice Dauterman Maguire attributes the latter to "in or near Antioch" in the early thirteenth century. See New York 1997, p. 401.

REFERENCES: A. Lane 1938; N. Ševčenko 1974; New York 1997, p. 401; Redford 2004.

245. The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad

Illustration from the *Jami' al-tavarikh* (Compendium of Chronicles)
Copied and illustrated at the Rab'-i Rashidi (Rashid al-Din's atelier) in Tabriz, Iran, 1314–15
Ink, colors, silver, and gold on paper
Page 43.5 x 30 cm (17⅛ x 11¾ in.)
CONDITION: This leaf from the third volume of a four-volume Arabic copy of the *Compendium* finished in A.H. 714/A.D. 1314–15 is in generally good condition, with the expected creases, stains, buckling of the paper, and partial loss of pigment in the illustration. The manuscript is at present unbound, and the individual pages are mounted in mats.
Edinburgh University Library (Ms. Arab 20, fol. 42r)

The *Compendium of Chronicles* is a history of the world in four volumes compiled and edited by the Mongol vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 1318) in the Īlkhānid (Mongols of Iran) capital, Tabriz. This painting falls into the illustrative cycle of a section of the third volume that deals with the beginning of the history of Islam during the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad in Mecca and Medina. The third volume itself concerns the genealogies of the Eurasian peoples, among them the Arabs, the Jews, the Mongols, the Chinese, and the Franks (the Europeans).[1]

The representation of events relating to the Islamic conquest of and spread through the Near and Middle East was a novelty for

Iranian painters, who were asked to treat the subject from a historical rather than a religious viewpoint. Illustrated manuscripts on this subject were extremely scarce, thus the artists of the *Compendium* sought inspiration in different pictorial traditions, from Chinese scrolls to Byzantine religious codices, favored by the international and multicultural character of Tabriz. Illustrations such as *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad,* a Christian nativity scene in Islamic garb, are clear proof of the availability of Byzantine manuscripts in the Īlkhānid capital and obvious examples of their artistic influence.

The episode of Muhammad's birth is only vaguely reported in the Qur'an and in early historical or hagiographic sources, such as al-Tabari's *Annales* and Ibn Hisham's *Life of the Prophet,*[2] and the text of the *Compendium* is equally vague. There are conflicting reports regarding his year of birth (concurring that it happened some time in the A.D. 570s), but sources agree that he was born in a house in Mecca.[3] Seeking ideas in earlier illustrated Arabic manuscripts inspired by Byzantine sources, such as copies of the so-called *Materia Medica,* [4] the painter of this scene created a feeling of interior space by placing the entrance to the house on the right, partially covered by a curtain, and dividing the room by means of two columns. It is not known who except his mother, Amina, was present at the birth of Muhammad.[5] His father ʿAbd-allah, apparently died before the delivery.[6] Muhammad's paternal grandfather, ʿAbd al-Muttalib, who adopted him at six years of age after his mother died may have attended the birth; he might be identified as the elderly turbaned person sitting near the door.[7] Al-Tabari reports that the mother of ʿUtham, the Third Caliph, was present at the birth; she may be one of the two nurses attending to Amina.[8] Other figures who had a role in Muhammad's first years are, perhaps, Muhammad's grandmothers, Barra and Fatima (is one of them the old bent lady leaning on her stick on the left?), and Halima, who breastfed the baby until the age of two (the other young woman attending to Amina?). [9] The set of characters here, however, including the angels and the two groups of three women, perhaps a misreading of the image of the Three Kings, was clearly borrowed from available Christian sources, among which extant Gospel manuscripts in Florence and Paris may be mentioned although they do not provide direct models.[10] It seems, therefore, that the painter of this scene tried to portray a historical event based on vague literary sources, while borrowing copiously from available Gospels to fill the picture and convey the impression of the magnitude of the moment. SC

1. The fragment in the Edinburgh University Library (Ms. Arab 20) has 151 folios. The Edinburgh fragment was the subject of a monograph by Rice (1976); see also the brief discussion in New York–Los Angeles 2002–3, nos 6–7, pp. 145–50.
2. Caetani 1950–26, vol. 1, pp. 149–51; Ṭabarī 1999, pp. 268–84; Ibn Hishām 1955.
3. Some sources state that he was born in the Year of the Elephant, corresponding to the forty-second year of the reign of Anushirvan over Persia. See Caetani 1905–26, vol. 1, p. 149, and Ṭabarī 1999, p. 268.
4. In particular in a copy dated A.D. 1229 in the library of the Topkapı Saray in Istanbul (Ahmet III, 2127). For good color reproductions, see Ettinghausen 1962, pp. 68–69.
5. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* s.v. "Amina."
6. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* s.v. "ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib."
7. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* s.v. "ʿAbd al-Muttalib b. Hashim."
8. Ṭabarī 1999, p. 271.
9. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* s.v. "Amina" and "ʿAbd al-Muttalib b. Hashim"; Ṭabarī 1999, pp. 272–74.
10. See, for example, Millet 1960, figs. 42, 78, 100.

REFERENCES: D. T. Rice 1976; New York–Los Angeles 2002–3.

246. Map of Constantinople

Illustration from the *Liber insularum archipelagi* (The Book of the Islands of the Archipelago) by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (ca. 1380/90–post-1430)
Italy (Florence?), ca. 1420–30
Ink and colors on parchment
Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Ms. cod. Marc. lat. xiv, 25=4595, p. 123)

Cristoforo Buondelmonti was an interesting figure, a Florentine pilgrim/adventurer who spent about fifteen years (ca. 1415–30) journeying the eastern Mediterranean Sea and visiting its coasts and islands.[1] His travels resulted in the compilation of a geographic and historical treatise, the *Liber insularum archipelagi,* a work possibly inspired by Ptolemy's *Geography,* that was dedicated to the cardinal Giordano Orsini, of whom Buondelmonti was the prior. The majority of extant manuscripts of the work are illustrated with seventy-nine maps. Numerous versions of the text survive, in both an expanded and a short form,[2] but the original text sent to Cardinal Orsini before 1420 seems to be lost. The many later copies have therefore guaranteed the preservation of the text, while also moving it farther and farther away from the original.

Although the book's title implies that only the islands of the Greek archipelago in the Aegean Sea are dealt with, Buondelmonti added a last chapter devoted to Constantinople, which he had visited and knew very well. In his time, the city was only a shadow of the great imperial Byzantium, its population having shrunk to about seventy thousand from half a million,[3] and many of its most prominent buildings were partially in ruins. His maps of Constantinople, however, provide a rare glimpse of this city, still splendidly decadent, just a few decades before the Ottomans captured it in 1453.[4]

The present map, from one of the earliest extant manuscripts, is an extremely clear and useful bird's-eye view of the city.[5] The most important monuments are captioned in Latin and neatly illustrated on this map that shows sparse urban sprawl. The lower part, the historical city, is dominated by Hagia Sophia, which adjoins the Hippodrome; several honorific imperial columns still stand; double walls guard the side unprotected by water. The Golden Horn separates this portion of the city from the relatively new urban area of Pera, the mostly Genoese, partly Venetian, colony that had recently become the maritime trading center. The only walled building on that coast is the arsenal, but the inner city, which includes the tall Turris Christi (later known as Galata Tower), is fortified. Since the coastline of Pera was walled between 1431 and 1435, this map of Pera also provides a terminus ante quem for Buondelmonti's map.[6] SC

1. R. Weiss 1964 is one of the most important biographical articles on Buondelmonti.
2. According to Thomov 1996, p. 435. there exist three expanded versions and thirty-seven short ones.
3. In the year 600. the city had an estimated population of up to 500,000. See Magdalino 2002, p. 529 and n. 1.
4. Gerola 1931b is still the best comparative survey of Buondelmonti's maps of Constantinople.
5. Mathews 1998a, fig. 9.
6. Barsanti 1999, p. 41.

REFERENCES: Gerola 1931b; R. Weiss 1964; Thomov 1996; Barsanti 1999; Magdalino 2002.

Pera
Sarkoy
Orgena
Sophia
Constantinopolis olim Byzantium
ambit mill. xviii.

247A (woodblock)

247A,B. Woodblock with Icon

247A. Woodblock of the Siege of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453
Mediterranean (probably Venice), after 1453–mid- to late 16th century
Carved cypress
40 x 73.5 cm (15¾ x 29 in.)

247B. Icon of the Pentecost
Cretan school, mid- to late 16th century
Tempera, gesso, color lakes, canvas, on cypress
73.5 x 46.7 cm (29 x 18⅜ in.)
PROVENANCE: Bought by Nikolai P. Likhachev (woodblock inscribed *Likhatsieff*), Saint Petersburg, from a European antiquarian, before 1913; in the Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III (after 1917, the State Russian Museum), Saint Petersburg, 1913–30; the Hermitage, 1930.
CONDITION: The icon was restored twice in the Hermitage studio by Alexandra Malova. In 1953 she removed two strips of wood attached vertically to the woodblock side of the panel and put the panel into a wood frame; the painting of the icon was strengthened and retouched. In 1963 she again strengthened the painting and added new retouchings; white restoration gesso at the bottom includes a reconstruction of the composition in outline. In 2003 the painting was enhanced by Andrey Osetrov.
The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (I-428)

The Pentecost icon is painted on a wood panel made up of several pieces of cypress *(Cupressus sp.)*, the largest of which is a fragment of a woodblock. The image cut into the wood is older than the painted icon, rather than the other way around as some scholars have stated.[1] The opinion that the engraved panel was part of a door (akin to the famous carved wood doors in the Sinai monastery)[2] is also incorrect. That the woodblock was used for making prints is suggested by surviving woodcuts such as antimensia, paper icons, and historical and landscape prints, from the end of the fifteenth through the seventeenth century.[3] The subject of this woodblock fragment is a historical one, the siege of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, as correctly identified by its early owner Nikolai P. Likhachev and subsequently entered into the Hermitage inventory of the work. In the early 1970s, Vera Likhacheva published two articles that dated the icon to the Palaiologan era and thus changed the identification of the scene to the Crusader siege of Constantinople in 1204. She was unable to convince the Hermitage of her opinion, so while she ultimately redated the icon to the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, she did not change her identification of the event depicted on the woodblock. At the end of the 1980s, I studied the woodblock and came to the conclusion that the scene shows the siege of the Byzantine capital in 1453. The same conclusion was reached by Paul Strässle, who demonstrated that, on the basis of the types of the ships, the woodblock could not have been made before 1350. Then, examining the sea battles of the fifteenth century, he concluded, as had I, that the one represented is the siege of Constantinople in 1453.[4]

Although fragmentary and damaged, the woodblock clearly shows the Golden Horn with attacking ships. In the foreground, the legs of the horses and the mounted warriors' banners are visible to the left. The upper portions of the warriors are cut off. Originally, the scene of the siege was entirely enclosed within a floral border, of which portions remain on the left side and along the bottom.

No print from this woodblock has yet been found, nor is it known whether it was part of a series of historical prints or whether, with its very rare subject, it was made as a special commission. It is possible that it was made in Venice, where most of the Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian prints of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries were produced, and which was the major center of printing for the Orthodox Church.[5] There is one more argument in favor of the woodblock's production in Venice: some written sources describe an episode in the battle in which the Venetians showed courage and wit and turned one of their ships around. Among the ships in the woodblock is one such ship.

This engraving of the siege of Constantinople in 1453 on wood is very rare, and its survival, even in a damaged state, is unique. The subject itself gives the earliest possible date for the woodblock—after 1453, that is, the second half of the fifteenth century. Thus the woodblock in the Hermitage may have been produced within living memory of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks and the end of the Byzantine Empire.

The icon on the reverse of the woodblock was probably painted between the middle and the end of the sixteenth century, thus

247B (icon)

establishing the latest possible date for use of the woodblock. The subject of the icon is based on the Acts of the Apostles (2:1–11) and liturgical texts. The Twelve Apostles of Christ are shown seated, light filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit falling in curving rays upon them. Because of the symbolic character of the Pentecost, its iconography is among the most conservative in Orthodox art. As André Grabar wrote, during the evolution of the aesthetic, the real subject turned to the ceremonial concept that reflected the symbolic meaning of the event.[6] In this symbolic depiction of the apostolic Church, with Peter and Paul at the head of the assembled group, the apostles all hold rolls—the emblem of a Church teacher.[7] The apostles can be identified by their facial types: on the left with Peter, the evangelists Matthew and Luke, followed by Simon, Bartholomew, and Philip; on the right, with Paul, the evangelists John and Mark, and then Andrew, James, and Thomas. Against the dark ground of the synthronon, an aged king personifying the world (or the cosmos) sits "holding before him a kerchief with both hands, and twelve papers wrapped in the kerchief," symbolizing the preaching carried by the twelve disciples to all nations.[8]

The architectural background of the icon reminds the viewer that the Pentecost is believed to have occurred at the same place on Mount Sion as the Last Supper. The symmetry of the composition reflects a Palaiologan Constantinopolitan model known from frescoes and icons.[9] This Byzantine iconographic type was adapted by Theophanes the Cretan to his own style and then was reworked and widely used in icons of the Cretan school.[10] The Hermitage icon differs from other Cretan-school examples in the dark void at the center of the architectural background and in the marble columns with luxuriantly decorated capitals. The floral ornamentation of the capitals suggests a date for the icon of the mid- to late sixteenth century. The traces of color lakes in the flesh tones confirm this dating.

Although the icon is large, it was a part of the dodekaorton (Great Feasts) of an iconostasis, possibly painted for a large church. The same measurements and similar embellishment of the arch in the upper part of the icon are found in an Anastasis dated to the first third of the sixteenth century in the Antivouniotissa Museum in Corfu.[11] In design, color, and quality of the painting, the Hermitage icon is an example of the finest Cretan-school work of the middle to the end of the sixteenth century. YP

1. Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, no. 981.
2. V. Likhacheva 1973, p. 200.
3. Thessalonike 1997, p. 193; Papastratou 1986, nos. 20, 68, 104, 142, 153, 194, 306, 379, 382, 384, 393–95, 400–402, 414–16, 596, 599; Bogdanović et al. 1978, pl. 120.
4. Strässle 1990.
5. Layton 1994.
6. A. Grabar 1928a, pp. 230–33.
7. Ozolin 2001; Pokrovskii 1892, pp. 448–66.
8. Shchennikova 1990, pp. 81–83; Hetherington 1974, p. 113.
9. Millet 1910, pl. 121.2; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, no. 15.
10. Thessalonike 1997, pp. 136–37.
11. Vokotopoulos 1990, no. 14.

REFERENCES: V. Likhacheva 1971; V. Likhacheva 1973; Leningrad–Moscow 1975–77, vol. 3, no. 981; Strässle 1990; Yuri Piatnitsky, "Vizantiiskaia i postvizantiiskaia ikonopis'," in Saint Petersburg 1991a, p. 104, no. 272; Piatnitsky 2003.

248. View of Constantinople from the *Liber chronicarum* (Book of Chronicles)

Text by Hartmann Schedel the Elder (1440–1514); printed by Anton Koberger (d. 1515)
Germany (Nuremberg), 1493
Woodcut; fols. 256v–257r
PROVENANCE: The manuscript entered the collection of Venice's public library (now the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana) soon after it was published in 1493.
Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Inc. 8)

Hartmann Schedel the Elder was a German physician and an avid book collector. His special interest in history and geography resulted in his authoring the *Liber chronicarum,* known in English as *The Nuremberg Chronicle,* which was essentially a compilation of earlier texts. The Latin *Chronicle* was printed by Anton Koberger in 1493 and included woodcut drawings by Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519) and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (d. 1494).[1] With over 1,800 woodcut prints out of about 650 different blocks, the *Chronicle* is an ambitious illustrated book and remains one of the most important works of graphic art of the late fifteenth century. Its subjects range from large, complex views of European cities to small-size portraits of emperors, kings, and popes.[2]

Anthonius rasellus iu-ris doctor

Anthonius roſellus natione etbruſcus vir vtiq; bonus ⁊ multa prudentia exiſtimatus iurisꝫ ciuilis ⁊ pontificij ac aliaꝝ bonaꝝ artium peritiſſimus poſtq; multis annis patauij ius cū magna gloria docuiſſet ſublatus fuit. ſepultus ad ſanctū anthonium padue cum hoc epigrāmate. Anthonius roſellus de roſiellis iuris monarcha. Qui cū egregie doctus eſſet de monarchia ⁊ de poteſtate pape libros eruditos compoſuit ⁊ alia.

Marſilius ficinus florentinus. ingenij excellētiſſimi vir. virtuſq; lingue eruditiſſimus ⁊ multaꝝ ſcientiaꝝ locupletiſſimus. atq; inter platonicos doctores facile princeps. hac noſtra tempeſtate ſeptem ⁊ triginta platonis phi libros qui antea neq; apud grecos facile inueniebant maxima cū diligētia latinos fecit ⁊ in lucē omnibus protulit. neq; eo quidem labore vt aiunt contentus fuit. ⁊ ipius platonis mentem partim argumentis. partimq; breuibus ꝓmētariis explicare tēptauit. De ualitudie q̄s lr̄atoꝝ ꝓſcripſit ⁊ pleraq; vtilia.

Abumeth magnus turchoꝝ impator octauus ex clariſſima othomannorū familia natus Amurati

Mahumeth turchorū imperator

principis filius. Anno. 1481. quinto nonas maij. Poſtea q̄z in aſia ⁊ grecia. 32. annis regnaſſet dū in orientis expeditionē contra hungaros ꝓficiſceret anno etatis ſue octauo ⁊ quinq̄geſimo in caſtris nō ſine ſuſpitione veneni moritᵏ ⁊ cōſtantinopolim delatus ſepelit. Is cū patri in regnū aſie ſucceſſiſſet quatuor ⁊ viginti annos habebat etatis. Qui imperio ſuſcepto patrē in omnibus ſupare animus ē. Hic illico ob eiꝰ animi magnitudinē dictis paterni regni viribꝰ ingētes copias ex aſia in europā p̄ helleſpontū claſſe traiecit. vbi multas grecoꝝ vrbes occupauit. Caſtello q̄s haud longe a boſphoꝝ littore ad euxinū tēdente ꝓdidit. Exin deficiente ob grecoꝝ auaritiā p̄ſidio conſtantinopolim vrbez cepit. expoliauit ac de ea triumphauit. ⁊ in ea impator declaratus. Confeſtim peloponeſum omnē armis cepit xp̄ianū populū in ſeruitutē abduxit. Indecq; in achaiā mouēs ipaz et achraiā ⁊ epiruū ⁊ maiorē macedonie partē atq; bulgariā cū raſcia ⁊ ſeruia. ⁊ quicq̄d ab andrinopoli. ſauūq; amnē ⁊ danubiū fluuiū interiacet inuaſit. valachia etiam eas ob res timore pterrita. boſniā poſtmodū ingreſſus cuncta vaſtauit. mithilenem inſup nobilem genuenſiū inſulam cepit. Dehinc ſinopem vrbē vetuſtiſſimā ⁊ trapezundam diripuit. earūq; incolas vna cū eaꝝ imperatore captiuos abduxit. Euboiā inſup venetoꝝ inſulā inuaſit. quā vna cū calcide eiuſdez inſule vrbe expugnauit. In aſia itaq; minore duodecim regna obtinuit. videlicet pontū. bithyniā. capadociam. paphlagoniā. ciliciā. pamphiliā. liciā. cariā. lidiā. phrigiā ⁊ omnē ferme helleſpontum ſeu moream. et multa alia occupauit. hic cū innumerabiles filios genuiſſet baiſetū ⁊ zaliabū legittimos poſt ſe dereliq̄t pro quibus eo mortuo tumultus vrbē conſtātinopolitanā inuaſit. baiſetū tamen impatorē conſtituerunt.

Baiſetus primogenitus mahumeti Anno. 1481. ſexto kal. iunij impator ꝓſtituit ⁊ vſq; in p̄ſens impauit. Hinc zaliabus frater q̄ magnos morꝰ in aſia ꝓ regno cōcitauit. burſiā cepit ⁊ ſe ibi regē ꝓſtituit quē baiſetus bello ſupauit ac aſie paternū regnū obtinuit ⁊ in libidine ac ebrietate totū ſe immerſit. Cum aūt anno. 1492. pannoniā ferro ac populationibꝰ deuaſtare cepiſſet multa dāna cedeſq; ptulit. Zaliabꝰ āt frater eius natu minor. qui poſtea in regno francie ſub priore boſpitalis ſancti iohannis iheroſolimitani cuſtodiebat. in ſummi pontificis innocentij octaui poteſtatem traditus vſq; in preſens rome ſub cuſtodia ad recuperandum reſiduum europe de crudeliſſima nunc barbaroꝝ ſeruitute.

Eſtis pmaxima ī tota ferme italia ⁊ germania Anno. 1483. ⁊. 84. fuit vbi ad plurimū deſeuit. vt multa milia hominū abſumpſit. Eaq; lues nurmberge a ſolſticio eſtiuali vſq; ad ſolſticiū hiemale quatuor milia hominum deleuit. Venetijs vo ſenatores ⁊ iohannem mocenicū ducem extinxit.

Fridericus imperator anno. 1487. conuentū magnū nurmberge p̄ auxilio ferendo contra boſtes ſuos ⁊ p̄ fide xp̄iana habuit. ⁊ in eo principes germanie ꝓgregauit. cōmunitates quoq; ciuitatū imperialiū conuocauit. vbi de vnione ac pace principū varie conuentiones habite. vtq; omnia bella indutias haberent concluſerunt. Interea glorioſus imperator fridericus inter cetera geſta laudabilia Conradū celtis germanū virū eruditiſſimū in arce nurmbergenſi appollinari laurea decorauit. Bellaq; ea tempeſtate inter ſigiſmundū archiducē auſtrie ⁊ venetos ſedata ſunt. Hec minorē dietam principum rex Maximilianus nurmberge anno ſalutis. 1491. peregit.

Deles rex maurus genere ⁊ religione mahumeteꝰ hac nr̄a tempeſtate in bethica p̄uincia ulteriorꝭ hiſpanie plaga que granata nuncupat vſq; ad hec tpa regnauit. cuius p̄uincie ager excellentiſſimus p̄ hibet. eo q̄ quecūq; ad hūanū victū ſunt neceſaria affluentiſſime gignat. Cuius montes ⁊ flumina aurum et argentum producere dicunt. Armenta ⁊ pecudes ſine numero nutrit. Hunc quidem regē Ferdinandus luſitanie ⁊ citerioꝝ hiſpanie ⁊ tarraconie rex vna cū helyſabetha vxore ſuperioribus annis omnino eiȝce re ſarracenos decreuerūt. Bellū igit malacen. primo pegit anno. 87. vbi expugnata malaca vrbe. Tandez poſt longē obſidionem ciuitatis granate que incepit a menſe maio anni nonageſimi primi ſarraceni mauri deducti ad magnā rerū inopiā deſperantes de auxilio poſt infinitos conflictus bellicos. 25. nouembris pacta deditiōis ꝓcluſa fuerī. Poſtremo ſeptimo die ianuarij anno ſalutis. 1492. rex ⁊ regina ac proceres et potentatus cum exercitu decem milū equitū ⁊. L. milia peditū electorum ciuitatem intrarunt ⁊ eius poſſeſſionem libere acceptarunt. ac meſquitam maiorē in eccleſiam dedicari mandauerunt.

Tempestas ingens prius inaudita. anno salutis. 1490. die. 12. mēs iulij. in regia vrbe ꝯstātinopolita
na admodū desevit. Supior em̄ triū sydez ignes. q̄ decidūt ad terras fulminū nomē hñt. cū ꝯtagiū
nimų hūoris ex supiore circulo atqz ardoris e sdirecto p hūc modū egerāt. Turbato itaqz aere cū collectus
humor babūdantiā stimulabat. seu grauī siderū ptu. Et cuz ī nube luctabaf flatꝰ aut vapor. primo ingētia
tonitrua audita. Exin fulmīa ardētia visa. z longiore tractu fulgetra. Et quāqz a saturni sidere ꝓficisci ista
ꝓsectati sunt. sicut crementia a martis. Qualiter cū vulsinis oppidū thuscoꝝ opulētissimū totū crematum
ē fulmīe. In ea vrbe p̄clarissima hec gesta. xp̄iani id diuine ꝓuidētie attribuūt. Vbi antiq̄ colūna ymagi-
nē ꝯstatini impatoris hēbat. fulgur z horridꝰ impetꝰ ne dū ptē eiꝰ dēcrevit. Verū vt veridici narrarūt nego
ciatores veneti z alij. octīgētos vomos ignis rez edax ꝯsūpsit. Et hoīm tria milia. vt nec lignū nec forma
edificioꝝ rmāsit. Ea forma vt circulꝰ dēuastatōis ifra oñdit. iō hāc figurā ī laudabilē rei mēoriā adiūxim⁹.

Cum varia rez mīracla effluxis tribꝰ. vt oñdimꝰ eue-
nerī. Visa ei horrēda oñta corona trabes tellurī hyatꝰ
sanguineꝰ polꝰ. ardētes clipei z alia. Lac pluere e celo visū.
z lanā. carnē z cruorē decidē. visi ꝯcurrētes mōtes. Et lūa
solqz triplex. cruce sīgtus lapis excidit tribꝰ fridērici scōi ipa
torī (vti p̄missū ē) Nouissime āno. 1492. viij. ydꝰ nouēbris.
ī meridie sb fridērico. iij. ipatore. ad agros eiꝰ ꝓpios. cū cre
puit p aera fulmē. igēs lapis cōcidit. cui forma delte. acieſqz
triāgula fuit. missus ab obliq̄. hūc senserat Enßheim. Sūt/
gaudia q̄z sensit. Cū illic ī agros desiluit depopulatꝰ humū.
ī ptes distractꝰ. pōdꝰ tñ gue adhuc hz. z ad oñtationē ob-
huatur. tanqz futuꝝ omen.

Bella p ß tpa inter regē maximilianū. z regez frācie. ob
ducissam britānie. p multas clades gesta fuerūt. Et ad/
huc sub dubio marte vigent.

Notable sections of the *Chronicle* and a few illustrations deal with the recently established Ottoman Empire, a wound still fresh in the collective imagination of Europe in Schedel's times. Although the view of the Ottomans, as expected, is a negative one, there is an effort to present their rise on the political scene in a historical fashion.[3] Among the prints are portraits of Mehmed II (*Mahumet turchorum imperator,* r. 1444–46, 1451–81) and a woodcut of Constantinople that exemplifies contemporary mapmaking.[4] The view of the Ottoman capital reproduced here (fol. 257r), however, is unusual. The text above the illustration refers to an event that occurred on July 12, 1490, when lightning damaged the colossal bronze equestrian statue standing atop a tall column outside Hagia Sophia. In the drawing, the statue, between the churches of Hagia Sophia and Saint John the Baptist, is struck by the "rays" of a thunderbolt (*fulgur*). Raby, pointing out an evident anachronism, demonstrates that Schedel did not have firsthand information about Constantinople and thus created a kind of "pious fiction."[5] According to Ottoman sources, lightning indeed struck a church in the neighboring area that was used to store powder, which then blew up causing huge havoc. The equestrian statue known as Justinian's Column, a powerful talismanic symbol of Byzantine domination, on the other hand, had been taken down on the order of Sultan Mehmed II soon after his conquest of the city in 1453, thus some decades before 1490. Some accounts relate that Mehmed melted down the "copper horse" to forge cannons. Others report instead that fragments were still visible in the courtyard of the royal palace (Topkapı Sarayi) a century later, thus suggesting that the statue may have been preserved as a symbol of conquest that Mehmed put on display as part of his rich collection of Byzantine sculpture.[6]

SC

1. Two of the most exhaustive publications on *The Nuremberg Chronicle* are Shaffer 1950 and A. Wilson 1977. Among a large number of articles, Jenkins 1950 represents a useful introduction to Schedel and his book. An unpublished English translation exists in manuscript form in the Philadelphia Free Library (Schmauch n.d.).
2. A. Wilson 1977, esp. pp. 28, 45.
3. Chapters dealing with the Ottomans are titled, for example, "Turchorum origo que fuit" ("The origins of the Turks," fols. 185ff) and "Ottomannorum turchorum regni principium" ("The beginning of the reign of the Ottoman Turks," fols. 228ff). Nevertheless, at fol. 272r, for example, the Turks are described as *gens truculenta ignominiosa et in cunctis stupris ac lupanaribus fornicaria* ("A bad-tempered and ignominious people engaged in rape and fornication").
4. These illustrations are at fols. 256v and 274r. See also Buondelmonti's map of Constantinople and the discussion of it (cat. 246).

Fig. 249.1. Detail showing Melchior Lorck at work. Melchior Lorck. Pen and brown and black ink, green and red watercolor on paper, 1559. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden (BPL 1758, BL. 11)

5. See Raby 1987b, where this view of Constantinople is reproduced in fig. 2. Schedel claims to have derived his story from Venetian merchants trading in Constantinople. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Raby for pointing out his article and for his help in discussing the present entry.
6. Ibid., p. 147.

REFERENCES: Jenkins 1950; Shaffer 1950; A. Wilson 1977; Raby 1987b; Schmauch n.d.

249A,B. Two Prospects of Constantinople

Melchior Lorck (Flensburg, then Denmark, 1526/27–after 1583)
Constantinople (and Vienna?), 1559
Pen and brown and black ink, green and red watercolor on paper
PROVENANCE: Possibly acquired by Janus Dousa, first governor of the University of Leiden, about 1585; given to the library of Leiden University by Dousa's son-in-law, Nicolaes van der Wiele, on August 11, 1598 .
Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Netherlands (BPL 1758, BL. 6 and 13)

249A. View of Hagia Sophia (sheet 6)
42.5 x 57 cm (16¾ x 22½ in.)
INSCRIBED: In German, in pen and brown ink and pen and black ink. On the strip attached above the main sheet, S. Sophia die furnembste und greste Kirche der ganzen Christenheit/von dem Christlichen Keijser Justinianij gebauwet. es haben aber die Turcken viel gebeuw davuon[?] nider gebrochen (Hagia Sophia the noblest and biggest church in all of Christendom/built by the Christian Emperor Justinian. However, the Turks broke down many buildings). On the upper edge of the main sheet, S. Sophia/So weit des Turckischen Keysers Schloss reicht oder so weit das begriffen[?] ist/biss an den Thurm mit a. verzeichnet, da muss kain Schiff sich sezen,/Lagern oder ancker werffen (Saint Sophia/As far as the palace of the Turkish emperor extends, that is, at the tower marked *a*, no ship may station, lie, or cast anchor). Along the skyline, porta liona de la riva (lion gate of the shore)/S. Lucas Evangelist (church of Saint Luke the Evangelist)/colona serpentina (snakelike column)/piramis (pyramid?)/Schla[ngensäule] (snakelike column). Along the water on two gate buildings, Judenthor (gate for Jews)/fischer porten (fishermen gate).

249B. View of the Mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror (sheet 13)
45 x 58 cm (17¾ x 22⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: In German, in pen and brown ink and pen and black ink. On the upper right edge of the sheet, Esty Suldan Mahomet, der die stat Constantinopel Eingenomen / vonn den Christen (sultan Mahomet [Mehmed], who captured the city of Constantinople from the Christians); below, to the right of the mosque, Moschea (mosque); upper center, S. Andreas (Church of Saint Andrew [since 1489 mosque Koca Mustafa Pasha]); center right, Sackthor (?); lower right, Turcken Begraben (Turks buried)

Melchior Lorck was a draftsman, printmaker, painter, and architect. From an early age he traveled extensively in Germany, western Scandinavia, the Baltic, Italy, and the Netherlands. As a member of a distinguished Danish noble family he had ties to the Danish court and moved in circles close to the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna. In the 1550s Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564) asked him to join his

249A

249B

embassy to Constantinople, probably because of Lorck's facile yet accurate ability to document places of interest. Besides diplomatic negotiations, the legation studied antique monuments, collected Greek and Byzantine manuscripts, and compiled a dictionary of the now extinct language spoken by the Crimean Goths.[1]

Lorck probably left for Constantinople late in 1555 and returned to Vienna some time during 1559. In an autobiographical letter of January 1, 1563, he states that in Constantinople he saw, studied, and drew many remarkable antiquities and other eminent works of art, "all of which I (if the Lord will keep me and preserve me) intend to write a book about, and have it printed and published to the special pleasure, use and benefit of all lovers of art and antiquity."[2] His surviving drawings show Lorck's (or the legation's) interest in the military and in aspects of daily life in Turkey, as well as in the topography, understandable as pictorial documentation of Turkey was still extremely sparse. Several members of the delegation were portrayed by Lorck during their stay in Constantinople, among them the Croatian humanist Antonius Verantius (in 1556) and the Flemish diplomat Augier Ghiselin Busbecq (in 1557). Two beautiful portraits of Süleyman the Magnificent and Prince Ismā'īl were probably produced after the voyage.[3] The volume on antiquity was never executed, but Lorck did realize in part a volume on Turkish military, dress, and daily life, producing 127 woodcuts between 1570 and 1583. These, with some texts by Lorck, were published posthumously in 1626 and 1646.[4]

The most spectacular result of the voyage to Turkey is the almost twelve-meter-long *Prospect of Constantinople,* dated 1559.[5] On sheet 6 (A), Constantinople's mighty cathedral Hagia Sophia is depicted, while on sheet 13 (B) we encounter the mosque of Mehmed II the Conqueror (the Fatih Mosque), the first mosque erected in the new Ottoman capital on the former site of the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles, founded by Emperor Constantine I in the fourth century. Lorck shows himself at work on sheet 11 (fig. 249.1). Standing on top of a fortification in the Galata district, he is shown drawing the panorama on the spot: a robust Turkish servant holds the scroll while the elegant young artist dips his pen in the large inkpot. This working method, however, is highly unlikely, as the panorama represents the city from several different vantage points. Lorck must have made separate on-site drawings of the major buildings and complexes, which he then combined into the prospect. This working method is corroborated by the general accuracy of important buildings, while the less important parts of the city seem to have been casually filled in. Lorck probably finished the *Prospect of Constantinople* only after his return to Vienna. At that time he might have added the pen notes indicating the sights represented in the drawings. His intention was probably to publish the *Prospect* as a woodcut or engraving. MCP

250, fol. 30v

1. For Lorck and Turkey, see Copenhagen 1990–91.
2. Copenhagen 1990–91, p. 11.
3. Hollstein 1954–, vol. 22, pp. 194–212, nos. 20, 28, 34, 36 (repr.).
4. These 127 woodcuts with some of Lorck's texts were published in *Dess Weitberühmten, Kunstreichen . . . Melchior Lorichs . . . Wolgerissene und Geschnittene Figuren . . .* (Hamburg, 1626; 2d ed., 1646); see E. Fischer in *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), vol. 19, p. 662.
5. For Lorck's *Prospect of Constantinople,* see Oberhummer 1902; Copenhagen 1990–91, p. 9; C. Mango et al. 1999. Lorck seems to have taken several of the topographical denominations from Giovanni Andrea Vavassore's view of Constantinople, a unique woodcut copy of which is now in the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. This view was well known through its inclusion in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis* (Basel, 1552), which was republished several times; see C. Mango et al. 1999, p. 2. In the nineteenth century, Lorck's drawing was cut into twenty-one pieces.

References: Oberhummer 1902; Amsterdam 1975, p. 136; Leiden 1987–88, pp. 79–84; Copenhagen 1990–91; C. Mango et al. 1999.

250. *Oracula Leonis* (Leonine Oracles)

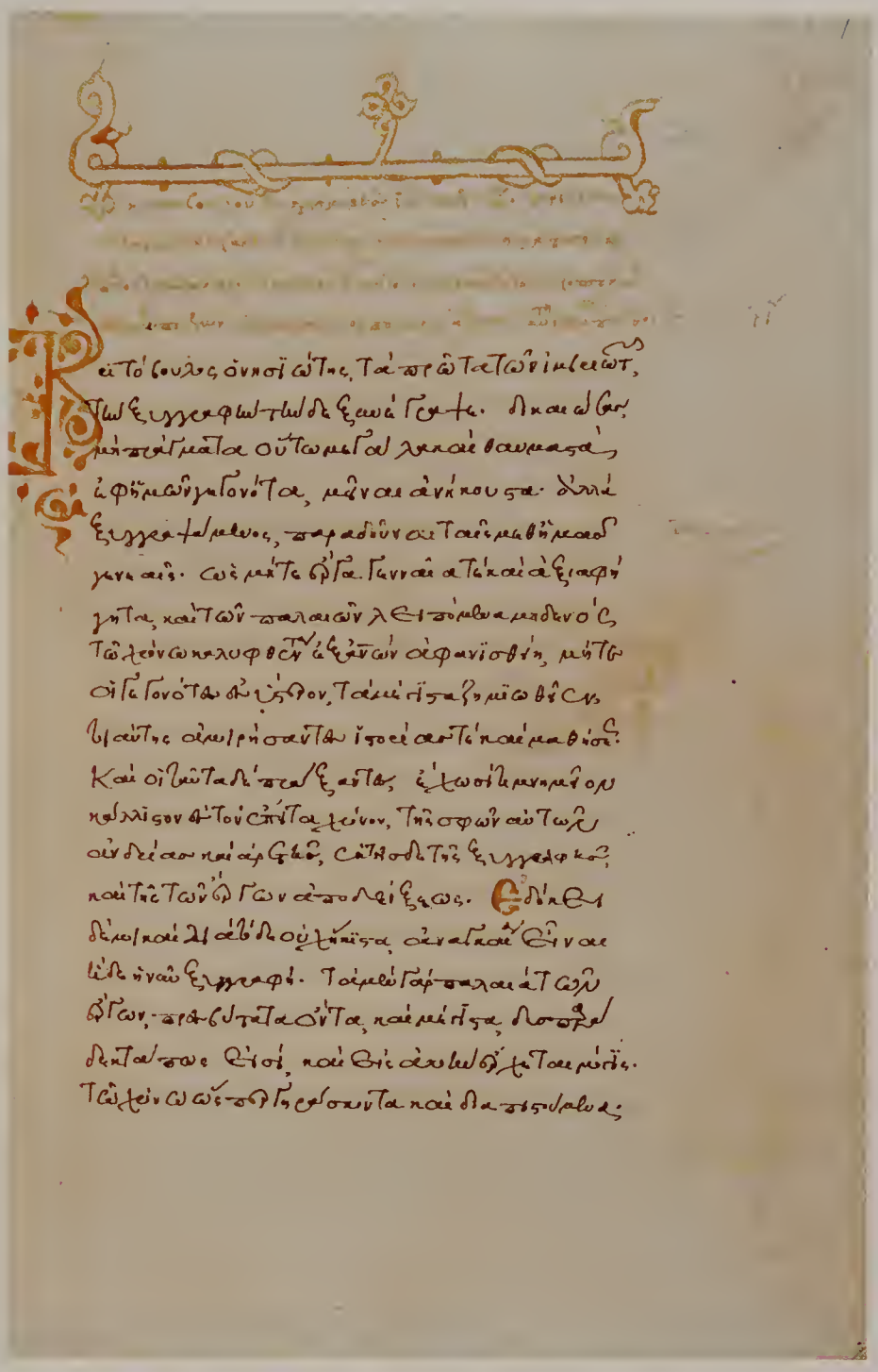
Veneto-Cretan, second half of the 16th century
Colored ink on paper; 54 fols.
37.5 x 26.2 cm (14¾ x 10¼ in.)
Provenance: Formerly in the collection of Giacomo Contarini (1536–1595)
Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Cod. Marc. gr. VII, 3=546)

The exhibited folio (30v), which carries an image of Constantinople and the text of a Greek prophecy referring to the fall of the city, belongs to a manuscript containing three different versions of the same prophetic text—the *Oracula Leonis,* or *Leonine Oracles.* The first section is made up of the *Oracles* as copied by the Cretan priest Zaharias Skordyles in 1572–73. The following two sections contain variations of the text and have been attributed to a workshop known to have produced manuscripts for the Venetian Giacomo Contarini (1536–1595).[1] The second section can be dated by a watermark to the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[2] The three versions were later bound into a single codex.[3] The original text has long been attributed to the emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912), called Leo the Wise, who was an extremely learned scholar. This attribution, however, cannot be credited, because Leo VI made strongly negative pronouncements concerning magic and divination.[4] The text should probably be associated instead with Leo the Mathematician (also known as Leo the Philosopher), a tenth-century scholar and astrologer.

After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottoman Turks, refugees from the Byzantine Empire and their descendants developed a renewed interest in the *Oracula Leonis.* Its prophecies, originally considered political pronouncements about Constantinople and the Byzantine emperors, underwent a new interpretation; now they were understood to foretell the end of Ottoman rule and the rebirth of the Byzantine Empire. The text was widely disseminated by refugee communities in Venetian-held territories, where there was no objection to the production of such texts, since the Venetians themselves were in direct conflict with neighboring Ottoman forces. To judge from the dates of surviving copies of the *Oracula Leonis,* the text reached its greatest popularity during the period 1560–80, when, according to a common belief based on a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, the downfall of Ottoman power was expected to occur.[5] PL

1. Rigo 1988, p. 96.
2. Maltezou 1999, p. 93.
3. They were bound together in 1713, after Contarini's manuscripts were given to the Biblioteca Marciana (Rigo 1988, p. 91).
4. C. Mango 1960, p. 68.
5. Rigo 1988, p. 13.

References: Mioni 1960–85, vol. 3, pp. 19–21; Rigo 1988, pp. 88–99; Venice 1993a, p. 68, no. 47; Maltezou 1999, no. 21.



251, fol. 3r

251. *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*

Michael Kritoboulos of Imbros (d. 1467?)
Istanbul, 1467
Ink on European watermarked paper, modern leather binding; 161 fols.
22 x 14 cm (8⅝ x 5½ in.)
Provenance: Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, where the manuscript probably remained after completion; catalogued in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library by Adolf Deissmann, 1928.
Condition: The text is in good condition, but the original binding is now lost and has been replaced by a plain leather binding.
Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul (G.I. 3)

When Constantinople fell in 1453, two Greek islands in the north Aegean Sea, Lemnos and Imbros (now Gökçeada, Turkey), managed to evade occupation. Michael Kritoboulos, a Greek judge from Imbros, persuaded the Ottoman conqueror, Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81), to peacefully assume sovereignty of the two islands.[1] Kritoboulos then joined Mehmed's court in Istanbul, becoming his panegyrist. The *History of Mehmed the Conqueror,* Kritoboulos's only known work, is a historical account of seventeen years of Mehmed's reign (1451–67) and still one of the most important sources on that subject. Kritoboulos dedicated his book to Mehmed, describing his deeds as "in no way inferior to those of Alexander the Macedonian,"[2] and set forth a justification for his own project: "Many of the honorable Arabs and Persians [Ottomans] may record these better . . . but nothing of this kind will take the place of a treatise in the Greek language, which has very great renown in all parts. For such writings will become known only among Arabs and

Persians. . . . But these things will thus become the common pride and wonder, not of Greeks alone, but of all western nations, indeed those beyond the Pillars [of Hercules] and those who inhabit the British Isles, and many more."[3] Although it is apparent from the text that Kritoboulus intended to continue his narrative up to the end of Mehmed's reign, it breaks off in 1467, from which it can be surmised that Kritoboulos died that year.

Kritoboulos was one of several Greeks invited to Mehmed's court. The sultan had a keen interest in Western civilization and also sponsored the production of manuscripts in Greek; these resembled Ottoman Islamic manuscripts in the preparation of their paper and binding, but rarely in their decoration.[4] Characteristically, this unique copy of Kritoboulos's history is written on a lightly burnished paper that was pressed against a ruling frame and retains the impressed parallel lines. Its original, Islamic-type binding is now missing.[5] The book's modest decoration consists of Byzantine-style initials and, at the beginning of the main text, a simple headband that contains half-palmettes and knots.

AY-Y

1. Babinger 1978, p. 97.
2. Kritovoulos 1954, p. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 4.
4. Raby 1983, pp. 17, 20.
5. The original binding was last recorded in Deissmann 1933, p. 43; see also Raby 1983, p. 19.

References: Deissmann 1933, pp. 43–44; Kritovoulos 1954; Babinger 1978; Raby 1983; Raby 1987a; "Kritoboulos, Michael," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 2, p. 1159; Berksoy 2000; Washington 2000, p. 60, A1.

252. Selections from Ptolemy and Dionysius Periegetes

Byzantine, 14th–15th century
Ink and watercolor on European watermarked paper, leather binding; 106 fols.
40.1 x 28.9 cm (15¾ x 11⅜ in.)

Provenance: Perhaps donated to the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, in 1421; probably taken into the library of Mehmed II (the Conqueror) in the Topkapı Palace, where it has remained.
Condition: The text and maps are in good condition. The manuscript was restored in 1929.
Topkapı Sarayi Müsezi, Istanbul (G.I. 27)

After the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II, known as the Conqueror, not only appointed Greeks as his advisers but also collected Greek and Latin manuscripts on ancient history, classical literature, and geography, the last of which seems to have been of particular interest to him. This Greek treatise on geography contains the famous second-century *Geographike Hyphegesis II* (Guide to geography) of Ptolemy (fols. 1–88) and the *Oikoumenes Periegesis* (The habitable earth), written in the second or third century by Dionysios Periegetes (fols. 89–106). The date of the manuscript is not recorded; this may be the copy that was donated to the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in 1421.[1] It was most likely in

252, fols. 83v–84r

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Mehmed's library in 1465, when he ordered his influential Greek tutor, George Amiroutzes of Trebizond, to translate Ptolemy's text into Arabic and also to compile a world map from the separate maps accompanying the text. It has been suggested that this manuscript was used as the basis for Amiroutzes' translation and world map.[2] Two copies of the text translated into Arabic survive.[3]

The present manuscript contains sixty-three large maps of Europe (see fols. 83v–84r), Asia, and Africa, all displaying latitudes and longitudes. Bodies of water are shown in green, mountains in light brown, and inhabited areas as red castles with their names inscribed above. The visible fold creases on the folios suggest that the sheets of European watermarked paper were folded three times to make this manuscript. Thus the sheets were originally intended for a manuscript about a quarter of the size of the present one. The manuscript's modest decoration consists of initials in red ink, like those in the *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* by Kritoboulos (cat. 251). The binding has a flap on the right side, although the left side is usual for manuscripts in Arabic script (which read from right to left). The binding must have been attached to the manuscript after it reached the Ottoman court library. AY-Y

1. Deissmann 1933, pp. 68–69.
2. Babinger 1978, p. 247; Deissmann 1933, pp. 33–34.
3. Both copies are now in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (AS 2596, 2610); see Deissmann 1933, pp. 32–33.

References: Deissmann 1933, pp. 68–69; Babinger 1978; Raby 1983; Raby 1987a; Istanbul 1994 (2d ed.), pp. 38–39; Berksoy 2000; Washington 2000, p. 174, A20.

253. Procession of Süleyman the Magnificent through the Hippodrome

Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550)
Netherlandish, 1533, published 1553 in *Moeurs et Fachons des Turks (Customs and Fashions of the Turks)*
Woodcut, single sheet from a frieze printed on ten sheets
35.1 x 87.2 cm (13⅞ x 34⅜ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.85.7a,b)

Before the panorama of the city of Constantinople, a lengthy procession is depicted winding its way toward the minareted Fatih ("Conqueror") Mosque on the left horizon. It houses the tomb of Sultan Mehmed II, the Ottoman conqueror of Constantinople. Most significant among the riders who file past the Hippodrome is Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (ca. 1494–1566), shown in strict profile on the right. This image is part of an extensive frieze composed of seven scenes and measuring about fifteen feet in length created by the Netherlandish artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst. The naturalistic rendering of the customs and scenes of foreign people before an expansive city view was unprecedented in Netherlandish art at the time. It has served scholars as valuable testimony to the appearance not only of Ottoman architecture but also of the major monuments of Constantine's city following its fall in 1453.[1] The buildings around the Hippodrome have been condensed and slightly rearranged to fit the image, but many are identifiable. Among the monuments of Byzantium is the Church of Hagia Sophia on the right horizon; it is visible just to the left of the Egyptian obelisk erected in the Hippodrome by Theodosius (r. 379–95). The column with the twisted serpents erected by Constantine (r. 306–37) is on the right just behind the sultan. The large tower to the left of the Hagia Sophia may be the Galata Tower constructed by the Genoese.

Coecke traveled to Constantinople in 1533; he appears to have been part of an expedition sent by the Brussels-based Dermoyen firm to negotiate a sale of tapestries to the sultan. The firm may have been hoping that Süleyman, wanting to rival Western monarchs, would commission a set of tapestries glorifying his reign, possibly based on the designs rendered in this frieze.[2] The tapestry commission appears never to have materialized. Coecke's widow published the woodcut frieze twenty years after her husband executed the designs created during or soon after his journey to Constantinople. NMO

1. Wiegand 1908 signaled the woodcut's importance for the visual evidence it offers of the city around 1530 and identified most of the recognizable monuments depicted in the image.
2. The trip was described by Coecke's biographer Karel van Mander (1994–99, vol. 1, fol. 218r–218v, pp. 130–33, vol. 3, pp. 76–77). The two sample tapestry sets that the firm intended to show the sultan were specified in contracts of 1533; they were duplicates of the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian*, sets prepared for the Habsburg court in Brussels. See New York 2002, pp. 379–80, and Guy Delmarcel in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 38–41. The trip to Constantinople took place at an opportune moment, when the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha was actively purchasing and commissioning works by Western artists for the sultan; see G. Necipoğlu 1989.

References: Stirling Maxwell 1873; Wiegand 1908; Marlier 1966, pp. 55–73.

254. *The Book of Worthy Conquest (Futūhat-i Jamīla)*

Attributed to Arifi
Istanbul, July 1557[1]
Ink, colors, and gilt on paper, leather binding; 32 fols.
32.5 x 23 cm (12¾ x 9 in.)
PROVENANCE: The manuscript has remained in the Topkapı Palace since it was copied in July 1557 in Istanbul.
CONDITION: The manuscript is in good condition. Some discoloring is visible on the miniatures.
Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul (H. 1592)

The power of the Ottomans increased considerably after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, with the Ottoman Empire reaching its largest extent during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–66). *The Book of Worthy Conquest* narrates in Persian the conquest of four Hungarian towns, a campaign led by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1551. Sokollu Mehmed was born to a rural Serbian noble family in the village of Sokolovići in Bosnia. At a young age he was taken as a *devshirme* (levy of Christian youths) by the Ottomans and, after being trained at the court school in Edirne, joined the Ottoman civil service, where he successfully reached the highest level of office as grand vizier in 1564. He kept this office under two other sultans until 1579.[2] Although the author of the text is not recorded, it is attributed to Arifi, the Ottoman court historian who composed other works in Persian.[3] The manuscript itself is illustrated with seven miniatures and was most likely sponsored by Sokollu Mehmed when he was a vizier (but before he had reached the rank of grand vizier) to be presented to Süleyman.

The miniature on folio 8r depicts the surrender of the castle of Csanád in 1551. Sokollu Mehmed is shown as a vizier with a large plumed turban seated under a decorated tent in the right foreground. He receives the commander of the castle of Csanád, who stands in a humble pose with his hat in hand. The two figures standing behind Sokollu Mehmed wear the distinctive red cap of the elite infantry corps of the Ottomans known as Janissaries, who, like Sokollu Mehmed, began their careers as *devshirme*. The yet-to-be conquered castle in the background is heavily fortified and has cannons projecting from its walls. It is inhabited with armed figures as well as a priest. Two other Hungarians from the castle are being led by the Ottoman army in the middle ground. The text in Arabic in the upper right corner of the miniature reads, "Muhammad Sipahdar Haydar Karam, when he heard the enemy's death cry."[4] AY-Y

254, fol. 8r

1. Hegira date: end of Ramadan, 964. Karatay 1961, p. 61, mistakenly converted this date to 1558.
2. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1997), vol. 9, pp. 706–7.
3. Atıl 1986, pp. 56–57, 69.
4. Fehér 1978, pl. 32.

REFERENCES: Karatay 1961, pp. 61–62; Fehér 1978, p. 18, pls. 29–30, 32–34, 36; Atıl 1986, pp. 56–57, figs. 37–38; Washington–Chicago–New York 1987–88, p. 89; "Soḳollu Meḥmed Paşha," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1997), vol. 9, pp. 706–11; Washington 2000, p. 134, C9.

255. Psalter

Byzantine, late 12th century
Tempera, black ink, gold leaf on parchment with paper endpapers; 87 fols.
20.7 x 14.9 x 5.1 cm (8⅛ x 5⅞ x 2 in.)
INSCRIBED: Among the many historical inscriptions, in Greek on fol. 83r: "In the year from the bodily incarnation of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ 1554, in the month of February, the 10th, on Thursday of the second week of holy and great Lent, in the reign in Constantinople of Sultan Süleyman, Nicholas Pazartzis of the town of Selymbria was martyred. In a jealous rage the godless Hagarenes [Muslims] claimed [?] how he had uttered blasphemous words against Muhammad, and they cut off his head in Constantinople, in the At Meydani [Hippodrome], and he was rewarded with the eternal kingdom."[1]
PROVENANCE: According to inscriptions in the text on fols. 4r and 82v, the manuscript was on Samos in the seventeenth century. It was sold at Sotheby's London on July 8, 1970, to a private collector. The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired it in 2001.
CONDITION: The manuscript is in good condition. There are varying amounts of flaking on the seven surviving illustrations and wear on various pages. An inscription on fol. 4r dates the binding to 1672.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Jaharis Family Foundation Inc. Gift, 2001 (2001.730)

255, fol. 5r

This elegantly illuminated psalter opens with a handsome headpiece to the Book of Psalms (fol. 5r) with a bust of Christ at its center and, below the headpiece, an elaborate incipit letter formed by two birds, which may refer to Jesus's dual nature as both God and man.[2] The late-twelfth-century manuscript represents the tradition of "aristocratic" psalters produced in the Byzantine sphere before the fall of Constantinople to the Latin Crusaders in 1204. The many inscriptions in the text also make it representative of the liturgical works that remained within the Byzantine sphere after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks. Lowden has identified a hymn on folio 81r as written in a late-fourteenth-century hand typical of the scribe Ioasaph (act. 1360–1405/6) of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople. The inscription describing the execution of the Christian Nicholas Pazartzis in the Hippodrome in 1554 (fol. 83r) suggests that the manuscript remained in Constantinople for at least a century after the city's fall. An inscription on folio 4r records that the psalter was given "to the most pious metropolitan of Ephesus Lord . . . Anthimos in the island of Samos" in 1639. Another, on folio 82r, demonstrates that it was still on Samos in 1672: having been "presented by the holy sakellarios of Samos, the protopappas Lord John, successor of Lord Alexias, to the monastery of Prophet Elijah, [it was] rebound well, under the supervision of the present abbot of the said monastery, Joseph the hieromonk . . ." As these inscriptions demonstrate, the careful preservation of such works was one of the means by which the artistic traditions of the Byzantine era were preserved and transferred to the Orthodox faithful after the loss of the empire's political power. HCE

1. I thank John Lowden for the translation of this colophon and all other translations in this entry.

2. Black-and-white photographs of the manuscript were published in 1970 and included in several studies of psalters and Byzantine manuscripts, including Carr 1987, no. 108, pp. 289–90, and Cutler 1984, no. 48, pp. 86–87. Lowden 1988 included the psalter as no. 80 in his list on p. 259. Now that the manuscript is in a public collection, a careful study of the work is under way.

REFERENCES: Sotheby's 1970, lot 92, pp. 59–62; Cutler 1984, no. 48, pp. 86–87; Carr 1987, no. 108, pp. 289–90; Lowden 1988b, p. 259, no. 80; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Recent Acquitisions: A Selection, 2001–2002* (New York, 2002), p. 13.

The Arts of Christian Communities in the Medieval Middle East

THELMA K. THOMAS

Between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century, European Crusaders and Middle Eastern and Central Asian dynasties vied for control within a vast swath of territory stretching across Egypt and Syria—once part of the Byzantine Empire—through Mesopotamia and Persia in the East, and south to Ethiopia (fig. 13.2). Fluctuations of political fortunes across the region affected the circumstances of various religious groups, including Greek Orthodox and Latin Christians, Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims, and shamanists (as were the Īlkhānid Mongols until their conversion to Islam at the turn of the fourteenth century). Indigenous Christian communities survived and at times prospered by participating in ruling administrations and negotiating extremely fluid social conditions. In major cities they lived alongside immigrant Christian and Jewish communities within predominantly Muslim populations. Town and village populations were less diverse but not necessarily isolated from each other or from city dwellers. In fact, a physical mobility that is remarkable even by today's standards maintained communication between cities and across regions: people traveled for warfare, for diplomatic, administrative, and other political reasons, for trade, for pilgrimage and ecclesiastical concerns, for scholarship, and for curiosity. Consequently the artistic repertoires of the complex pluralistic societies of the medieval Middle East reflect changing historical circumstances, as well as cultural diversity and proximity, interaction and synthesis.[1]

A Desert Monastery in Egypt

Consider the Coptic church of the Monastery of Saint Antony (Deir Anbā Anṭūniyūs), near the Red Sea coast, which adapted visual expressions of the dominant Islamic culture and the Christian groups with which its monks interacted. A view from the nave toward the sanctuary in the east (figs. 13.3, 13.4) frames an array of motifs and styles combined from Eastern Orthodox—especially Coptic—and other Christian and Islamic artistic traditions. Alongside Coptic and Arabic calligraphy, arabesques (foliate rinceaux), and other aniconic motifs (fig. 13.5) are iconic compositions from a traditional Coptic repertoire in use since early Christian times, such as the Virgin and Child enthroned, in the lower level of the sanctuary (fig. 13.3), and "spatial icons," such as the Pantokrator in the dome, introduced in Middle Byzantine programs (fig. 13.6).[2]

Now part of the "completed" church that we see today, these visual vocabularies came together over the centuries as the result of the monastery's changing circumstances. At the turn of the thirteenth century, when the monastery seems to have been in the hands of Syrian Christians, a visitor would have seen a venerable church with equally ancient murals tending toward disrepair. Soon thereafter the monastery was returned to Coptic ownership and came to play important roles in Church politics, providing patriarchs for the Coptic Church and sending its abbot as an emissary to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1440. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the monastery also enjoyed a period of notable artistic and intellectual activity, a "golden age," when numerous translations of Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic texts were produced and several important renovations of the church were undertaken.[3]

In the early decades of the thirteenth century, the sanctuary was rebuilt. Then, in 1232–33, a group of over thirty patrons, mostly monks and priest-monks of the monastery, arranged for the nave and sanctuary to be painted and recorded their names and hopes for salvation within heavenly Jerusalem in a "memorial" inscription and other dedicatory inscriptions.[4] Theodore, monk and painter, oversaw the execution of an elaborate program planned around intersecting themes of paradise and salvation. Visionary images of Christ in heavenly glory inspired by passages from the celebration of the Eucharist, the Book of Revelation, and Isaiah are found in the newly constructed upper levels of the eastern apse and central dome (fig. 13.6). Along the

Fig. 13.1. *The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia* (detail of fig. 13.14, fol. 93v).
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Syr. 559)

Fig. 13.2. Map of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Byzantine Period. Map: Anandaroop Roy

lower levels of nave and sanctuary, delineating paths to salvation, are iconic images of Coptic monastic saints and patriarchs standing in prayer, the Virgin and Christ Child enthroned (fig. 13.3), and scenes blending narrative detail with iconic images of equestrian martyrs and Old Testament figures. These compositions draw upon traditional Coptic, Byzantine, and Crusader iconography, as well as details of Mamlūk dress, ornament, and architecture then visible in contemporary Cairo. The compositions are rendered with the deep colors, strong outlining, and two-dimensional figures characteristic of Coptic painting. Within a few decades, another team of painters, perhaps brought in from Cairo, extended the program to the *khūruṣ* (a uniquely Coptic architectural arrangement separating the congregational space of the nave from the sanctuary, or *haykal,* restricted to the clergy)[5] in a comparatively vivid palette and up-to-date styles. On the arched entry are intercessory angels (fig. 13.4) and, on the walls, salvation imagery from the Old and New Testaments in a figural style merging contemporary Byzantine, Cypriot, and Coptic conventions (fig. 13.3). Aligned with the wood beams of the *khūruṣ* vault are bands with hexagonal colored-glass inserts, geometric and floral ornamental patterns adapted from monuments of contemporary Cairo, and inscriptions in Arabic in neskhi script of passages from the Psalms, which again direct attention to earthly and heavenly Jerusalem (figs. 13.4, 13.5).[6] A screen below the *khūruṣ* vault is modeled on medieval examples in ebony and ivory inlaid with repeating patterns based on star and cross motifs (fig. 13.3). Along with Coptic and Arabic inscriptions about the painted imagery and formal dedications of patrons, painters, and other monks are graffiti in the public areas of the church. The graffiti are informal attestations of visitors, written in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Latin, accumulated between the thir-

teenth and the twentieth centuries, often recording hopes for personal salvation in phrases echoing the "memorial" inscription.[7]

Urban Centers: Cairo and Jerusalem

Although the halcyon days of the church of Saint Antony's history correspond approximately with a florescence of Coptic Christian culture in Egypt during Egypt's political and commercial ascendance in the thirteenth century, Christian communities elsewhere in the Middle East lived through different circumstances. Just before the turn of the thirteenth century, Jerusalem, the center of the Christian world and the crown jewel of Crusader states in Syria and Palestine, was under siege. Baghdad, capital of ʿAbbāsid territories in Mesopotamia, was still an active metropolis, although it no longer glittered with the spectacular wealth and prestige it had once enjoyed as the center of the legendary Sinbad's "Middle Way"—the trade route through the Persian Gulf region linking Europe and the Far East.[8] In the mid-thirteenth century, the balance of power in the region was rocked by the Mongols, who "swept through" Baghdad "like hungry falcons"[9] with the aid of local Christians and then invaded Syria and Palestine. The Mamlūks pushed back the Mongols and conquered the last of the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine, taking Jerusalem and gaining control of Egypt. From the latter half of the thirteenth century, the Mamlūk capital of Cairo took precedence as one of the largest, wealthiest cities of the medieval world.[10] Where Christians in Egypt and Syria benefited from the rise of the Mamlūks, those in Mesopotamia at first earned the favor of the Mongols, then suffered reprisals. As for Jerusalem, it was renewed as an Islamic city. In response to such circumstances, several ecclesiastical initiatives attempted to strengthen links between the Latin Church and the Chalcedonian or Greek Orthodox Church of the Byzantine emperors, and the non-Greek, non-Chalcedonian Eastern Orthodox Churches (called Jacobite by the Latins), including those of the Egyptian Copts, the Syrians, the Armenians, and, increasingly, the Ethiopians.[11]

Recent fieldwork and new directions in art-historical scholarship underscore the cultural and social complexity of the medieval Middle East, charting cross-cultural adaptations of motifs and genres and exploring visual expressions of continually shifting relations between Christian communities and other groups.[12] Much attention has been focused on major cities and on the urban context in general as the nexus of extensive trade in luxury goods and the prime locus for artistic patronage and production.[13] Notable recent studies of extra-urban monuments—such as the monastery church of Saint Antony—redirect attention to include alternative sites for the transmission of techniques, styles, and ideas.[14]

Key urban settings for the Christian arts of the medieval Middle East are the cities of Cairo and Jerusalem, which reflect the contrasting histories of their Christian communities and their different organization and characters. There are, of course, significant historical parallels. During the thirteenth century, both cities came under Mamlūk rule (1250–1517). They had similarly diverse populations of Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Their Christian and Jewish inhabitants held a legal status subordinate to that of Muslims but one that offered various protections, including protection against jihad within the peaceful Dar al-Islam (Land of Islam).[15] Jerusalem, however, was a pilgrimage center, *the* center for Christian pilgrimage, and Cairo *the* center for commerce.

Cairo

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Cairo swelled to accommodate new immigrants and burgeoning commercial activity, linking earlier, separate sites of habitation and administration, incorporating earlier phases of urban development and monumental structures. The metropolis sprawled outside the old walls and grew lengthwise between the unstable course of the Nile on the west and the looming Muqaṭṭam Hills on the east. Towering over the city from its eastern vantage was the citadel, a massive administrative and military complex modeled on that at Damascus and begun by the Ayyūbid ruler Saladin (sultan of Egypt, 1169–93; of Damascus, from 1174). Below it were the grand public spaces of the Fāṭimids (969–1171), the monumental squares and grand avenue of their foundation al-Qāhira, or Cairo, as well as magnificent mosque and palace complexes, specialized markets, and gardenlike passages. Greater Cairo's thirty-seven neighborhoods, or quarters, were clustered around streets lined with shops, over which towered multistory dwellings. Each quarter was characterized by its main industrial or commercial activity and predominant ethnic group. By the end of the thirteenth century, the city had come to number perhaps a quarter of a million inhabitants. The population included Muslim Turks and Arabs from across the Middle East, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as Jews, and Christian communities including native Egyptian Copts, Melchites ("imperial" Byzantine or Greek Orthodox Christians), Syrians, Armenians, Nubians, Ethiopians, and Europeans.[16]

Copts (indigenous Christians)—the largest Christian community in Greater Cairo as well as throughout Egypt—inhabited several areas of the city including that of al-Fusṭāṭ, now called Old Cairo. Once the center of ʿAbbāsid rule in Egypt (ca. 749–969), al-Fusṭāṭ had been superseded by Fāṭimid al-Qāhira and become a quarter marked by ruins, hills of refuse, and particularly narrow streets. Yet its cramped bazaars bustled with activity, and here the Coptic patriarchate relocated after moving from Alexandria in the eleventh century. Today, most of the city's medieval churches and a medieval synagogue are preserved in Old Cairo (fig. 13.7).[17]

One important patriarchal church complex was the Church of the Virgin (fig. 13.8), called al-Muʿallaqa, or the Suspended One, because it was built above the gateway to the Roman fortress of Babylon, a site associated with the flight of the Holy

Fig. 13.3. General view from the nave, Church of Saint Anthony, Monastery of Saint Anthony at the Red Sea, Egypt, ca. 1240–80. Photo: Patrick Godeau. © 2002 Antiquities Development Project of the American Research Institute in Cairo

Fig. 13.4. Eastern wall of the *khūruṣ*, with sanctuary apse in the background, showing the second phase of paintings, Church of Saint Anthony, Monastery of Saint Anthony at the Red Sea, Egypt, ca. 1240–80. Photo: Patrick Godeau. © 2002 Antiquities Development Project of the American Research Institute in Cairo

Fig. 13.5. Upper zone of the *khūruṣ*, Church of Saint Anthony, Monastery of Saint Anthony at the Red Sea, Egypt, ca. 1240–80. Photo: Patrick Godeau. © 2002 Antiquities Development Project of the American Research Institute in Cairo

Fig. 13.6. Images of Christ in the sanctuary dome and apse, Church of Saint Anthony, Monastery of Saint Anthony at the Red Sea, Egypt, 1232–33. Photo: Patrick Godeau. © 2002 Antiquities Development Project of the American Research Institute in Cairo

Family into Egypt during Christ's infancy.[18] Like Cairo's other medieval churches, al-Muʿallaqa underwent renovation following destructive eruptions of urban violence when, from the late thirteenth century, Cairo's Coptic community experienced numerous attempts to revoke its privileges and remove its members from civil office. Al-Muʿallaqa was severely damaged at this time but was renovated in 1301–2 in association with an embassy from the Byzantine court, with the assistance of Greek artists, and perhaps with Byzantine sponsorship. As part of this renovation, the baptismal chapel acquired a sanctuary screen of ten panels, probably arranged in two vertical rows, carved and gilded with intertwining lush foliate backgrounds behind crosses (four panels at top) and feast scenes from the life of Christ (six panels below) (cat. 260).[19] At the same time, the sanctuary of the adjacent funerary chapel (later dedicated to the fourteenth-century Ethiopian monastic saint Takla Haymanot) was provided with an opaque screen (fig. 13.9) that featured a contrasting tripartite format and a distinctive combination of aniconic and iconic compositions.[20] The technique and style of the screen are characteristic of wood architectural decoration and ornamented furnishings in use throughout Mamlūk Egypt

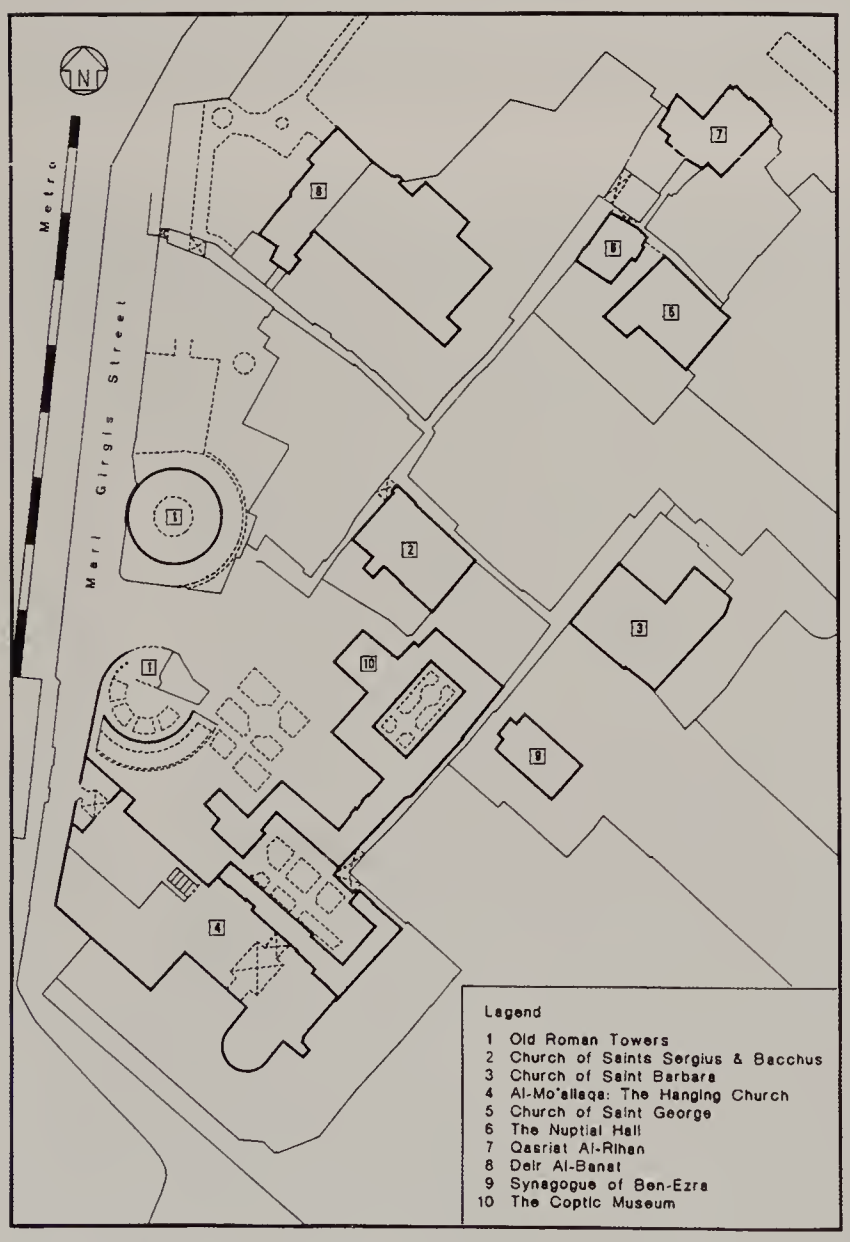


Fig. 13.7. Map of al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo). After Gawdat Gabra, *Cairo: The Coptic Museum and Old Churches* (Cairo, 1993), p. 112

and Syria, in which inlaid hexagonal motifs radiate outward from a central star to form intersecting circles. A cross motif inset in a square panel punctuates this astral pattern on each side panel. On the top and bottom of the central bipanel door to the sanctuary, inscriptions from the Psalms in neskhi script identify the sanctuary with the Temple in Jerusalem and as a type of heavenly paradise.[21] The horizontal format of the inscriptions parallels an upper register of rectangular panels inlaid with the circle-and-star patterns. Inset in this upper register are square panels inlaid with cross motifs and square Byzantine-style icons painted with scenes from Christ's infancy, the Annunciation, and the Nativity, pointing to the sacred character of this site visited by Christ as a child.[22] The icons in this grand screen are very poorly preserved, but there is another example of this distinctive combination of aniconic inlay and painted-panel icons, also dating to the early fourteenth century and in the same church. It is a portable wood case inlaid with crosses and ornamental motifs in rectangular panels and strips around a painted icon of Saint Mark rendered in the elongated figural style and dramatic draping of late Byzantine art, signed in Greek by the monk-painter Stephanos (fig. 13.10).[23] Such "Byzantine" icons in Egypt could serve Coptic devotions whether enframed in Mamlūk-style inlays or not (see cat. 116).

Whether in the urban center of Cairo or in more rural districts such as at the Monastery of Saint Antony, medieval Coptic art embraced a markedly inclusive repertoire of forms and modes, which were combined in ways that responded to available resources, current concerns, and immediate needs. Thus, the icon screen in the funerary chapel at al-Muʿallaqa displays the skills of Byzantine painters and Mamlūk (religious identity unknown) woodworkers in a screen that marks and interprets sanctuary space in the universal terms of the Psalms while drawing attention to the sacred character of this Egyptian site. Within a larger historical context, the destruction and renovation of al-Muʿallaqa and other medieval Cairene churches reflect continuing anti-Christian sentiment on the one hand and, on the other, the interested interventions of Christian groups from outside of Cairo. Later in the fourteenth century, Latin and Armenian Christians strove both to protect these churches and to lay claim to them, seeking to further their position in what was still an extraordinarily wealthy and powerful city. As their situation deteriorated, Copts converted to Islam in increasing numbers; Coptic congregations dwindled, and the later churches are correspondingly smaller in size.[24] Unfortunately, the scope of the crisis worsened: in 1348 came the first wave of the plague, the Black Death, and Greater Cairo lost somewhere between one-quarter and one-third of its total population.[25] The cityscape of Cairo in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although depopulated by the plague and scarred by civil strife, continued to impress visitors with its wealth, commotion, diversity, and variety.[26] Cairo's decline continued, however, exacerbated by the emergence of new economic systems and trade routes, until the city and the Mamlūk

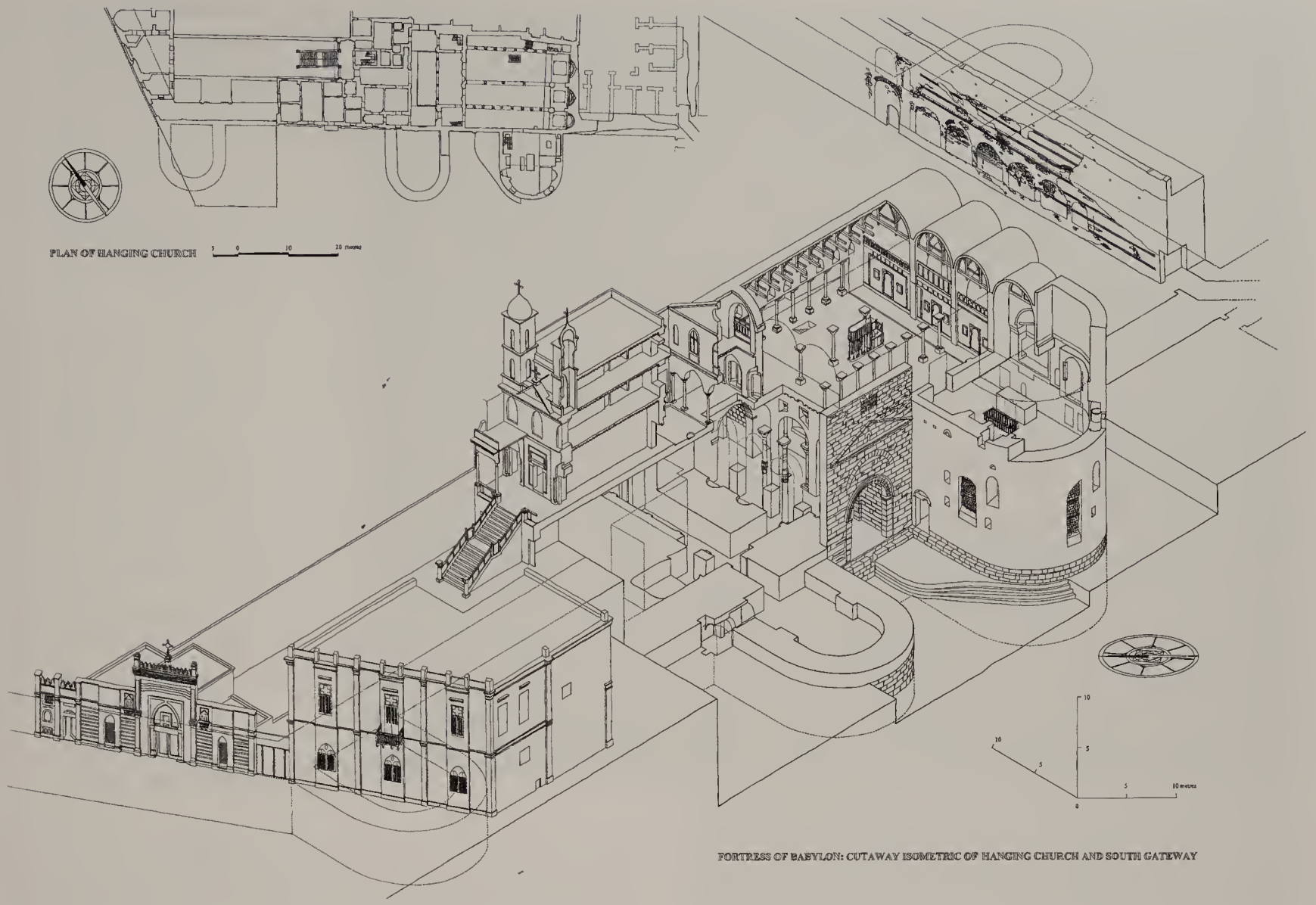


Fig. 13.8. Plan of the Roman gate and the Church of the Virgin, al-Muʿallaqa, in Old Cairo. Drawing by Nicholas Warner and Peter Sheehan

sultanate were eventually subsumed into a new world power, the Ottoman Empire.

Jerusalem

Between the mid-thirteenth and the early sixteenth century, as Cairo's congregational churches and the churches of Egypt's rural towns and monasteries experienced periods of neglect, devastation, and renovation, the grand pilgrimage churches of Jerusalem were maintained, but barely. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the city of Jerusalem was in ruins from the final defeat of the Crusaders. Thereafter, restoration of the fabric of the city promoted Islamic interests, with private endowments establishing new Muslim schools and shrines and renovating older shrines. At the same time, Jewish enclaves were reestablished near the Western Wall (Wailing Wall) and the Damascus Gate. Although the main Christian quarter around the Holy Sepulchre was never deserted, its luster faded as few pilgrimage churches were built, repaired, or refurbished.[27] Even at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the shrine complex housing the tomb of Christ, where construction had begun during the fourth century and continued throughout the Middle Ages, no significant architectural renovations were undertaken during Mamlūk rule. Christian pilgrims nevertheless continued to make the journey to this most important Christian holy place, which was believed to be the site of the center of the world, the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment.[28] The architectural monument they visited, however, was a legacy of Crusader rule (see fig. 13.11). Extensive renovations completed in 1149, accommodating the seat of the Latin patriarchate and the burial of Latin kings, also incorporated pilgrimage routes through what had already become a vast monastic complex with multiple chapels. Throughout the Middle Ages, Latin and Orthodox churches contested ownership of this sacred property.[29] One mid-fourteenth-century Italian pilgrim described being shepherded through the maze of chapels by teams of monastic custodians, whose presence signaled their proud possession: "These chapels are officiated some by the Christian Franks, some by the Greek Christians, some by the Armenian Christians, and some by the Christians of the Girdle [Coptic Christians], and some by the Jacobite Christians. And when pilgrims come the priests of that generation meet and receive them, and all with torches and candles in hand make the procession to all the chapels of the Holy Sepulchre."[30]

Much like the architectural frame of this Crusader church, its decorative program emphasized Latin authority even as it

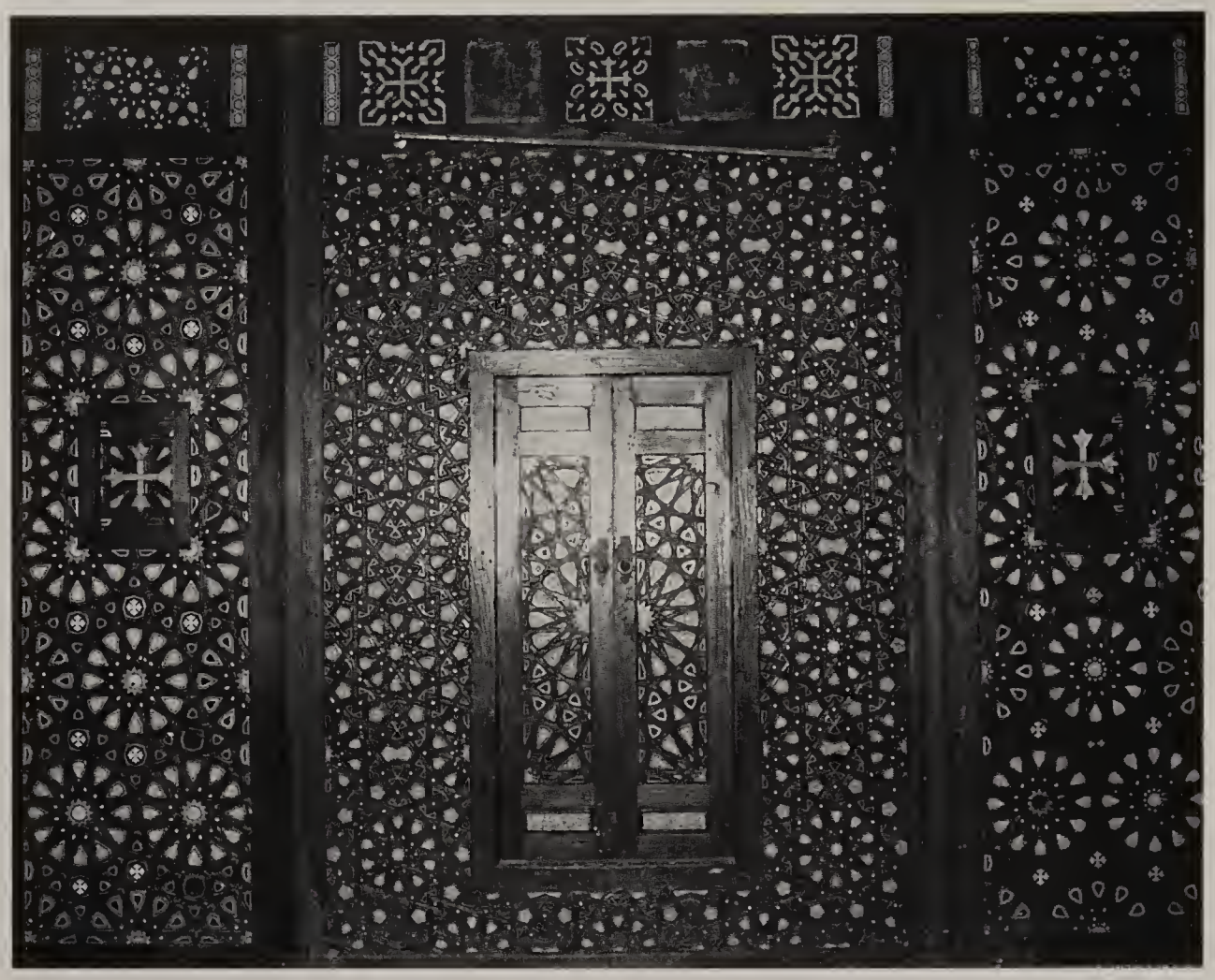


Fig. 13.9. Sanctuary screen, showing the doors with Arabic calligraphic inscriptions. Chapel of Saint Takla Haymanot, Church of the Virgin, al-Muʿallaqa, Old Cairo. Wood with ivory-inlaid crosses, 1301–2. Reproduced by permission from Lucy-Anne Hunt, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom, and Islam* (London, 1998), vol. 1, p. 69, fig. 1

incorporated past schemes, such as eleventh-century Byzantine mosaics, including a Last Judgment scene in the apse emended by Latin inscriptions, and added mosaics, sculptures, and paintings in various locations throughout the complex.

A Rural Monastery in Syria

The extra-urban churches of Palestine and Syria benefited from considerable and continued patronage during the Crusader and Mamlūk periods, when Arabic-speaking Christians mediated between Europeans and Arabs and profited from flourishing East–West trade. About the turn of the thirteenth century, the Arab historian Yāqūt ibn ʿAbdallāh (1179–1229) wrote about local patronage of monasteries: "Three clans vied with each other in the construction of sanctuaries and their ornamentation. . . . They built their convents in situations full of agreeable delights, shaded with trees, rich in vegetation and pools. They covered their walls with mosaics and their ceilings with gold and with frescoes."[31] Unfortunately, few traces of this thriving artistic activity survive. Extant mural programs combine the styles and images of contemporary Crusader, Byzantine, and Islamic art with local traditions, perhaps an indication that the workshops responsible for them employed artisans of many races and denominations.[32] Most fully preserved are the paintings at the church of Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi (Monastery of Saint Moses the Abyssinian, or Ethiopian), north of Damascus, just off the desert route between Damascus and Homs that links the Great Desert Route from Baghdad in the east to the Fertile Crescent Route running south to the Red Sea. Thanks in part to its location, the monastery maintained associations with the churches of Egypt and, increasingly, Ethiopia, as well as Jerusalem.[33] The walls of the church at Mar Musa were painted in three phases, first in the mid-eleventh century, again following a renovation at the turn of the twelfth century, and again in 1192.[34] The Last Judgment of the latest phase encompassed the church interior, covering the east and west walls. The Last Judgment is painted in a local style utilized by both Christians and Muslims; explicitly Christian content is determined by iconography. The multitiered composition on the west wall (fig. 13.12) includes motifs adapted in Eastern and Western art, such as (from bottom register) Peter welcoming the Blessed into heaven while the damned suffer in hell, the archangels Michael and Gabriel raising the dead, the Hetoimasia and Christ surrounded by saints. Abraham, one of the three patriarchs holding the souls of the saved (middle tier, at left), was counted as an ancestor of Christians and Muslims and so may be a deliberate expression of the religious heritage shared by adherents of both religions. The same motif of the patriarch Abraham in the Last Judgment mosaic at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was interpreted in just that way by at least one medieval Muslim visitor.[35] Special messages were directed to the Syrian Christian audience by particularly Syrian motifs and inscriptions in Syriac and pseudo-Syriac.[36]

Commonalities

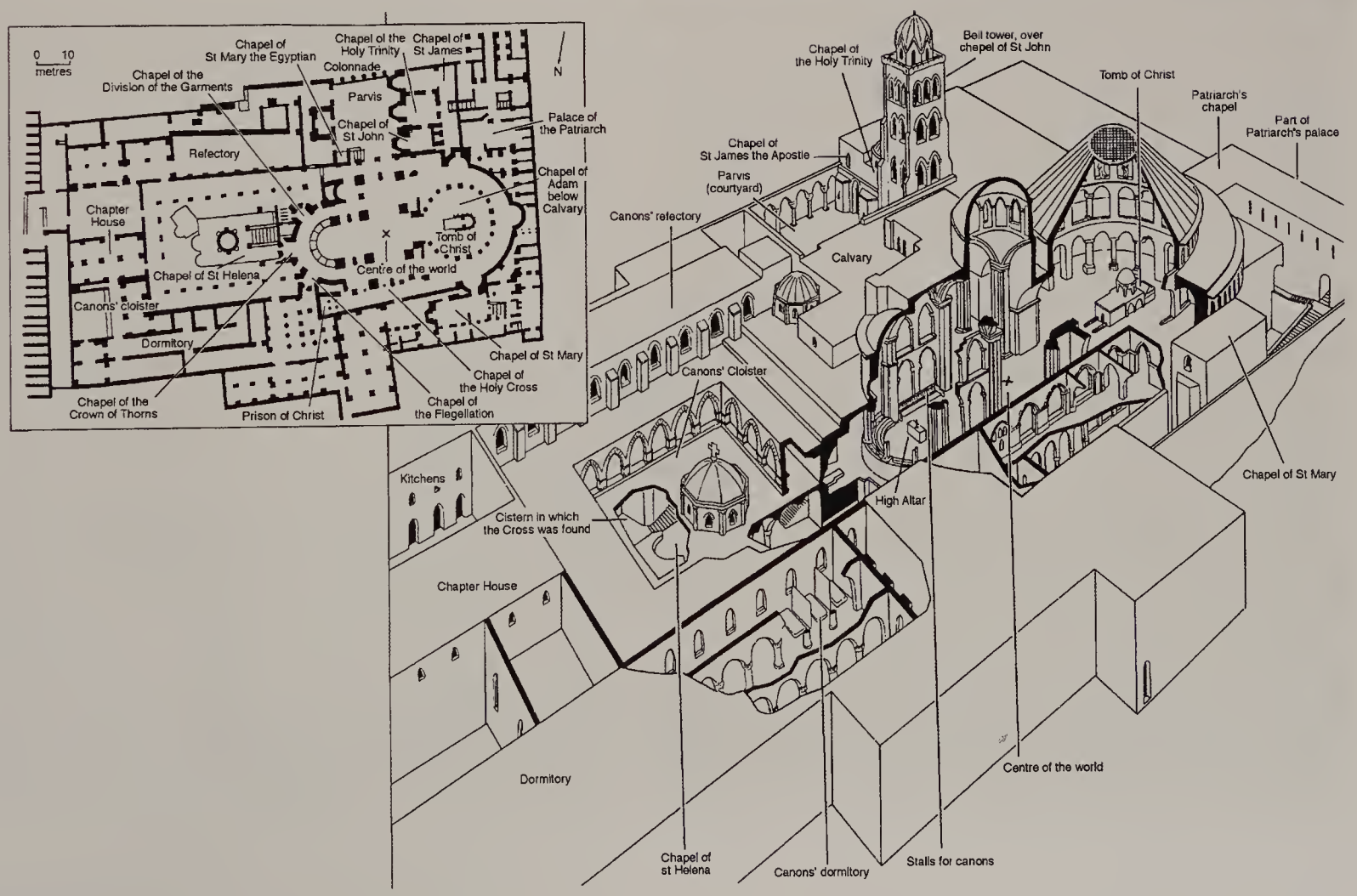
Clearly some artisans traveled extensively, working in urban and rural settings with collaborators who might be fluent in

Fig. 13.10. Case with an icon of Saint Mark by Stephanos surrounded by inlaid crosses and ornamental motifs. Wood and tempera on panel, early 14th century. Church of the Virgin, al-Muʿallaqa, Old Cairo. Reproduced by permission from Lucy-Anne Hunt, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom, and Islam* (London, 1998), vol. 1, p. 81, fig. 14

quite different artistic traditions. Patrons in cities, towns, and monasteries communicated with one another about their commissions. And people shared their experiences of these monuments. There were, as well, common expectations for church art, including not only types of images but also the conceptual structures that lent them meaning. For example, undergirding several crucial themes of the architecture and decoration of all these churches is a traditional notion that sacred space can be fashioned symbolically in ways that make explicit links between heaven and earth. Thus, references to paradise in words and images resonated with the spatial markers delineating the sanctuary. Moreover, as one early-thirteenth-century Coptic priest attested in the following story, liturgical actions could strengthen spiritual channels of communication opened by the images:

> *I celebrated the Divine Liturgy. . . . And when it was the time of the Aspasmos, which is the [Prayer] of Consolation, there*

Fig. 13.11. Drawing of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after 12th-century renovations. Reproduced by permission from Lucy-Anne Hunt, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom, and Islam* (London, 1998), vol. 1, p. 292, fig. 5



appeared above on the dome of the altar a person seated on a throne, and . . . a person standing before him. . . . Then there appeared at the back of all the dome riders on horses like the pictures of the Saints which are in the churches, and they were turning about the dome, and the tails of their horses were swishing, and all of them, namely the people, witnessed them. And when they reached the throne, they bowed in greeting, and they passed by, and they continued thus up to the time of the Communion, [and] they departed. And the like of this had appeared in the Church of Hanut, . . . the Church of Sabas, . . . the Church of the Mistress, . . . and in the Church of the martyr Abba John, . . . and the Muslim inhabitants of the town testified to this.[37]

It was not necessary to cultivate a devotional frame of mind to be moved by sacred artworks. A thirteenth-century Arab poet remembered Coptic monks and icons amid the secular pleasures he sought in a Coptic monastery:

Thoughtful people, pleasant people,
Serious and flighty, truthful and imaginative,

Fig. 13.12. *The Last Judgment.* Fresco, 1192. Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi, Syria. Reproduced by permission from Erika Cruikshank Dodd, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi* (Toronto, 2001), plate II

Fig. 13.13. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, from the Glajor Gospel. Tempera on vellum, 1300–1307. University of California, Los Angeles (Ms. 1)

In the home as much as in the taverns,
Illustrious Coptic priests, as you know,
Among whom one finds good men respected
For their charity. One of them recites
His prayers in a voice that recalls a
Flute. In their black burnooses, moons
In the middle of darkness, faces like
Images praying before images, beneath
Their robes slender waists, to them we
Went, and they left nothing in their
Cellars, there we passed a happy and
Unforgettable day.[38]

Indeed, monasteries could serve as a kind of refuge for monks and resort for tourists, who experienced the visual displays in vastly different ways, finding their own personally relevant meanings in works that were dense with multivalent cues.[39] One such cue was the garden setting expected of rural monasteries. Just as the Arab historian Yāqūt wrote of Syrian monasteries as occupying "situations full of agreeable delights," a thirteenth-century Egyptian, once identified as the Armenian traveler and chronicler Abu Salih, described the Monastery of Saint Antony as a securely fortified garden paradise.[40]

The movement of people and communications among them assisted the transmission of themes and styles across artistic

Fig. 13.14. *The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia,* from a Gospel lectionary from Mar Mattei, fols. 93v–94r. Tempera on vellum, 1219–20. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Syr. 559)

Fig. 13.15. Triptych icon showing Mary enthroned with the Christ Child, saints, and angels (open) and an interlaced cross (closed). Attributed to Frē Seyon (fl. 1445–1480). Tempera on gesso-covered wood panels. Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (4186)

repertoires. The movement of portable artworks, such as books and icons, also circulated ideas. Monastic scriptoria borrowed and traded manuscripts in order to produce copies and translations, and this kind of activity provided opportunities for the dissemination of texts and cycles of images. Illuminated manuscripts also offered an opportunity for improvisation on model illustrations and for further expression of the themes of a given text, as is the case with the Armenian Glajor Gospel of 1300–1307.[41] Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (fig. 13.13) is represented twice in this manuscript, as in its models, but in neither depiction of the Entry does the imagery in the Glajor Gospel copy exactly that of a model. One crucial difference from the models is that in the Glajor Gospel Christ rides on the ass and rests his feet on the foal "as on a footstool," in accordance with literal interpretations of the Gospel text (Matthew 21) and in reference to contemporary exegesis by a monk-theologian at Glajor.[42] Seals, colophons, and inscriptions record the movements of this manuscript from its acquisition in the twentieth century by a private collector from an Armenian church in New Julfa, Iran, back through a family's ransom of "this our holy ancestral Gospel, which had fallen captive into the hands of foreigners [Mongols]," in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, all the way back to the hands of one of its painters. Over time, as the Glajor Gospel traveled, it came in turn to serve as a model for other manuscripts.[43]

For Armenia, as for Syria and Egypt, artistic influences did not radiate out from a single urban center but continually circulated through and were transformed by varied urban and monastic settings. The resulting artistic adaptations reflect long-standing traditions and short-term trends, as well as momentary ecclesiastical, political, and cultural affiliations. Glajor, in the province of Siwnikʿ in Greater Armenia, was a relatively peaceful and prosperous region in northernmost Mesopotamia during the thirteenth century, although alternately in the hands of Armenian and Georgian kingdoms answering to Mongol overlords. Noble Armenian families in Siwnikʿ were enthusiastic patrons of the local monasteries: the monastery at Glajor stands out among these for the extraordinarily high intellectual caliber of its school and for the many manuscripts produced there.[44] The Syrian (Nestorian) monastery of Mar Mattei (Saint Matthew) at Nineveh, near Mosul in northern Mesopotamia, was also renowned for its scriptorium.[45] One Gospel lectionary produced there has a dedicatory inscription that describes it as the product of a group of commissioners and craftsmen of Arab and Syrian descent from the monastery. Written in Syriac and embellished with fifty illuminations, this luxury manuscript provides an example of the kind of innovative adaptation of ornamental patterns that happened alongside improvisation on iconographic schemes. A two-page composition illuminating the lection of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (figs. 13.1, 13.14) utilizes the angular geometric interlaced shapes seen in inlaid woodwork to create small octagonal frames for rosettes and large octagonal frames for busts of saints, replacing nonfigural motifs in the ornamental woodwork with iconic portraits. The generic quality of the figures—types of saints rather than individual personalities are shown—was once attributed to a "school" of illumination thought to be located in Baghdad or Mosul.[46] Although scholars no longer subscribe to the notion of a central school, there is agreement that urban centers were key for the production of a group of stylistically similar works; important monastic centers played crucial roles as well.[47]

By the fifteenth century the only independent Christian kingdom in the region was Ethiopia. Here, as in Egypt, Syria, and Armenia, "monastic leaders and the noble class were clients and patrons, and monasteries were centers of artistic production,"[48] and again, the art drew upon a rich repertoire including many of the themes, formats, stylistic traits, and aniconic and iconic motifs mentioned above.[49] From the mid-fifteenth century is a triptych that, when the side panels are closed, presents elegantly restrained cruciform compositions utilizing geometric interlace and arabesques on both front and back (fig. 13.15). The side panels open to reveal, on the central panel, the Virgin and the Christ Child enthroned above angels, an image celebrating the imperially sponsored cult of Mary. The side panels display equally traditional motifs: on the left are rows of apostles and monks over equestrian saints; on the right are rows of prophets below and, above, a vision of the Ancient of Days. This work is not signed but was perhaps painted by the monk-painter Frē Seyon (fl. 1445–1480), whose appropriation of Tuscan, Italo-Cretan, and Byzantine trends influenced the subsequent development of Ethiopian icons. One particularly striking quality of Frē Seyon's signed work is the manipulation of a traditional Ethiopian emphasis on surface patterning created with solid colors and ornamental passages by adapting Middle Eastern and European conventions of volumetric modeling through shading and drapery folds. The painter also depicted anatomical features less as abstract motifs and more as naturalistic representations, again drawing upon knowledge fueled by the importation both of artists and of artworks, knowledge that icons such as this would further transmit. The emperor Zara Yaqob (r. 1434–68) gave the icon to the Monastery of Dabra Libanos (founded by Saint Takla Haymanot) on the occasion of a military victory over a neighboring Islamic state.[50] This icon is an eloquent testimonial not only to this rare Christian victory but also to the dynamic network of cultural interconnections—and the resulting notable artistic commonalities—among the Christian communities of the medieval Middle East.[51]

256A–J. Coins of the Islamic Sphere

256A. Silver Dirham of Kılıç Arslan IV

Seljuk (Sivas), 1249 (A.H. 646)
Weight 2.4 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, "Imam al-Mustasim billah Commander of the faithful. This dirham was minted in Sivas in 646/1249"
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, "The greatest sultan Rukn al-Dunya wa al-Din. Qilich Arslan bin Kay Khusraw the right hand of the Commander of the faithful"
Turbaned royal hunter on horseback with bow drawn.
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1991.3.486)

256A, obverse

256A, reverse

256B. Silver Tram of Het'um I the Great and Kay-Khusraw II

Armenian (Sis), 1241–42 (A.H. 639)
Weight 3.0 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Armenian, ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (Het'um, king of the Armenians)
Het'um, crowned, rides on horseback, holding a fleur-de-lys staff in his right hand.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, "The greatest sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din Kay Khusraw bin Kay Qubadh. Minted in Sis in 639"
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1917.215.911)

256B, obverse

256B, reverse

256C. Silver Takvorin of Levon III

Armenian, 1301–7
Weight 2.0 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Armenian, ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (Levon, king of the Armenians)
Levon III, crowned, rides on horseback, holding a staff in his right hand.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Armenian, ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔԻՆ Ի ՍԻՍ (Struck in the city of Sis)
Armenian royal lion strides to the right, in front of a large cross.
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1965.72.51)

256C, obverse

256C, reverse

256D, obverse

256D, reverse

256E, obverse

256E, reverse

256F, obverse

256F, reverse

256G, obverse

256G, reverse

Saint Eugenios standing, with a long cross in his right hand, gesturing with his left hand.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, ΘE/O/Δ/ω/PA/H/KO/MN/H/HN (Theodora Komnena)
Empress standing, holding a *globus cruciger* in her right hand and gesturing with her left hand.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (48.17.3754)

256F. Silver Asper of Alexios II Komnenos of Trebizond

Byzantine (Trebizond), 1297–1330
Weight 2.1 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, Θ//EV/Γ/ . . . (Saint Eugenios)
Saint Eugenios on horseback, riding to the right and holding a long cross in his right hand.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, A/ΛE/oKo/M/N/o/c (Alexios Komnenos)
Emperor on horseback, riding to the right and holding a standard in his right hand.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.88.4876)

256G. Silver Asper of Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond

Byzantine (Trebizond), 1349–90
Weight 1.8 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, . . . /NH/. . . (Saint Eugenios)
Saint Eugenios on horseback, riding to the right and holding a long cross in his right hand. Greek letter B appears as a symbol at the base of the coin.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, A/ΛE/ . . . //M/ . . . (Alexios Komnenos)
Emperor on horseback, riding to the right and holding a standard in his right hand. Greek letter B appears as a symbol at the base of the coin.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (60.88.4882)

256D. Silver Asper of Manuel I Komnenos of Trebizond

Byzantine (Trebizond), ca. 1250–63
Weight 2.9 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, O/AΓI/o/EV/ΓE/NI/o (Saint Eugenios)
Saint Eugenios standing, with a long cross in his right hand, gesturing with his left hand.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, M/N/O/K/M/N (Manuel Komnenos)
Emperor standing, holding an akakia in his left hand and labarum in his right hand.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (47.2.146)

256E. Silver Asper of Theodora Komnena of Trebizond

Byzantine (Trebizond), 1285
Weight 2.4 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, [O]/A/Γ1/o/C/EV/ΓE/NI/o/c (Saint Eugenios)

256H. Silver Dirham of Georgia, minted under the rule of Mongol regent empress Turakina

Georgian (Tbilisi), 1244–45 (A.H. 642)
Weight 2.9 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, "The Great Mongol Viceroy"
Horseman gallops to the left with bow drawn; behind the horse is a stork, and underfoot another creature, probably a hunting dog.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, "There is no god but / Allah: Muhammad / is the Messenger of Allah"; in the margin in Arabic, "Tbilisi, 642"
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1922.216.222)

256H, obverse

256H, reverse

256I, obverse

256I, reverse

256J, obverse

256J, reverse

256I. Silver Dirham of Wakhtang III and Ghāzān Maḥmūd

Georgian (Tbilisi), ca. 1302–4 (A.H. 701–3)
Weight 2.3 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Mongol, "Of the khan/in the name/by Ghāzān/struck"
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, Christian formula around a cross at center, "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit"
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1922.216.299)

256J. Silver Dirham of Dimitri II and Arghūn Khan

Georgian (Tbilisi), 1286–87 (A.H. 685)
Weight 2.4 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Mongol, "Of the khan/in the name/by Arghūn/struck"; in Arabic, "Arghūn"
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, Christian formula ending with a standing cross, "In the name of the Father/And the Son and the Spirit/Holy–God"
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1917.216.1570)

The Seljuk dirham—a flat silver coin weighing from two to three grams—was the principal high denomination coin of the Seljuks of Rūm along with their neighbors and successors in eastern Anatolia. At times aniconic, conforming to a general preference for calligraphy over images in the Islamic world, at times incorporating symbols of power and prestige shared in common among various peoples of the Anatolian peninsula (cat. 256A), the dirham presented a unique forum for political and cultural, as well as economic, exchange among those peoples.

Cilician Armenia's silver trams and takvorins often shared in the iconographic traditions of Byzantine and Crusader state neighbors in their rendition of the Armenian ruler and the royal lion (cat. 256C), but the coin type itself was well suited for trade among the states of the Islamic sphere of eastern Anatolia. During a period of particular Seljuk dominance over the region, the tram presented a symbolic compromise, with the Armenian king depicted in an equestrian ruler portrait that would comport with both Armenian and Turkish traditions and an inscription in Arabic that referred to the Seljuk sultan (cat. 256B).

Coins continued to express symbolically the relationships among states in eastern Anatolia after the Īlkhānid Mongols displaced Seljuk authority over the region and assumed the dirham as their currency of choice.

The small Byzantine state of Trebizond kept a silver asper roughly in line with the dirham standard (cats. 256D, 256E). At the turn of the fourteenth century, Trebizond adjusted the iconography of its aspers from a traditional Byzantine formula of standing portraits of the ruler and the local patron saint Eugenios to the type of equestrian portrait that was common among coins in eastern Anatolia (cats. 256F, 256G).

Coins minted in Georgia, more than any other coins of the Islamic sphere, reveal the direct impact of relations with neighboring powers. A Georgian variation of a Byzantine coin type was discontinued with the advent of Mongol control over Georgia. Coins in eastern Georgia, including those minted at the seat of Mongol control at Tbilisi, took on a fully Mongol character in the mid- to late thirteenth century (cat. 256H), but later accommodated Christian inscriptions and iconography (cats. 256I, 256J). RH

REFERENCES: Wroth 1911; Lang 1955, p. 35, pl. 3, no. 7 (cat. 256H obverse); ibid., pl. 4, no. 1 (cat. 256H reverse); ibid., p. 47, pl. 5, no. 11 (cat. 256I reverse); ibid., pp. 50–51, pl. 6, no. 8 (cat. 256J reverse); Retowski 1974; Bedoukian 1979; Abramishvili 1984; Mehmet Eti, "Anatolian Coins," http://mehmeteti.150m.com (2003).

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257. Dagger

Anatolia, mid-13th century
Blade, steel; hilt and scabbard, silver, engraved and inlaid with niello
Length 38.5 cm (15⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Excavated in Israel, 1963.
CONDITION: The dagger is in good condition overall; the blade is damaged by corrosion.
Furussiya Arts Foundation, Vaduz

This dagger, with its engraved silver hilt and scabbard, both of which are inlaid with niello, may be the only weapon of its type extant from this period. The primary and secondary motifs decorating the dagger, especially those on the scabbard, are far from unique, however, and belong to an artistic vocabulary common in the central Islamic lands at the time. Myriad examples can be cited from contemporary Islamic bronzes of similar quadrupeds running against a comparable spiraling vegetal scroll, and the motif of a bird of prey attacking a gazelle, also against a vegetal scroll, was utilized as a decorative device on many different media produced in the thirteenth century. The depiction of a haloed horseman brandishing a weapon in his left hand in order to smite a serpentlike reptile coiled beneath the hooves of his mount (the large head of this reptile is echoed on the quillons) is also commonly found on many different types of objects (including coins, stucco architectural decoration, and metal utensils in both bronze and steel) produced in the Seljuk successor states. The closest parallel to the depiction on this dagger is that found on a candlestick from a group of such objects attributed to the eastern Anatolian metalworking center of Siirt. Some objects in this group incorporate similar spiraling vegetal scrolls and coursing animals.

One motif on the scabbard, however, fits only in a Christian context—namely, the hand of God depicted in the upper-left corner of the section containing the horseman. This motif, together with the form of the hilt, which is not typical for the Islamic world during this period, might lead us to interpret the design on the hilt circumscribed in a hexagon as a cross, rather than as simply a decorative motif, like the roundels on the ceramic bowl (cat. 259). The dagger may have been made by a Muslim craftsman in Anatolia for a Christian client of means and rank—who would have interpreted the scene with the horseman attacking the serpentlike reptile as Saint George and the Dragon.

MJ-M

REFERENCE: Paris 2002–3, no. 57, p. 118.

258. Bottle with Monastic Scenes

Syria, mid-13th century
Yellowish colorless glass; red, blue, green, white, brown, pink, gray-blue, and black enamels; and gold
28.2 x 17.8 cm (11⅛ x 7 in.)
PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in China.
Furussiya Arts Foundation, Vaduz

Genre scenes of monastic life are the central theme of this Syrian glass bottle. Monks are pictured collecting dates, plowing, harvesting grapes, and carrying goods on pack mules in a setting featuring four different brick buildings, one of which is a church, with a distinctive tree placed between each scene. Circling the neck are seven haloed men carrying offerings; animal and floral motifs frame the central register. The scenes are possibly

258, detail

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meant to represent either the four seasons in the life of a monastery or the life of an unidentified abbot or monastic saint.[1] The repeated appearance of two figures, an elderly hooded monk and a deacon, in the scenes and on the neck of the bottle further supports the theory that this is a hagiographical narrative.[2]

Christian art, particularly manuscript illumination, flourished in thirteenth-century Islamic Syria, where monastic communities thrived,[3] and surviving fragments suggest that glass vessels and metalwork with Christian subjects were also popular.[4] This vessel was most likely used to mix olive oil and balsam for the chrism used in ecclesiastical rituals, particularly during the sacrament of confirmation.[5] Two similar vessels rest on the altar of the church pictured on the bottle. Despite the obvious Christian context for a work such as this, Muslim craftsmen in an important workshop probably made the bottle, as they did objects in other media that combined Islamic and Christian subject matter.[6] JB

1. Corning–New York–Athens 2001–2, p. 245.
2. Ibid.
3. Several examples can be found in Leroy 1964.
4. Corning–New York–Athens 2001–2, p. 244.
5. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Chrism."
6. Corning–New York–Athens 2001–2, p. 244.

References: Melanie Gibson, "Enameled Glass of Syria, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries," Master's thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1983, pp. 38–40, pls. 5, 6; Féhérvari 1987, pl. 122; Corning–New York–Athens 2001–2, pp. 241–45.

259. Bowl

Central Islamic lands, first half of the 13th century
Underglaze-painted composite body
Diameter at rim 20 cm (7⅞ in.); diameter of foot ring 8 cm (3⅛ in.); height 9 cm (3½ in.)
Condition: The bowl is broken and repaired and shows minor iridescence.
Antaki Collection, London

This conical bowl with walls flaring sharply above a high foot exhibits a pottery shape that was very popular in the thirteenth century from Iran to Egypt. The form was first seen in Iranian underglaze-painted bowls about the year 1200. Associated with the renowned ceramic manufacturing center of Kāshān in central Iran, the finest of these vessels—a number of which bear dates—were manufac-

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tured between 1204 and 1216. From Kāshān, the shape and color scheme spread westward to the ceramic production centers of the central Islamic lands.

One catalyst for this diffusion was the gradual breakup of the great Seljuk dynasty (1037–1157), which had ruled Iran, Iraq, and Syria and captured Mantzikert in 1071, paving the way for the Muslim conquest of Anatolia. This breakup gave rise to a series of what are known as Seljuk successor states: the Rūm Seljuks in Anatolia, the Artukids in the upper Euphrates valley, the Zangids in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and the Ayyūbids in Syria and Egypt. A market for luxury ceramics was created in the major cities of these new dynasties, stimulating the development of new production centers and reviving centers that had fallen into decline. A second impetus for the spread of this shape and color scheme was the migration of artisans and artists from the Iranian centers following the invasion of the Mongols into eastern Iran in the early thirteenth century and their devastating march westward through that country and beyond.

Painted in black and cobalt blue on a white composite body under a clear, colorless glaze, the Antaki vessel is one of many examples of the spread of this shape and color scheme from Seljuk Iran. It exhibits a variant of the standard shape that seems to have been current in Syria during the first half of the thirteenth century, although the precise center of its manufacture cannot be ascertained at this juncture in our knowledge. The decoration, however, seems to be quite unusual for the type. The rim bears a band of pseudocalligraphic decoration, and the center is decorated with two concentric circles, the inner of which circumscribes a roundel divided into eight radiating segments colored alternately cobalt blue and white. It is tempting to interpret this central decoration as a cross, especially since the vessel was presumably made in Syria, which had a large Christian population. Since examples of similar roundels used simply as fillers can be found on contemporary inlaid metal objects, however, including a vessel in Bologna exhibiting the same shape as this bowl, the motif here is likely to be purely decorative. MJ-M

260. Door Panels from the Church of the Virgin, al-Muʿallaqa (the Hanging Church), Old Cairo

Egypt, ca. 1300
Gesso on cedar
Ten panels, each approx. 31 x 13 cm (12¼ x 5⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Acquired from the Church of the Virgin, al-Muʿallaqa, in 1878 by the British Museum from the private collector Charles Schefer.
CONDITION: The panels are separate and unattached; only traces remain of gesso for painting and/or gilding.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (MLA 1878, 12-3, 1-10)

These ten panels were first mentioned in 1872 by the Reverend Greville Chester, who saw them in storage in the Church of the Virgin, or al-Muʿallaqa (the Hanging Church), in Old Cairo. Four of the panels are nonfigural, with various improvisatory compositions based on a central cross, itself ornamented with smaller crosses at the center and at the upper and lower crossarms, amid interlaced foliage arabesques. The remaining six panels, representing eight episodes from the Life of Christ and corresponding to liturgical feasts, are complex figural compositions divided into two or more zones. The manner of wood carving and detailed rendition of foliate ornament are typical of the Mamlūk period, and details of the figural iconography reflect not only contemporary Mamlūk dress but also Byzantine traditions. In the definitive study of these panels, Lucy-Anne Hunt reconstructed a vertical arrangement of pairs of panels like those employed for wood doors and icon screens from medieval Egyptian churches,[1] placing two pairs of cross panels above the three thematically linked pairs of figural panels.[2] Hunt's reconstruction situated the door at the entrance to the baptismal chapel of the church and dated it to the turn of the fourteenth century, during a period of increased Byzantine and Coptic communication and, specifically, at the time of a Byzantine embassy to Cairo when the church was refurbished in 1301–2.[3] The pairing of scenes, their vertical placement, and the location of the door in front of the chapel would have underscored thematic associations—linking, for example, the bursting of the doors of hell in the Anastasis with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, while evoking an association of the church sanctuary with Jerusalem and Heavenly Jerusalem.[4] Further nuancing this densely crafted program is the theme of bearing witness. For example, in the scene of the Adoration of the Christ Child, the composition centers on the Holy Family in the grotto,

Fig. 260.1. Schematic reconstruction drawing of the door panels as proposed by Lucy-Anne Hunt (drawn by K. Kitt). From Lucy-Anne Hunt, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom, and Islam* (London, 1998), vol. 1, p. 292, fig. 10b

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and ranged around it are the groups of adoring angels, Magi, shepherds, and beasts. Crowds of city inhabitants in the Entry into Jerusalem and the groups of Mary and the apostles in the Ascension echo the assemblies of the saved in the Anastasis, who watch as Christ pulls Adam and Eve from their opened tomb. This theme of bearing witness plays out most interestingly in the Pentecost panel, which presents both exterior and interior scenes. Although the door (at lower center) to the room depicted in the panel is closed to display both lock and handle, thus emphasizing barred access, the viewer can see through the wall to the mysterious, transformative scene beyond. TKT

1. On the provenance, dating, reconstruction, and interpretation of these panels, see Hunt 1989.
2. The six scenes of the figural panels are listed in descending order (first right, then left): the Adoration of the Christ Child with the first bath of Christ, paired with the Annunciation to the Virgin and the Baptism of Christ; the Entry into Jerusalem, paired with the Ascension of Christ; and the Pentecost, paired with the Anastasis (a Byzantine feast not celebrated by the Coptic Church). The iconography reflects both Latin traditions (in the Annunciation, for example, the depiction of Mary standing and carrying a book as in Western tradition; see Hunt 1989, p. 67) as well as Byzantine influences (in the Baptism, the Byzantine gesture of John the Baptist, and in the Ascension, the gesture of one apostle indicating his Byzantine-style tonsure; see ibid., pp. 67–68).
3. Ibid., pp. 73–74.
4. Ibid., pp. 71–72.

References: Coquin 1974, pp. 65–86; Hunt 1989; Hamm 1996, pp. 140–41; Paris 2000, pp. 176–77.

261, front

261, back

261. Gospel Casket

Egypt, 1424
Silver gilt, colored glass, and wood
49 x 38.4 x 10 cm (19¼ x 15⅛ x 3⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of the Virgin Mary at Qasriat al-Rihan, Old Cairo.
CONDITION: The casket is in excellent condition.
The Coptic Museum, Cairo (1565)

Gospel caskets, containers for liturgical lectionaries, are rectangular boxes of wood panels covered with metal, leather, or fabric, ornamented with cross designs or iconic imagery. Such decorated caskets, bindings, and other book covers for sacred texts were produced throughout the Middle Ages (and up to the present day) in Byzantium, Egypt, and other Christian communities of the Middle East.[1] Gospel lectionaries, displayed and used during church services, commanded the most elaborate covers. This gilded silver casket, one of the earliest and most lavishly ornamented from Egypt, is embossed on the front, back, and sides with richly detailed rinceaux. On front and back the arabesques radiate out from central crosses. The cross compositions are bordered at top and bottom by rectangular panels bearing an inscription in Coptic from the first verse of the Gospel of John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God." On the front the central cross is further ornamented with colored glass cabochons. On the side panels shields bear an inscription in Arabic, recording the dedication of the Gospel casket to the Church of the Virgin Mary at Qasriat al-Rihan in 1424.[2] Although textual attestations to the church begin in the ninth century, when it seems to have served as a patriarchal residence, the church may have been founded in Early Byzantine times. Thus, we know this richly decorated Gospel casket was intended for a church of some importance.

TKT

1. On the production of Coptic books, see Anne Boud'hors, "L'écriture, la langue, et les livres," in Paris 2000, pp. 52–57. See also *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Bookbinding," p. 305, and "Book Cover," pp. 306–7. On Coptic Gospel caskets, see Messiha 1993; *Coptic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Gospel Casket," p. 1153; Atalla 2000, pp. 187–92.
2. See Gawdat Gabra 1993, pp. 126–28; Coquin 1974, pp. 139–44.

REFERENCES: Simaika 1937, p. 40, pl. 89; Paris 1989–90, p. 76, no. 16; Gawdat Gabra 1993, pp. 85–86; Atalla 2000, pp. 100, 191.

262. Gospel Lectionary

Egypt, 1249–50
Tempera, gold, and ink on paper; 235 fols.
24.5 x 17.5 cm (9⅝ x 6⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Dedicated in 1666 to the Church of Saint Merkourios (Deir Abu Sefein) in Cairo; after being purchased in 1885 by E. Amelineau, it entered the collection of the Institut Catholique under the curation of Monsignor Hulst.
CONDITION: The lectionary is well preserved but has some damage from abrasion and dripped wax, suggesting liturgical usage. Notations on images in black ink replace abraded notations in white.
Bibliothèque de l'Institut Catholique, Paris
(Ms. Copte-Arabe 1)

This Gospel lectionary contains, in 235 folios, the four Gospels, the Eusebian canon tables, and a calendar of readings for the Coptic liturgical year. It is written in black ink, with red initials and titles, in two parallel columns of Bohairic Coptic and Arabic. Although not large, the manuscript is magnificently illustrated in a palette rich with gold and subtle hues. There are altogether fourteen full-page illuminations and four headpieces. Each Gospel is introduced by an author portrait as well as a headpiece with an evangelical scene (fols. 107v–108r, seen here, show Saint Luke and the opening of his Gospel). Each of the

262, fols. 107v–108r

263, fols. 129v–130r

ten full-page illuminations contains six narrative illustrations, ordered from top left to right in the manner of Coptic, rather than Arabic, writing.[1] The narrative scenes are based on traditional Coptic and Byzantine themes, inflected by Islamic architectural elements, furnishings, clothing, physical features, attitudes, and activities of everyday life. Each Gospel is terminated by a colophon, with the final one (fol. 225) naming Gabriel, monk and priest (who was later, in 1268–71, patriarch of Alexandria). Indeed, it is thought that this Gospel lectionary and the Coptic Museum's manuscript of Epistles and Acts of the Apostles (cat. 263) were copied at the same time by Gabriel and perhaps both belonged to a multivolume New Testament.[2] This impressive lectionary enjoyed some importance in medieval times. In the British Museum, there is a copy (Ms. Or. 425) of the manuscript made over fifty years later, in 1308, that is so precise that it contains ten blank pages, replicating those in the original intended for illustrations that were never done. TKT

1. See Hamm 1996, p. 236, for a list of all scenes; Leroy 1974, pp. 157–80, for descriptions and pls. E–G, pp. 75–92 for illustrations.
2. Hunt 1985; Hunt 1998, vol. 2, p. 355.

REFERENCES: Leroy 1974, pp. 157–80; Hunt 1985; Hamm 1996, pp. 236–37; Hunt 1996; Paris 2000, p. 146.

263. Epistles and Acts of the Apostles

Egypt, 1249–50
Tempera, gold, and ink on paper; 223 fols.
24 x 17 cm (9½ x 6¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of Saint Merkourios (Deir Abu Seifein), Cairo.
CONDITION: The manuscript is well preserved, with minor damage from use.
The Coptic Museum Library, Cairo (Serial no. 4, Ms. Bibl. 94)

This manuscript of 223 folios contains the texts of the Epistles of Saint Paul, the Catholic Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, written in two parallel columns in Bohairic Coptic and Arabic in black ink with titles and some initials in red. At the beginning of each section is an illuminated frontispiece in which the titles are written. The manuscript begins on folio 1v with a facing page illustrated with miniatures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, Saint Paul and his disciples, and Saul/Saint Paul on the road to Damascus. Before the Catholic Epistles, on folio 129v, is a group portrait of the four authors of the text—James, Peter, John, and Jude—each bearing his book of Epistles. Before the Acts of the Apostles, on folio 156v, is a miniature of the Ascension in which Christ, in a mandorla carried aloft by angels, hovers over the Twelve Apostles and the Virgin. The rich palette, style, and quality of the painting are identical to that of a Gospel lectionary (cat. 262), with one exception. On folio 216r there is a colophon in a traditional Coptic interlace. The text of this colophon identifies the manuscript from which this copy was made; the copyist, the priest-monk Gabriel (later Patriarch Gabriel III); the patron, Shayk An-Nashu Abu Shakir ibn-Sani al-Rahib ibn al-Muhadhdhab; and the date of completion, 1249–50.[1] It has been suggested that Gabriel probably painted this page himself but engaged a professional painter for the more elaborate miniatures.[2] TKT

1. Leroy 1974, p. 177, pl. 10, 2; Hunt 1998, vol. 2, p. 355, fig. 3. For color illustrations of the colophon and illuminations, see Atalla 1998, vol. 1, pp. 152–53.
2. Hunt 1998, vol. 2, p. 355. Another colophon records the dedication of the manuscript to the Church of Abu Seifein at harat Shanudeh, Darb al-Bahr in Old Cairo on 7 Misr A.M. 1382 (1666). Additional colophons of 1676 and 1677–78 attest to events and legislation affecting the Coptic, Jewish, and Muslim communities of Cairo.

REFERENCES: Simaika 1939, pp. 5–6; Leroy 1974, pp. 174–77, pls. 93–95; Hunt 1985; Atalla 1998, vol. 1, pp. 152–53; Hunt 1998, vol. 2, pp. 353–56.

264. Book of Isaiah

Egypt, 1373
Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment
32 x 23 cm (12⅝ x 9 in.)
CONDITION: The manuscript has some abrasion and water damage.
Patriarchate Library, Cairo (Serial no. 14, Bible no. 12)

This illuminated manuscript contains the text of the Book of Isaiah written in both Coptic and Arabic. It is a local production, reflecting Coptic traditions rather than those of the Byzantine Prophet Book, with its full texts of the Prophets from the Septuagint, author portraits, or other illustrations.[1] An inscription (fol. 181r) records the date, 1373, when this modest book was produced and identifies the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts from which it was copied but does not identify a patron or donor as would be usual in a more elaborate production. The text, written in black ink, is decorated with red titles, ornamented initials, and two full-page illuminations: an interlace design of concentric crosses at the beginning of the manuscript and a composition based on interlaced star and circle designs at the end. Ornamental initials (such as the alpha and omega framing each composition) and interlace designs are executed in a limited but vibrant palette of black and primary colors. The double-page frontispiece is a Coptic practice (regardless of language) for sacred texts, whether scriptural or liturgical.[2] The interlace

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patterns again reflect Coptic tradition, but they adapt contemporary Mamlūk interest in patterning as well. The star designs at the center of the final ornamental composition, for example, are similar to the repeating patterns of shapes comprising starlike motifs in contemporary Islamic art.[3] Here, concentric rings of interlaces, combining circular and star-shaped forms in a series of improvisations, are definitively terminated by a ring of interlaced semicircular arches.

TKT

1. Lowden 1988a, pp. 83–86.
2. Anne Boud'hors, "L'écriture, la langue, et les livres," in Paris 2000, p. 57.
3. On the repeating motifs and designs of Islamic star patterns, see Lee 1987, p. 182. Varieties of "Islamic" star patterns and Coptic star-circle ornament are well documented throughout Atalla 2000.

REFERENCES: Simaika 1939, pp. 10–11; Atalla 1998, vol. 2, p. 146; Atalla 2000, p. 26.

265 A,B. Amulet Roll

265A. Obverse, Constantinople or Sinai; reverse, Egypt, by 1374
Tempera and gold on vellum
336.5 x 9.3 cm (132½ x 3⅝ in.)
PROVENANCE: Suleyman ibn Sara, 1374; Luis Albert Gaffre; probably purchased from him by Léon Gruel; purchased from him by John Pierpont Morgan, 1912.[1]
CONDITION: The roll is worn badly at the top and bottom, and many of the images have flaked to the parchment level.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. M. 499)

265B. Obverse, Constantinople or Sinai; reverse, Egypt, by 1374
Tempera and gold on vellum
174.6 x 9.3 cm (68¾ x 3⅝ in.)
PROVENANCE: Suleyman ibn Sara, 1374; collection of Baron d'Honnecourt; collection of M. Stora; purchased by the University of Chicago, 1930.
CONDITION: The roll is worn badly at the top and bottom, and many of the images have flaked to the parchment level.
Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library (cod. 125)

The date and circumstances of this amulet roll's separation into the two fragments now at the Morgan Library and the University of Chicago are unknown, but the fragments have been independent sufficiently long for the ends of both to show wear.[2]

A colophon in Arabic on the reverse of the Morgan Library fragment reads, "Oh you evil spirit! Just as wax melting before fire, / you and all your hostile forces will be brought to naught, oh you unclean spirit! / This prayer is fixed with the seal of One God, the Father / and the Son and the Holy Spirit together with the intercession of the Mother / of God, Lady Mary the Virgin and all the Holy Ones / and the Prophets. Amen. / Completed at the end of / the month of June in the year one thousand / six hundred and seventy four/of Alexander, son of Philip/The scribe was a monk, in name only,/the priest al-Bashūnī." The colophon is signed at the bottom by the monk-priest al-Bashūnī, and the date, year of Alexander 1685 (1374), provides a terminus ante quem for the roll. The roll's incipit, also written in Arabic, follows traditional Byzantine models for such texts: "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, We commence writing, with the aid of God, the story of the Holy Mar Fabrian the martyr. And praise be to God, on high and on earth, . . . and on Sunday, the day which God blessed and sanctified."[3]

The survival of the two portions of this amulet roll allows a glimpse into the material culture of magic as recorded in Byzantine and Eastern Christian contexts. On the obverse, the text is in Greek and includes scripture, apocrypha, and hagiographic poetry. The sacred texts and the accompanying images presented in roll format signal that this was a talismanic object designed to provide divine protection for its possessor. The Arabic inscription on the reverse, though cruder in general, demonstrates a similar purpose.

On the Morgan fragment the texts include Psalms 91 and 35, the apocryphal history of the Letter of King Abgar and the Mandylion,[4] and verses in praise of several saints, mostly military. The twenty-one images are both iconic and narrative; those accompanying the Letter of Abgar and Mandylion legends constitute the longest extant narrative cycle in Byzantine art.

The Greek obverse of the Chicago fragment has excerpts from the Gospels of Mark (1:1–8), Luke (1:1–17), and Matthew (4:9–13), the Nicaean Creed, and Psalm 68. Each of these texts is unremarkably orthodox, but their placement on a roll also indicates a talismanic function. The seven images on this fragment, not including a cross on the reverse, also demonstrate the orthodox quality of the roll's magical function. They are a series of unexceptionable portrait images of the evangelists, David, Constantine, and Helena, and the Ancient of Days, each possessing an amuletic quality in its iconic portrayal. The unusual choice of the Ancient of Days to supplement the portraits of the evangelist John and his disciple Prochoros brings that protective quality to the fore. As Gretchen Kreahling McKay has shown, the Ancient of Days was understood to signify power over and independence of time, and the iconography was often found in conjunction with scenes of the Last Judgment.[5] The images are not simply illustrative markers for text; they should be understood as taking part in and intensifying the protective properties of the object.

The quality of the images on both fragments, evident despite abrasion of the pictorial fields, likely points to elite patronage. For this reason, the roll has been assigned a Constantinopolitan context. But nothing about it precludes an Eastern Christian milieu, and the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, at which similar objects were apparently produced,[6] is also a strong candidate.

GAP

1. The pre-Morgan history of this fragment is indicated in articles in the *Sunday New York Journal-American*, May 10, 1908, and *L'Illustration* 66 (April 18, 1908), pp. 266–67, and in the pamphlet *L'image d'Edesse* (Paris, 1908). In these, Gaffre stated that he purchased the manuscript in Egypt from "a very old Coptic or Egyptian Christian family," but then he also wishfully dated the fragment to the sixth or seventh century.
2. Herbert Kessler credited Robert Allison with first detecting the match when the Chicago fragment was exhibited in 1973, but the present exhibition is the first time the two portions have been shown together. See Princeton 1973, p. 194.
3. Arabic translated into English by Barbara Roggema, Department of Humanities and Fine Arts, John Cabot University, Rome.
4. See Wolf 1998; Rome 2000–2001.
5. McKay 1999.
6. See Hunger and Hannick 1994, pp. 200–201; Santifaller 1965, p. 131.

REFERENCES: Der Nersessian 1936; Weitzmann 1971, pp. 233–36; Princeton 1973, pp. 194–95; Ragusa 1989; Hunt 1998, vol. 2, pp. 189–92; Herbert L. Kessler, "Il *mandylion*," in Rome 2000–2001, p. 68; Glenn Peers, "Orthodox Magic: An Amulet Roll in New York and Chicago," in *Abstracts* 2002, pp. 44–45.

265A, detail

265A, detail

265B, detail

265B, detail

266. The Gospels

Priest Khach'atur, illuminator; priest Yohannēs, scribe
Greater Armenia (Khizan), 1455
Tempera, black ink on paper; 303 fols.
27.5 x 18 cm (10⅞ x 7⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: Colophons on various leaves detail the history of the manuscript.
PROVENANCE: Colophons place the manuscript in Armenian possession in 1617, 1704, 1749, and 1867, when it was seen near Lake Van in Greater Armenia in the Church of Saint Vardan. Henry Walters acquired the work before August 1911 from an Italian source.[1]
CONDITION: The manuscript is in good condition. It is missing fols. 301 and 302, which contained important portions of the dedicatory colophon.
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Ms. W. 453)

The dramatically illustrated Gospels was written two years after the fall of Constantinople at the order of the priest P'ilipos in Khizan, a site south of Lake Van in Greater Armenia.[2] As Der Nersessian noted, the lavish exuberance of the illuminations represents the artistic high point of the school of Khizan. She also recognized that Islamic motifs, often ones that were current by the thirteenth century, are widely used in the background of many of the illuminations.[3] Taylor identified the background patterns and elements of the costumes of the figures as representing the contemporary taste of the Timurids, who dominated the region.[4] In contrast to this dramatically exotic detailing, the iconography of the scenes can be traced to the more serene and classically balanced compositions of the Cilician era of Armenian art (see a representation of the Last Judgment, cat. 173).[5] The appearance of Christ to the three women at his empty tomb (fol. 10v), with the angel pointing to show its emptiness and the soldiers keeping watch, is well within the traditions of earlier Christian iconography. The dramatic change is in the positions of the figures in the narrative, the background details, the sinuous, almost abstract, line of the drapery folds, the pattern of the wings and the yellow boots of the angel, and the dress of the soldiers, all of which are more closely allied to the taste of the Islamic world in which the Armenians of Khizan lived. In the same manner, the Byzantine iconography of the Anastasis (fol. 11r) retains its essential traditional elements—Christ's descent into hell to free Adam and Eve as Old Testament kings and prophets look on (see cat. 81)—but here Christ strides forth in pants with yellow boots, bringing the brilliant light of salvation with him into the darkness of Hell as he tramples the devil. The emphasis on the hope of salvation is made clear in five subsequent folios, which extend T'oros Roslin's one-page depiction of the Last Judgment into an extensive contrast between the joys of salvation and the anguish of hell. On the last of these pages the donor and his brothers, Husep' and Sultanshe, appear kneeling before the Virgin in a verdant paradise.[6] The increasing emphasis on salvation in the works of the Khizan school may represent the hope of future joy for those who were oppressed in their day-to-day life. HCE

1. Der Nersessian 1973b, no. IV, pp. 31–32.
2. Ibid., no. IV, p. 31, pl 107, where the manuscript's donor portrait shows the priest with his brothers Husep' and Sultanshe kneeling before an enthroned Virgin and Child.
3. Ibid., p. 34.
4. Taylor in New York–Baltimore 1994, p. 101.
5. New York–Baltimore 1994, no. 12, p. 153.
6. Der Nersessian 1973b, pls. 103–107.

REFERENCES: Der Nersessian 1973b, no. IV, pp. 31–44, pls. 86–107; New York–Baltimore 1994, no. 12, pp. 153–54 (with earlier bibl.); Alice Taylor, "Armenian Illumination under Georgian, Turkish, and Mongol Rule: The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries," in New York–Baltimore 1994, pp. 84–103.

266, fols. 10v–11r

267. Illuminated Gospel

Ethiopia (Lake Tana region), 14th century
Pigments on vellum, wood cover; 178 fols.
41.9 x 28.6 cm (16½ x 11¼ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
Rogers Fund, 1998 (1998.66)

This illuminated Gospel was created in a period that has been described as a golden age of Ethiopian civilization.[1] Both the text and the imagery draw upon Byzantine prototypes that in the sixth century were first translated into Classical Ethiopic, or Geʿez, and into a local pictorial idiom. During the fourteenth century, such works were created in monastic establishments, important centers for disseminating knowledge and consolidating the power of the Ethiopian monarchy.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church was founded in the fourth century when Ezana, king of the state of Axsum, was introduced to Christianity by scholars from Alexandria. With King Ezana's conversion, the Ethiopian state became a theocracy that endured until modern times. From the late 1520s until the end of the century, Islamic armies destroyed repositories of Ethiopian Christian art and culture. As a result, this manuscript's set of illuminations, attributed to a monastic center in the Lake Tana region, is one of only about thirteen created before the sixteenth century that have survived.[2] Such lavish Gospel texts, the holiest of an ecclesiastic center's possessions, were given as gifts by royal patrons.

The work's illuminated leaves include twenty full-page miniatures with scenes from the New Testament, an evangelist portrait introducing each of the four Gospel texts, and eleven pages of illuminated canon tables. While all but one of the narrative scenes appear to be the work of a single artist, Marilyn Heldman has suggested that the hands of at least two different artists are apparent.[3] These Ethiopian painters adapted and transformed Byzantine sources to create a distinctive style characterized by vibrant color and bold graphic design. The precise rendering of figural subject matter emphasizes rich passages of abstract patterns. Also exactingly executed are the decorative areas that frame manuscript pages with bands of colored lines interlaced with complex geometric patterns. This type of ornamentation, known as *harag*, a Geʿez word meaning the tendril of a climbing plant, was first employed in the second half of the fourteenth century and appears influenced by Islamic design. AL

267, fol. 7r

1. Jacques Mercier in Walters 2001, p. 45.
2. Marilyn Heldman, "The Frontispiece in Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Four Gospels, 14th–15th Centuries," lecture delivered at The Metropolitan Museum of Art Fellows' Colloquium, March 11, 2003.
3. Ibid.

References: Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1997–1998* (New York, 1998), p. 69; Evans et al. 2001, p. 63.

268. Batrashil

Syria, 1534/35
Silk embroidery with metallic thread
Front 19.7 x 139.7 cm (7¾ x 55 in.)
Inscribed: In Arabic, around the edge of the neckline, "The work is the property of the clergyman Ibrahim, by name bishop Yaghmur, and of the teacher Shaqra daughter of Daniel [?] in the city of Hama in the year one thousand 846 in the calendar of the Greeks"; around edges of front of garment, a eulogy beginning, "Glory to God the Highest . . .";[1] in Syriac, above each scene on the front, top to bottom, ܥܝܕܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ (Pentecost), ܣܘܓܕܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ (Ascension of Our Lord into Heaven), ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (The Saving Resurrection [or Resurrection of the Savior]), ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (Crucifixion of Christ), ܬܚܬ ܕܡܥܠ ܠܐ ܡܫܬ

(Entry of Our Lord into Jerusalem), ܥܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ (Entry of Our Lord into the Temple), ܡܥܡܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܒܝܘܪܕܢܢ (Baptism of the Lord from John); at top left of Baptism scene, ܫܡܝܐ (Heaven), ܝܠܕܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܒܦܓܪܐ (Birth of Our Lord in the Flesh), ܫܠܝܚ ܒܫܪܬܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܠܗܐ (Annunciation to the Mother of God);[2] above each evangelist, "May Athanasius be pardoned / in name, a bishop / who is Abraham Yaghmur / son of Isa from the village of Nebek."[3] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.137)

This Syrian liturgical vestment, a batrashil, a stole worn by both bishops and priests, is one of the earliest surviving examples of this type of garment.[4] Also found in the Coptic Church, the batrashil is most closely related to the Byzantine epitrachelion, a long embroidered stole that pulls over the head and hangs down the front. The Syrian batrashil, however, extends down the back as well as the front. When worn by a bishop, it would have been layered over his robes, girdle, hood, and another stole called a hamnikho.[5] Liturgical texts tell us that during ordination or promotion ceremonies, the priest or bishop was led around the church by the batrashil to symbolically introduce him to the church.[6]

Down the front from top to bottom are nine scenes from the Gospels (Pentecost, Ascension into Heaven, Resurrection, Crucifixion, Entry into Jerusalem, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Nativity, and Annunciation). On the back are portraits of the Four Evangelists. The ornate embroidery decorating this stole distinguishes it as one for a bishop rather than for the lower office. The Arabic and Syriac inscriptions name the bishop, Athanasius Abraham Yaghmur,[7] who, in the mid-sixteenth century, was a scribe in the region of Homs, Syria, and worked, among other places, at the famous Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi.[8]

The maker of this batrashil likely spoke Arabic, which she used to inscribe her name; Syriac was used primarily by Christians in church only at this time. The figures, with their frontal poses, round heads, and simplified noses and brows, imitate those on older, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century embroidered vestments, especially Coptic ones.

JB

268, detail of front

268, detail of back

1. Translation by Stefano Carboni, Curator of Islamic Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. Translation by Kathleen McVey, professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, and George Kiraz, general editor of *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*.
3. Translation by George Kiraz.
4. Innemée 1992, p. 45.
5. Ibid., pp. 77–82.
6. Ibid., pp. 31, 34.
7. His name is found in several Syriac manuscripts from the period, for example: Oxford 125; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Syr. 145 (lectionary from the Church of Saint Theodore, Sadad, Syria), Syr. 160, Syr. 108 (lectionary from the Church of Mar Sarkis, Sadad, Syria); and Jerusalem, Saint Mark 249. Thanks to Hubert Kauhfold for these colophons and the identification of the bishop.
8. Dolabany 1994, pp. 332ff.

References: MMAB 1916; MMAB 1924.

268, front

268, back

269. Brocaded Silk with the Virgin and Child

Ottoman (Bursa or Constantinople), before 1583
Lampas weave, a combination of 4/1 satin and 1/3 twill (Z direction), interconnected by every fourth warp of the twill weave; satin ground of silk with pattern weft of gilt-metal thread and greenish yellow, crimson, and dark brown silk thread on an ivory ground
46.5 x 35 cm (18¼ x 13¾ in.)
CONDITION: The selvages have been cut.[1]
Benaki Museum, Athens, gift of I. Damalas (3864)

The repeat pattern on the fabric consists of a full-length Virgin holding the Child in front of her, flanked by venerating angels and lobed medallions containing a cross. The intervening spaces are filled with tulips and lilies, standard ornamentation for Ottoman silk fabrics in the second half of the sixteenth century. A piece of the same material can be found in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, and the fabric was also used for the sakkos of Metropolitan Dionysios of Moscow, donated in 1583 by Czar Ivan the Terrible.[2]

The austerely frontal iconographic type of the Virgin, radiating dignity, recalls the public image of the Virgin on coins and palladia of the Middle Byzantine period.[3] This may not be a coincidence but instead may be connected with attempts by the patriarchate of Constantinople in the mid-sixteenth century to promote its ecumenical jurisdiction beyond the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. In the period before the appropriation in 1587 of the patriarchal Church of Hagia Maria Pammakaristos by the Turks, the patriarch, with the good graces of the sultan, was the unchallenged ruler of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire: he entered into discussions with the Protestants, provided resistance to Catholic infiltration of Ukraine and Ruthenia, and negotiated with the Russians the elevation to a patriarchate of the metropolitan throne of Moscow. Contacts between the patriarchate of Constantinople and the czarist court are recorded from 1557, when the czar sought ratification of his title from the patriarch, and they reached their climax in 1588–89 with the visit of Patriarch Jeremiah II to Moscow.[4] AB

1. Textile analysis by S. Tsourinaki.
2. Smirnova 1969, pl. 74; Vienna 1977, no. 139; Raby and Effeny 2001, p. 243, pl. 51.
3. Athens 2000–2001a, p. 335. During the Middle Byzantine period, this type of the Virgin had the appellation Kyriotissa or Nikopoios; see ibid., p. 214.
4. Medlin and Patrinelis 1971, pp. 30–36; Archbishop Arsenios, "Kathidrysis Rossikou Patriarcheiou," in Sathas 1870, pp. 35–81.

REFERENCES: Athens 1994, no. 129; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, p. 309, fig. 509.

270

270. Brocaded Silk with Christ

Ottoman (Bursa or Constantinople), before 1583
Lampas weave, a combination of 4/1 satin and 1/3 twill (Z direction), interconnected by every fourth warp of the twill weave; satin ground of silk with pattern weft of gilt-metal thread and ivory, light green, yellow, and dark brown silk thread on a blue ground
44.6 x 47.2 cm (17½ x 18⅝ in.)
CONDITION: The right selvage is preserved.[1]
Benaki Museum, Athens, gift of Helen Stathatos (3862)

Christ sits enthroned amid stylized Ottoman flowers—tulips and carnations—and surrounded by the Four Evangelists, each shown with his head projecting from behind the throne and holding a Gospel book. The evangelists as apocalyptic symbols are most often associated with Christ in Majesty, but here Christ is depicted seated on a throne with a footstool, recalling the Pantokrator in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century icons.[2] The image of Christ is reversed, however, as he makes a gesture of blessing with his left hand and holds the Gospels in his right. He is flanked by crosses bearing the inscription I[ΗΣΟΥ]C X[ΡΙΣΤΟ]C ΝΙΚΑ (Jesus Christ is victorious), a recurring pattern on ecclesiastical textiles that is even found on the earliest known sakkos made of Ottoman fabric, attributed to Patriarch Niphon (r. 1486–1502, with intervals).[3]

Like cat. 269, the present fabric has associations with the sakkos of Metropolitan Dionysios of Moscow (r. 1581–87) and was presented to the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Virgin in Moscow in 1583 by Czar Ivan the Terrible (r. 1533–84) in penance for the murder of his son. The existence of other similar pieces of material, in identical or different colors, indicates that this was not a unique commission.[4]

Luxurious Ottoman fabrics had a particular appeal in the countries of eastern Europe and at the Russian court, where they were acquired from Christian and Muslim merchants who accompanied diplomatic and ecclesiastical missions to Moscow.[5] Silks with Christian themes were intended for a specific clientele, however—the highest church officials in Constantinople, the Transdanubian

principalities, and Russia, the traditional sphere of influence of the Ecumenical Patriarch. This influence was fostered and encouraged by the Ottoman authorities, who exploited it to acquire various forms of political leverage.[6] A common objective of both the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman state was to check the impact of the Latin Church and the Catholic political powers.

AB

1. Textile analysis by S. Tsourinaki.
2. M. Chatzidakis 1962, pp. 7–8, no. 2, pl. 1; Athens 2001, pp. 216–19, nos. 62–63.
3. Thessalonike 1997, no. 11.1.
4. Duncan 1961, p. 80; Raby and Effeny 2001, pp. 243–44, 246, pls. 52–53, 55.
5. Ibid., pp. 180–81.
6. Zachariadou 1996a, p. 152.

271. Chalice of Patriarch Theoleptos

Ottoman (Constantinople), 1580s
Silver sheet: chased, pierced, and engraved; partially gilt, set with stones
Height 26.1 cm (10¼ in), diameter of base 18 cm (7⅛ in.)
Inscribed: On the rim, +ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC ΜΟΝΗC ΤΩΝ ΠΑΝΜΕΓΙCΤΩΝ ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΡΕΙ ΤΟΥ CΑΓΑ (Chalice of the sacred monastery of the Great Taxiarchs Michael and Gabriel on the mountain of Saga); on the octagonal ring, +ΘΕΟΛΗΠΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩC ([donated by] the archpriest Theoleptos); under the base, Ριζας επεριχρισωσε τω πωτιριων τωυτω (Rizas gilded this chalice)
Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens (1015)

This chalice is a fine example of sixteenth-century church silver with late Gothic and Ottoman features; a chalice with similar characteristics, dated 1568, is housed in the Dečani Monastery in Serbia.[1] Gothic-influenced shapes appear in ecclesiastical vessels from the fourteenth century onward and recur in varied forms throughout the post-Byzantine period. The decoration of this chalice reflects contemporary trends and displays with remarkable precision the full repertoire of Ottoman ornamentation: on the calyx, a pierced arabesque of half-palmettes (the so-called *rumi*); on the foot, knob, and cup, medallions alternating with half-medallions that terminate in fleurs-de-lys and enclose three types of decoration—*saz* leaves, lotus palmettes, and *rumi*.[2]

The "monastery . . . on the mountain of Saga" of the inscription has been identified as the now-ruined Monastery of the Taxiarches on Naxos and the "archpriest Theoleptos" with Patriarch Theoleptos II, who visited the Cyclades islands either before or after his patriarchate (1585–87).[3] The name of the goldsmith, Rizas, perhaps refers to his place of origin, Rizaion (Rize) in the Pontos, from where the father of Theoleptos also came.[4] The Pontic Christians are celebrated in Ottoman sources for their skill at working metals, in which they specialized from the time of the Grand Komnenoi and Greek goldsmiths from Trebizond taught this art to the two great sultans of the sixteenth century, Selim I (r. 1512–20) and Süleyman I, the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), who were born in that city.[5]

AB

1. Šakota 1984, p. 234, no. 28.
2. Raby 1982, pls. 5, 51, 53; London 1988, p. 192, no. 132.
3. Benaki Museum, Ecclesiastical Documents, file no. 237/5a 4; Zerlentēs 1913, pp. 41, 115; Konortas 1985, p. 54.
4. Dorotheos of Monembasia, "Apospasma ek tou Hronografou," in Sathas 1870, p. 9.
5. Efendi [Evliya Çelebi] 1834–50, vol. 2, p. 48. For Pontos, Evliya Çelebi draws on an early-sixteenth-century Ottoman source; see Bryer and Winfield 1985, vol. 1, pl. 31.

References: Athens 1985–86, p. 198, no. 222; Ballian 1988–89; Athens 1994, no. 151; Ballian 1996.

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Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere

ANNE DERBES AND AMY NEFF

The earliest extensive fresco cycle of the life of Saint Francis that survives to this day is found not in Assisi, his birthplace, nor, for that matter, anywhere in western Europe.[1] The frescoes are hundreds of miles from Francis's homeland, in Constantinople (Istanbul), in the church known as Kalenderhane Camii (cat. 274). Although the cycle is fragmentary, enough remains to reconstruct a large image of Francis with ten scenes from his life. The Kalenderhane frescoes were produced during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61), probably in the early 1250s, when many Byzantine churches in the city were converted to the Latin rite.[2] It is surely an accident of history that these are the earliest such frescoes in existence today, but it is no accident that we find visual evidence of the Franciscan order's activities in the eastern Mediterranean at this date.

During the thirteenth century, the mendicants, particularly the Franciscans and the Dominicans, made their way to the East with astonishing frequency. These new religious orders, founded by Francis (d. 1226) and Dominic (d. 1221), grew with phenomenal speed during the course of the thirteenth century.[3] Expanding from small groups inspired by their charismatic leaders, by the end of the century both orders were international organizations with thousands of followers and hundreds of religious houses spread throughout Europe and the Levant. The two orders were called mendicant (from the Latin *mendicare,* to beg) because of their vows of poverty. But ideals of poverty did not prevent the mendicants from housing beautiful, often costly objects in their churches and carrying them on their voyages.

Early in their history, mendicants realized the power of visual images to advance their mission. Not long after the deaths of their ascetic founders, Franciscans and Dominicans used works of art to adorn their churches and to promote religious renewal, seeking both to convert non-Christians and to inspire nominal Christians to the friars' own fervent piety. Since for the friars the Roman Catholic Church was the only true religion, their missionary fervor also extended to Orthodox and heterodox Christians both in western Europe and in the East. The art associated with the mendicants in Italy was in many ways affected by their extraordinarily active interest in the Mediterranean East. But the reverse is also true: the mendicants' presence in the East at times affected the visual culture of the region. This essay will examine the role played by the mendicants, particularly the Franciscans and the Dominicans, in mediating artistic exchange between Italy and the Byzantine East, especially during the thirteenth century.

Paramount to both Dominicans and Franciscans was the ideal of revitalizing the Church through apostolic poverty and evangelical preaching throughout the known world. The extirpation of heresy was a central goal for the Dominicans, one they pursued zealously in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, earning them the nickname "dogs of the Lord" *(Domini canes).* And from the earliest days of the Franciscan movement, as soon as Francis and his followers numbered eight, they dispersed in pairs, going in different directions, "to bring to birth in Christ the lord all the faithful of the world."[4] Even before traveling to much of Europe, Franciscans journeyed to the Levant. The Holy Land, the locus sanctus where Christ had lived, held a special magnetic appeal for mendicants whose spirituality focused on Christ's humanity. Their love of the human Jesus extended to a keen desire to visit the places where he was born, lived, and died. Although Christian rule had been established in Palestine by the First Crusade (1099), for much of the thirteenth century the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was only a narrow strip of land surrounded by Muslim territories. In 1212 Francis himself attempted a trip to the Holy Land "to preach the Christian faith and repentance to the Saracens and other unbelievers."[5] Although "contrary winds" kept Francis from his destination, taking him instead to the coast of Dalmatia, he reached the Levant in 1219, probably stopping at Crete, Cyprus, and Acre (ʿAkko), capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, before preaching to the Ayyūbid

Fig. 14.1. Saint Francis praying before the cross of San Damiano. Fresco, ca. 1300. Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller

sultan al-Kāmil at Damietta (Dumyāṭ) in Egypt. After he returned to Italy, Francis wrote his Rule of 1221, which instituted the central role of missionary activity for the Franciscans.[6] But preaching the crusades and travel to the Holy Land were important to both orders.[7] When the Dominican master general Jordan of Saxony (d. 1237) tried to recruit friars for missionary work in the Levant, many in his audience are said to have pleaded tearfully "to be sent to that land which the Lord's Blood had hallowed."[8]

The mendicants' missionary zeal reached out not only to "Saracens and other unbelievers" but also to European crusaders, merchants, and settlers living in the East, as well as to oriental Christians—most obviously Greek Orthodox, but also Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, and others.[9] Around 1215, Francis sent Brother Giles on pilgrimage to the Levant, and, in 1217, Brother Elias began the organization of a Franciscan province there; in rapid succession settlements appeared in Constantinople (1220), Antioch (1221), and Jerusalem (probably in 1229). The order's influence in Constantinople must have been especially strong, for the Latin emperor John of Brienne (r. 1231–37) had a Franciscan confessor and, near the end of his life, became a Franciscan tertiary, i.e., a member of the Third Order of Saint Francis. By mid-century, Franciscan houses had sprung up at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Jaffa. The order also established houses in other territories controlled by the Latins: in Cyprus—at Nicosia (ca. 1232), Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta; in Crete, with a house in the capital city, Candia (Iráklion), by 1242;[10] and on the Greek mainland: in Thebes, Corinth, and Athens, all before 1250, and in Negroponte (Khalkís) and Glarenza (Killíni), by 1260.[11] The order also sent a mission to Georgia (in 1233), where the friars established two houses, and to Greater Armenia (in 1246); by 1279 they had a foundation in Armenian Cilicia.[12] In the fourteenth century, when Palestine was again entirely under Islamic rule, it was the Franciscans who were granted custody of the Holy Sepulchre and the right to say offices at other sites sacred to Christianity.[13]

The Dominicans seem to have had fewer houses in Palestine, but they did, by about 1220, establish a friary at Acre, where they assumed a prominent role: members of the order served as three of the last four patriarchs of Jerusalem, and by 1291 they outnumbered Franciscans in Acre.[14] Dominicans also established houses in Constantinople and on Cyprus early in the century, probably by 1220, and perhaps as many as seven in Latin Greece.[15] Like the Franciscans, they settled in Crete, where a Dominican served as archbishop; in Candia, the two mendicant churches were the largest and wealthiest of the city.[16] The Dominicans, too, established a mission in Georgia, by the mid-thirteenth century, and in Greater Armenia in the second half of the century.[17] In the course of the thirteenth century, both orders also made inroads in Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Serbia—all regions in the Byzantine sphere of influence.[18]

These houses not only provided proximity to Muslims whom the mendicants wished to convert but, just as important, established a presence in lands where Orthodox Christianity was practiced with rituals and doctrines that the friars, along with the Latin Church, considered erroneous, even heretical. The schism between the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches, which had begun in 1054 over doctrinal differences, escalated into a bitter rupture in the thirteenth century, especially after 1204, when Latin crusaders seized Constantinople, ousted the Byzantine emperor, and installed Baldwin of Flanders in the imperial palace. Although from the eleventh century on, Latins and Orthodox had periodically tried to heal the breach and reunite the churches, efforts intensified in the 1230s as mounting political pressures, especially the increasing strength of Islam, threatened the interests of Byzantine emperor and Latin pope alike. From the outset, Franciscan friars were instrumental in these negotiations, for discussions between the Latin and Orthodox churches opened after five friars met with the patriarch of Nicaea, capital city of the exiled Byzantine emperor, in 1232.[19] Thereafter, throughout the century and beyond, the popes turned to mendicants, both Franciscan and Dominican, as their emissaries to the East. Several leaders of the orders participated in the delicate negotiations with the Orthodox Church.[20]

Ultimately, with relatively few exceptions, the mendicants converted neither Islamic "infidels" nor Christian "schismatics" and "heretics."[21] But their extraordinary commitment to issues involving the eastern Mediterranean and their many travels and settlements in that region helped stimulate the creation of new art forms in both East and West.

Art and Mendicant Houses in the East

The mendicant settlements that proliferated in the East played a role in the production and dispersal of images. Friars in new houses would have required at least minimal liturgical implements and manuscripts for the performance of offices and services; the larger houses may have established scriptoria to produce their own books. A Dominican missionary from Florence, Ricoldo of Monte Croce, was traveling in the region of modern Iraq when Acre fell to the Saracens in 1291. In Baghdad and Nineveh (Mosul), he saw convoys of Christian captives and booty from the defeated Christian city, including church utensils and manuscripts. From the breviaries, missals, and other books he saw, he purchased a missal and a manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia in Job*.[22] It is not known where these objects had been made or which churches in Acre had owned them, but evidence of scribal activity in Acre survives in the Arsenal Bible, the luxurious illuminated book made there about 1250 for Saint Louis, king of France (cat. 272).[23] Instead of the usual portrait of Saint Jerome at the book's prologue, there is a Dominican scribe; perhaps the book was written at Acre's Dominican scriptorium. One of the late-thirteenth-century choral books from Sveti Frane (Saint Francis), Zadar (Zara), in Dalmatia, also shows a mendicant scribe, a Franciscan, in its first miniature.[24] These choral books may have been made in Zadar or imported from the Veneto; another miniature in the same manuscript shows Francis instructing Saint Clare, who wears a striped mantle, the distinctive habit of Poor Clares (the Second Order of Saint Francis) in Venice. And through-

Fig. 14.2. Crucifix. Tempera on panel. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Italy. Photo: Bruce White

out the fourteenth century, both Franciscan and Dominican houses in Dalmatia commissioned costly works, sometimes by the finest Venetian artists, such as Paolo Veneziano, who, about 1350, painted a splendidly ornate monumental crucifix for each order's church in Dubrovnik (Ragusa).[25] At least one mendicant artisan also worked for Orthodox patrons. Fra Vita, a Franciscan, was called from the Dalmatian coastal town of Kotor (Cattaro) to construct the Monastery of Dečani, well known for its frescoes.[26]

In the Levant, some mendicant churches were surely decorated with wall painting, although only a few tantalizing fresco fragments remain. At Kalenderhane in Constantinople, the frescoes (cat. 274) are closely related in style to the Arsenal Bible, raising the possibility that artists in the region traveled from one mendicant house to another. San Francesco in Pera, the Genoese settlement of Constantinople, was richly ornamented with paintings and mosaics, according to early visitors; also in Pera was an early-fourteenth-century Dominican church, now known as Arap Camii, where narrative scenes that may depict the life of the Dominican saint Peter Martyr have recently been discovered.[27]

Art and Conversion

For the mendicants living in the East (as for those in western Europe), images were a critically important tool of conversion, promoting the Christianity of the Roman Church and the cults of the mendicant founders Francis and Dominic. The notion that images have the power to effect spiritual change has a venerable history in both East and West: Saint Catherine of Alexandria was said to have been converted by an icon of the Theotokos; an inscription on a Byzantine miniature mosaic in this exhibition states that it is that very icon (cat. 128).[28] From about 1240 on, legends claimed Saint Francis's conversion when Christ spoke to him through the painted crucifix of San Damiano, Assisi (fig. 14.1). And, in an anonymous thirteenth-century treatise, the *Nine Ways of Prayer,* Dominic is described gazing at an image of Christ on the cross until rapt in contemplation.[29] Although few examples have been identified, Gerard de Frachet wrote in 1260 that Dominican friars had "in their cells . . . before their eyes images of [Mary] and her crucified Son, so that while reading, praying, and sleeping, they could look upon them and be looked upon by them, with eyes of compassion."[30] Another Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, explained that Christ became visible so that man might be led back to spiritual things.[31] Although Aquinas was writing about Christ's assumption of a visible human body, not artistic images, his idea demonstrates an appreciation of the special power of things that can be seen, an attitude that seems to have been especially strong in Europe in the thirteenth century.[32]

If the friars considered images important vehicles for self-transformation, equally important was their use of images to convert nonbelievers. Jean de Joinville, biographer of Saint Louis, wrote a remarkable account of two Dominicans, envoys of the king, who in 1249 approached the ruler of the Mongols in hopes of converting him to Christianity. To aid them in their efforts, the king equipped them with "a tent made like a chapel, very costly, for it was all of fair, fine scarlet cloth. The king, moreover, to see if he could draw the Tartars to our faith, caused images to be graven in the said chapel, representing the Annunciation of our Lady, and all the other points of the faith. And these things he sent by two brothers of the order of Preachers, who knew the Saracen language, and could show and teach the Tartars what they ought to believe."[33]

In 1253, Louis sent two Franciscan friars, a Frenchman named William of Rubruck and his Italian companion Bartholomew of Cremona, to the courts of the Mongols, first to chieftain Sartach, then to the great khan Mönke in Karakorum; each time the friars used images in their proselytizing efforts. The friars carried with them several manuscripts, among them a Bible, a breviary, and a lavishly illuminated psalter given to William by Louis's queen. The books, especially the psalter, fascinated the Mongol chieftain, who proposed that he keep them. Although William succeeded in retrieving some of the books, he "did not dare abstract the Psalter of [his] lady the Queen, for it had been too much noticed on account of the gilded pictures in it."[34] In Karakorum, the images in these manuscripts again intrigued their audience: William reported that the great khan "made careful inquiry about the pictures [in the manuscripts] and what they meant."[35] William eventually made his way to the Armenian

kingdom of Cilicia, where his books must have aroused similar interest, as we will discuss below.

Proselytizing friars at times took the initiative in commissioning images to use in their missionary efforts. In 1306 John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan, wrote in a letter from Beijing that he "had six pictures made of the Old and New Testaments for the instruction of the ignorant, and they have inscriptions in Latin, Turkish, and Persian, so that all tongues may be able to read them."[36]

Mendicant Saints

The mendicants traveling and living in the Levant inevitably encountered works of Byzantine art. In icons such as that of Saint George in this exhibition (cat. 228), the Franciscans recognized a superb model to advance the cult of their own founder, as seen, for example, in a panel painting in the Church of San Francesco, Pescia, dated 1235. By adapting this sort of image, now called a vita icon, the order effectively inscribed Francis into a venerable lineage of holy men, equating him with the saints of late antiquity and Byzantium—a device that must have served the order well in the years just after Francis's canonization (1228).[37] The vita icons could also have legitimated the saint visually for Orthodox viewers, who were familiar with these types of images.

But Eastern and Western versions of the vita icon differ in significant ways. As in most Eastern examples, the icon of Saint George has a rectangular frame and many small narrative scenes surrounding the central image on all four sides. By contrast, the Pescia panel, like many Italian versions of the type, is gabled, and the narratives are both larger and fewer, with only three on each side. Although the impetus for the introduction of the gable remains unclear, the reduction of scenes to three per side calls to mind the format of the historiated cross (fig. 14.2), as does the inclusion of angels. This departure from the Byzantine type thus seems intended to reinforce Franciscan claims that their founder was truly Christlike, a claim prompted by Francis's stigmata, the wounds on his hands, feet, and side that were believed to replicate those of the crucified Christ.[38]

Although the Dominicans would eventually adapt the vita icon as well, the order never used this type as extensively as did the Franciscans. With or without the biographical scenes of vita panels, portraits of Dominican saints are later in date and far less numerous than their Franciscan counterparts.[39] The provenance of the vita panel of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in this exhibition is problematic. While it may be the panel that Vasari noted in the Dominican church in Pisa, it may in fact have no connection with the order.[40]

Something akin to a vita icon of Francis existed in the East, in the frescoes of Kalenderhane (cat. 274), for there, too, a central figure of Francis is flanked by smaller narratives depicting episodes from his life and posthumous miracles. Adjoining the frescoes of Francis, in the soffit of the arch that frames the apse, two Greek Church Fathers were painted full length; one can be identified by inscription as John Chrysostom. The prominent presence of these Eastern saints in a Franciscan chapel may well reflect pro-union sentiment.[41] John of Parma, minister general of the order (1247–57), who in 1249 had spent time in the East, was deeply committed to the goal of Church union. The juxtaposition of Francis with Orthodox saints parallels John's decision to include Eastern saints in the Franciscan calendar in 1254—almost exactly the time that the frescoes in Kalenderhane were painted.[42]

The presence of John Chrysostom in Kalenderhane is particularly suggestive, for in these frescoes Francis's face has the strongly tapered contour, narrow chin, and deeply sunken checks that often characterize this Church Father in Byzantine art (fig. 14.3). The likeness is more pronounced in some later images, when exaggerated features favored in the Palaiologan period distinctively mark both Chrysostom and Francis. In both the vita panel of Saint Francis in the Treasury of Assisi (fig. 14.4) and a Palaiologan mosaic icon of John Chrysostom (cat. 135), the narrowness of each saint's face makes his high, domed brow all the more prominent in contrast. Portrait types of Francis vary considerably, but certainly the intent in this and other panels was less to represent the saint's actual appearance than to associate him with an Eastern holy man. In contrast to this painted image, Francis's first biographer, Thomas of Celano, describes his forehead as "small and smooth."[43] And the choice of John

Fig. 14.3. Saint Francis from the Franciscan Chapel in the Kalenderhane Camii. Fresco, ca. 1250. Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Photo: Cecil Striker

Fig. 14.4. Vita panel of Saint Francis. Master of the Treasury, tempera on panel, second third of the 13th century. Treasury of San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller

Chrysostom as a model may have been deliberate. Like Francis, he was an ascetic; his gaunt face and dematerialized body signify his rejection of worldly excess.[44] Even more intriguing, however, is the unique significance of Chrysostom to Latin churchmen in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the fifth century, Chrysostom had sought to preserve Church unity with the help of the Roman Church; to proponents of Church union, this seemed an important precedent. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Chrysostom was made patron of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, and most of his relics were taken to Rome.[45] The Franciscans' ties to the Latin patriarch seem to have been especially close; when the patriarch fled Constantinople in 1261, he left a Franciscan as his vicar.[46] Bonaventure, minister general of the Franciscans from 1257 to 1274, cited Chrysostom with particular frequency.[47]

The cult of Francis was so successful that he was occasionally represented even in Orthodox churches in Crete. Identified both by his stigmata and by the inscription "Franzeskos," Francis is depicted with Orthodox saints in the fourteenth-century Church of the Virgin of Kera (Panagia Kera) in Kritsa (fig. 14.5); and in one fifteenth-century Cretan church the Stigmatization appears.[48] But some examples show a definite ambivalence to the friars. The imposition of foreign rule and religion could not but provoke resentment and hostility among non-Catholics.[49] In the Church of Saint John the Baptist, Kritsa, not far from the Panagia Kera, the Last Judgment includes Latin clerics prominently among the damned in hell; among them are clean-shaven, tonsured figures who are likely Franciscans (fig. 14.6).[50] Similar sentiments may explain one curious aspect of a fifteenth-century Cypriot fresco of Pentecost. Among the alien peoples to be converted by the Apostles are two clean-shaven, tonsured, and cowled figures, one possibly a Franciscan.[51] The beardlessness of these clerical figures marks them as "other," for monks in the Orthodox Church were typically bearded.

Mendicant Churches: Assisi

Artists working for the mendicants in Italy adapted elements from widely diverse cultures, a situation that mirrors the orders' geographic diffusion. But for much of the thirteenth century, painters employed by the Franciscans most often emulated works from the Byzantine East. The order's appropriation of Byzantine imagery is especially apparent at its mother church, the Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi.

The earliest known pictorial decoration made for San Francesco was a huge crucifix painted by Giunta Pisano in 1236, commissioned by the order's minister general, Brother Elias of Cortona, the same Elias whom Francis had sent to the Holy Land in 1217.[52] Giunta's image boldly replaced the traditional Italian iconography of Christ alive, upright, as if triumphant on the cross, with a type long established in Byzantium: Christ shown dead or dying, his head bowed, his arms and body curved by the pain of his ordeal (as in the icon from Athens in this

Fig. 14.5. Detail of Saint Francis. Fresco, 14th century. Church of Panagia Kera, Kritsa, Crete, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 14.6. Hell and friars burning in hell, detail of the Last Judgment. Fresco. Church of Saint John the Baptist, Kritsa, Crete, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

exhibition, cat. 103). Soon afterward, the Dominicans of Bologna commissioned their own cross from Giunta, using the same iconography (fig. 14.7).[53] Although mendicants were not the first or the only religious groups in Italy to adopt Byzantine imagery of this type, the gradual proliferation of this imagery in Italy was due largely to their tremendous success.[54]

Brother Elias's stay in the Holy Land probably affected his choice of this new iconography. And until the 1280s, almost all succeeding ministers general of the Franciscan Order also traveled to the Mediterranean East prior to taking office: Haymo of Faversham (1240–44), John of Parma (1247–57), Jerome of Ascoli (1274–79; later Pope Nicholas IV, 1288–92), and Bonagratia of San Giovanni in Persiceto (1279–83). Jerome was provincial minister of Dalmatia (Bosnia and Croatia) when called to lead discussions on Church union with Michael VIII Palaiologos in Constantinople; Bonagratia accompanied him.[55] Bonaventure never traveled to the East but was deeply concerned with Church union and with recovery of the Holy Land. Bonaventure's tenure (1257–74) is the most likely date for the first major fresco program in San Francesco, scenes from the life of Christ and the life of Francis in the nave of the Lower Church. These show similarities to paintings from the Byzantine East. For example, the Stripping of Christ, a subject all but unknown in Italy before the Franciscans, is an ingenious reworking of the Byzantine scene of the Preparation for the Crucifixion (figs. 14.8, 14.9).[56]

It is in the Upper Church frescoes, however, that some of the most striking instances of mendicant adaptation of Byzantine art can be seen, in fresco programs that plausibly can be connected with Jerome of Ascoli.[57] Within the broader context of Franciscan commitment to Church union and missionary activity in the East, Jerome's own experiences in Dalmatia and Constantinople surely helped to stimulate a taste for art with a Byzantine flavor at Assisi.[58]

Frescoes by Cimabue in the Upper Church, probably painted when Jerome of Ascoli was minister general, suggest a close study of Byzantine style and technique. The evangelists in the crossing vault (fig. 14.10) were originally placed on brilliant gold grounds, intended to simulate the sacred aura of mosaics; thirteenth-century Serbian painters used a similar technique.[59] The proportions and poses of the evangelists seem closely related to figural types seen in thirteenth-century manuscripts such as Bibliothèque Nationale grec 54 (cat. 162, fol. 173r); compare, for

Fig. 14.7. Crucifix. Giunta Pisano, tempera on panel, ca. 1234–60. Church of San Domenico, Bologna, Italy

Fig. 14.8. Stripping of Christ. Fresco, 1290s. Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller

instance, the odd, right-angled legs pulled in close to the body.[60] In Assisi, the cities next to each evangelist are labeled Greece (*Ipnacchaia,* or in Acchaia), Palestine *(Iudaea),* Asia *(Asia),* and Italy *(Ytalia)*—an Italy specifically designated as Rome by characteristic buildings such as the Pantheon. Although the labeled cities refer to the places in which the Gospels were written, surely the ensemble also suggests Rome as the headquarters of the Latin Church, from which Franciscans, agents of the pope, dispersed to convert the Holy Land, Orthodox Greece, and Asia, spreading the word of the Latin Church.[61] The placement of the evangelists in the crossing of the Upper Church attests to the centrality of missionary activity—that is, evangelizing—to the order.

In the central vault of the Upper Church nave, the traditional Byzantine iconography of the Deesis is presented with a new mendicant slant. Francis joins the Byzantine triad of Mary and John the Baptist interceding with Christ for human salvation (fig. 14.11). Francis turns both palms to the viewer, altering the standard pose of supplication, in order to display the stigmata that justify his role as mankind's advocate. The composition and style of the frescoes in this vault are also related to the Byzantine East. The design, with each of four roundels placed within one segment of the groined vault, recalls Byzantine compositions such as that of eleventh-century mosaics at the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, Greece (fig. 14.12).[62] The artist's technique of subtle and radiant modeling, seen especially Christ's face , suggests his familiarity with mid- or late-thirteenth-century Byzantine style.[63] Almost certainly, these frescoes were painted by Jacopo Torriti, who may himself have been a Franciscan.[64]

While other artists working in the nave of the Upper Church may not have painted with Torriti's coloristic range, the impact of late Byzantine painting is still apparent in the figure type and physiognomy of Abraham from the scene of the

Fig. 14.9. Preparation for the Crucifixion. The Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece (Ms. 5, fol. 214v). Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 14.10. Saint Luke. Fresco, 1280–83. Crossing vault, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller

Fig. 14.11. Deesis vault. Fresco, 1290s. Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller

Sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 14.13), comparable to contemporary work in Serbia, as seen in this exhibition, for example, in a fresco from Gradac or an icon from the Church of Saint Clement, Ohrid (cats. 43, 11). Gradac was the royal mausoleum of the queen of Serbia, Helena of Anjou, a Westerner by birth who maintained close ties to the papacy and favored the Franciscans' founding, for instance, a convent at Ratac on the coast of Montenegro.[65]

Affective Devotion

Large painted crucifixes were placed in Italian churches from at least the twelfth century, but with mendicant, especially Franciscan, promotion of the Byzantine iconography seen in Giunta's crosses, Christ's humility and suffering were displayed and made explicit to an unprecedented degree. Analogous to mendicant preaching, which was heard by large, diverse audiences, crosses in the huge naves of mendicant churches could be seen by large numbers of friars and laymen. The importance of *seeing* Christ is emphasized in mendicant writings. While, as noted above, Thomas Aquinas taught that Christ became visible so that man could return to him, Bonaventure also appeals to the viewer's emotions. In a treatise addressed to Poor Clares, Bonaventure imagines Christ saying to his worshipers, "I became human and visible so that you might see Me and so love Me, since unseen and invisible in my divinity, I had not been properly loved."[66] Although in these concepts both Aquinas and Bonaventure refer to the Incarnation, the focus on Christ's visibility might be extended to painted images. *Seeing* the divine person and his sufferings elicits the ardent love of the devout and furthers his or her spiritual growth.

A sense of the impassioned response that paintings might evoke can be found in the experiences of the Franciscan tertiary Angela of Foligno (1248–1309): "Whenever I saw the passion of Christ depicted, I could hardly bear it, but fever possessed me and I trembled."[67] Lest Angela suffer too grievously, her companion often hid paintings from her. On another occasion, when gazing at the crucifix, Angela "saw and felt that Christ was within me, embracing my soul with the very arm with which he was crucified."[68] Such ecstasies may have been experienced only by mystics, but a wide variety of viewers, religious and laity, must have felt compassionate love and devotion when viewing images of the suffering Christ. Both Bonaventure and Aquinas affirmed the particular efficacy of images, quoting Horace's dictum that what is seen is impressed more vividly and permanently in the memory than what is heard.[69]

Byzantine iconography provided vivid and poignant images that could be used to kindle affective devotion. The iconographic type of the Man of Sorrows, the Imago Pietatis, is known from the twelfth century in Byzantium.[70] Christ is placed close to the viewer; he is dead, yet upright, embodying the antithetical conditions of death and triumph. This paradox is reflected in inscriptions

Fig. 14.12. Busts of Mary, John the Baptist, and angels. Mosaic, 11th century. Vault over the Pantokrator in the entrance of the inner narthex, Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis, Greece. Photo: Vassilis Marinis

that sometimes appear on Byzantine icons of the Man of Sorrows, "Basileu tēs doxēs" (King of Glory) or "Akra tapeinosis" (Deepest Humiliation).[71] These icons effectively present the mystery of Christ abased in his deepest sacrifice as a prelude to his highest glory. And, especially important for the mendicant, Christ is made supremely visible and accessible.

An intriguing example is the Man of Sorrows painted with Mary and John on a folding triptych intended for private devotion (fig. 14.14).[72] The style and iconography, with Christ seen only to the shoulders, are so close to Byzantine work that the artist's training, whether Western—perhaps Venetian—or Byzantine, is uncertain. But the patron was surely a Dominican, and the two Dominicans painted on the outside of the triptych are by a different, certainly Italian hand (fig. 14.15).

Thirteenth-century Italian images of the Man of Sorrows more typically show Christ's arms folded across his body, as in Byzantine icons such as the miniature mosaic icon given to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, in the late fourteenth century (cat. 131).[73] This variation of the standard Byzantine pose displays the hand wounds, an emphasis of particular importance to the mendicants, who promoted the cult of Christ's blood and wounds.[74]

Multiple wounds and rivulets of blood cover the body of Christ, Man of Sorrows, in a psalter once owned by a noble Austrian lady (fig. 14.16),[75] who is pictured in the book receiving it from a Dominican friar, surely her spiritual adviser. The artist was an itinerant Italian, whose style is close to that of the Gaibana Epistolary of 1259 (cat. 275). Placed in the historiated initial, the Man of Sorrows becomes the blessed man of Psalm 1, who is like the fruit of the tree that prospers (Psalms 1:1, 1:3). The Psalm's metaphor of a fruitful tree here becomes an analogy for Christ on the cross.

Since the wounding of Francis with the stigmata was a central and defining event for Franciscans, it is not surprising that Christ's blood is emphasized most frequently in their images.[76] In the *Supplicationes variae,* a late-thirteenth-century prayer book inspired by Franciscan spirituality, blood drips delicately from the Man of Sorrow's hands and side (cat. 281). The text above this image speaks of the mystical embrace of the crucified, recalling

Fig. 14.13. Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac. Fresco, 1290s. Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller

Fig. 14.14. Man of Sorrows with Mary and John. Triptych, tempera on panel, ca. 1300. Private collection, Dordrecht, Netherlands

Angela of Foligno's mystical vision.[77] The rubric (or chapter heading) on this page states a purpose that applies to both text and image: to arouse ardent love and affix the savior in the memory of the reader.

The link between the Man of Sorrows and Saint Francis is made explicit in Giambono's poignant altarpiece in this exhibition in which Christ's hands and body are exposed with gaping wounds and gushing blood (cat. 294). A small, grieving figure of Francis stands near Christ. As in vita panels, the painting affirms Francis's stigmata and his status as *alter Christus*. Blood-red rays connect the two figures, wound to wound.

Yet another mendicant adaptation of the Byzantine Man of Sorrows is seen in a small mid-fourteenth-century plaque made for a confraternity of pious laymen (cat. 293). Christ's two devotees are brought in close to his body, as if under the protection of his arms. A veiled penitent faces a Dominican friar, most likely his spiritual supervisor. The friar, on Christ's right, is a privileged mediator, who relays the layman's prayers to Christ. Only the friar, his face unveiled, is granted unobstructed vision and access to Christ's open wound.

The Mendicants' Icons

In both private devotional images and public images displayed in churches, the mendicants, especially the Franciscans, purposefully drew on the imagery of Byzantine art. Another aspect of mendicant involvement with the art of Byzantium is seen in the value given to specific Byzantine icons and icon theory. While Torriti's Deesis vault at Assisi adapts a common Byzantine formula, in another fresco in the Upper Church, the Wedding at Cana (fig. 14.17), the figure of the Virgin is closely modeled after a famous icon in Rome, the Madonna Tempuli, or Madonna of San Sisto.[78] Legends of both apostolic authenticity and supernatural origins contributed to the fame of this early Byzantine icon: the evangelist Luke, it was said, drew Mary's features from life. Still, the icon remained uncolored until pigments were miraculously added by divine agency. In the thirteenth century, the Madonna Tempuli was kept by the Dominican nuns of Rome. Its extraordinary value to the order is revealed by the fact that Dominic himself carried it in solemn procession when the nuns moved to their new convent at San Sisto in 1221.[79] But perhaps the Franciscans of Assisi wished to promote not the Dominicans' icon but their own: a precise, measured copy of the Madonna Tempuli, probably made in the twelfth century but, at least from about 1370, also attributed to Saint Luke. This was the icon of the Franciscan Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, which, probably as early as the mid-thirteenth century, was promoted as a rival to Rome's other miraculous Marian icons.[80]

Other icons associated with the mendicants include the Mandylion (icon of the Holy Face) once kept at the Roman Clarisse convent of San Silvestro in Capite[81] and an icon of Mary said to have been carried by Francis himself to the Greek island of Cephalonia.[82] A panel showing Saints Peter and Paul in this exhibition was perhaps commissioned expressly as a gift to the Franciscan pope Nicholas IV from Helena of Anjou, queen of Serbia (cat. 23). Reflecting the hybrid culture of thirteenth-century Serbia, the panel presents the "authentic" portraits of

Fig. 14.15. Dominican friars on outside of triptych in fig. 14.14

Fig. 14.16. Man of Sorrows in a psalter. Tempera on vellum, mid-13th century. Austrian National Library, Vienna (Cod. 1898, fol. 14v). Photo: Picture Archive of the Austrian National Library

Peter and Paul according to Roman iconography but with inscriptions in Cyrillic, Serbian rulers in byzantinizing costume, and a strongly byzantinizing style.

How mendicants thought of these icons—how they understood them theoretically and practically—is too complex a subject to treat extensively in this essay, but a few remarks will introduce the topic. In texts discussing the Greek term *latria*, that is, the highest degree of worship, both Franciscan and Dominican theologians cite the orthodox Byzantine authority John of Damascus, who, at the Second Council of Nicaea (787), had defended the validity of venerating painted images of Christ: "The honor paid to the image is referred to the prototype."[83] Both the Franciscan Bonaventure and the Dominican Thomas Aquinas followed Byzantine tradition in claiming divine authority for these practices by invoking legends from the East: that Abgar of Edessa received a miraculous image of Christ not made by human hands (cat. 265) and that the evangelist Luke painted a portrait of Christ (cat. 203). Bonaventure also cited Luke's painting of Mary, implicitly sanctioning images of the Virgin. These texts demonstrate acceptance of fundamental Byzantine ideas, and during the thirteenth century, Byzantine icons themselves were considered particularly sacred and authentic because of their origins in the East.[84] In Florence in 1306, the Dominican

Fig. 14.17. Wedding at Cana. Fresco, 1290s. Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller

friar Giordano da Rivalto spoke in a sermon of "old pictures from Greece" that were "as compelling as Scripture," depicting the saints "exactly as they appeared in real life."[85]

An anecdote about Francis suggests a discomfort with the common human propensity to worship before images as if the divine spirit were indeed present. Objecting to his followers' adulation, Francis explained that his body, like a painted wooden panel, serves to honor Christ or the Virgin but itself is only worthless physical matter.[86] But in Italy, as in Byzantium, holy persons might in practice be understood to act through painted images, and the distinction between the person depicted and the material replica might be blurred. For example, the early-fourteenth-century *Deeds of Blessed Francis* tells of a Dominican, consumed with hatred for Francis, who tried to cut the stigmata from a mural in his convent. After three unsuccessful attempts, blood gushed violently from the picture, terrifying and converting the friar and his entire community to faithful devotion to Francis.[87] Both Thomas of Celano and Bonaventure tell the story of the canon Roger.[88] Stricken with illness, Roger went to pray in a church where he saw an image of Saint Francis. When Roger doubted the truth of the stigmata, his own left hand was suddenly wounded with excruciating pain—and healed only after Roger professed belief in the stigmata. This or a similar miracle is illustrated on a vita panel of Francis in Orte. [89]

These Franciscan miracle stories, like many others, served to promote belief in the stigmata. Whenever Byzantine images were used by mendicants, whether for conversion or for the promotion of a particular cult, they were modified and transformed to serve in mendicant contexts.

Mendicant Art and the East

Most of the images we have discussed thus far, like the vita icon, the dead Christ on the cross, and the Man of Sorrows, offer examples of the friars' purposeful adaptation and manipulation of Eastern works. But images that arose in the West—significantly, images favored by the mendicants—at times left an imprint on the art of the Levant. We have already considered some of these incursions of mendicant images into Eastern sites, such as the depictions of Francis in Orthodox churches in Crete. Equally intriguing are works produced in the East that are visual hybrids that synthesize East and West in a single image. Some striking examples are icons found at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, including one of the Crucifixion in this exhibition (cat. 224) that is particularly reminiscent of Franciscan art in central Italy. The Greek inscription on the cross beam attests to this icon's Eastern origin, but here Christ is crucified with three nails instead of four, the requisite number in Byzantine versions of the theme. While the use of the three-nail Crucifixion in northern Europe predates the mendicant orders, some of the earliest examples of this iconography in Italy are Franciscan commissions.[90] Some contemporary Franciscan works also include the dramatically swooning Virgin.[91]

Other details of the Sinai icon also seem characteristic of Franciscan art. The anguished figure of Mary Magdalene is patterned after a type of mourning woman found in Byzantine art, seen most frequently in images of the Lamentation and Entombment.[92] But in thirteenth-century Italy, this woman is explicitly identified as Mary Magdalene by her red mantle, and at times by her streaming hair, voluptuous body, and plunging neckline, all signs of her passionate nature. The grieving Mary Magdalene is seen most frequently in images linked to Franciscan patronage; indeed, the order especially venerated the Magdalene.[93] While almost all of these works are versions of the Lamentation, at times the Magdalene appears similarly distraught in the Crucifixion, most notably in Cimabue's monumental fresco in San Francesco, Assisi, from the later 1270s (fig. 14.18).

The mourning angels on the Sinai icon are also distinctive. Unlike more conventional angels, who gaze at the cross or the viewer (as in, for instance, the Crucifixion in the Perugia Missal, cat. 276), here the angels shield themselves from a sight too painful to bear: one covers his eyes with his hands, while the other buries his head between his outstretched arms. These gestures, too, find nearly exact parallels in central Italian works produced for the Franciscan order. In Cimabue's fresco in San Francesco, the two angels closest to the cross cover their eyes much like the angel on the left in the icon. In a Lamentation from the high altarpiece of San Francesco al Prato, Perugia, about 1272 (fig. 14.19), the angel buries his head between his arms precisely like the angel on the right in the icon.[94]

A strikingly similar composition with the swooning Virgin and virtually identical angels appears in the Gospel Book of Queen Keran from Armenian Cilicia. The Gospel book is dated 1272—exactly contemporary to the Perugian altarpiece. Indeed,

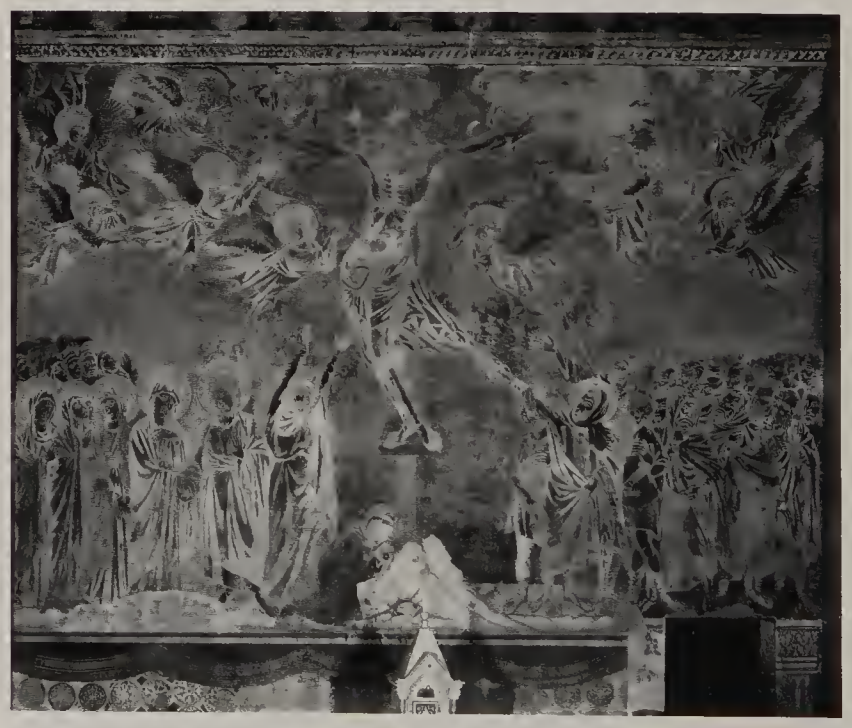


Fig. 14.18. Crucifixion. Cimabue, fresco, ca. 1277–80. Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. Photo: © www.assisi.de Stefan Diller.

Fig. 14.19. *Lamentation.* Master of Saint Francis, tempera on panel, ca. 1272. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, Italy. Photo: Bruce White

Cilician manuscripts of the 1260s and 1270s often incorporate Western iconographic elements, some of which are specifically Franciscan. The visit of the Franciscan William of Rubruck to the Armenian court at mid-century would explain the availability of Western images there, and Franciscan influence at the court only grew over time, a relationship especially cultivated by the Franciscan pope Nicholas IV (r. 1288–92).[95] One member of the royal family, Het'um II, actually joined the order in 1294.[96] As the Keran Gospel Crucifixion suggests, Cilician illuminators had access to virtually contemporary Italian models or to works like the Mount Sinai icon that served as intermediaries. Related images also appear in Cyprus in the second half of the thirteenth century; again, the friars likely played a role in transmitting Western motifs to Cypriot sites.[97]

Another example of imagery common to the geographic cluster of Armenian Cilicia, Cyprus, and central Italy is the Madonna of Mercy. In the Cilician Gospel book the Marshal Oshin Gospels of about 1270, the presentation page depicts the Virgin extending her mantle over the kneeling patron (cat. 30B). Much the same protective gesture appears in Duccio's *Madonna of the Franciscans* (fig. 14.20)—obviously a work of mendicant sponsorship—and in paintings in Cyprus, including a large late-thirteenth-century icon of the enthroned Virgin and Child in the Byzantine Museum, Nicosia; the Virgin's cloak shelters a group of worshipers from another mendicant order, the Carmelites.[98] Although the precise origins of this type, the so-called Madonna of Mercy, are complex, the image offers further evidence that closely related works circulated in Cilicia, Cyprus, and central Italy at about the same time—and that mendicant orders were, in part, responsible for their popularity. While questions remain about all of the works under discussion here, one conclusion seems clear: the friars contributed significantly to the cultural interchange that invigorated the art of both East and West in the later Middle Ages.

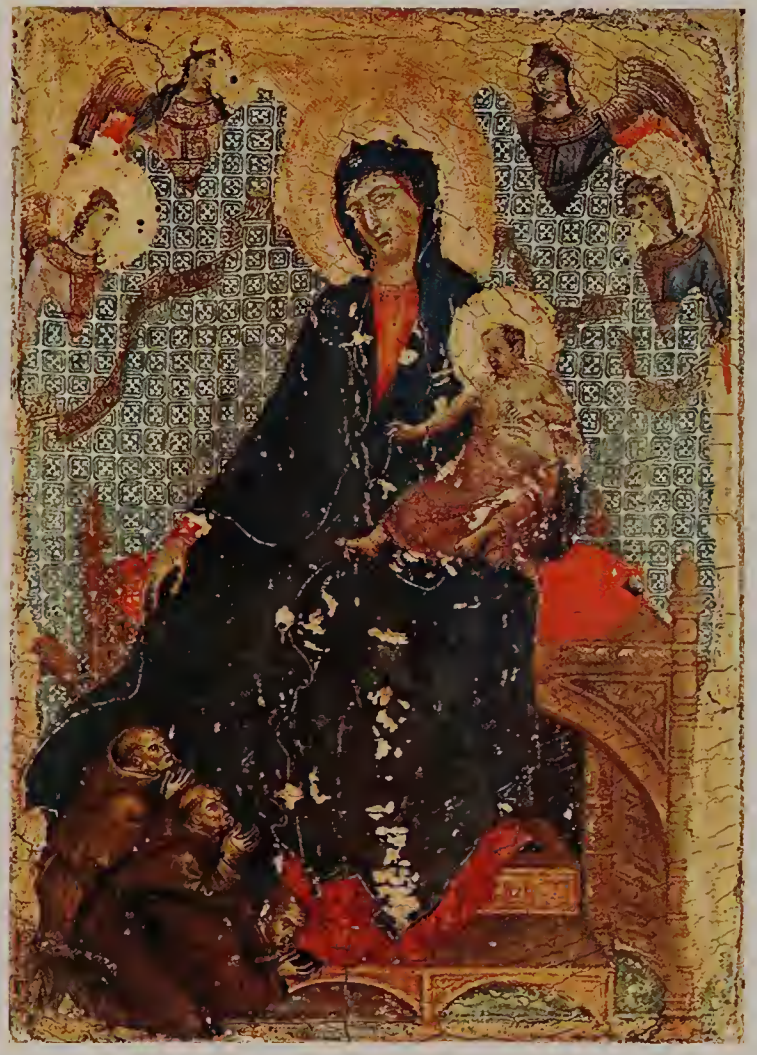


Fig. 14.20. *Madonna of the Franciscans.* Duccio, tempera on wood, ca. 1300. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy. Photo after *Duccio: alle origini della pittura senese* (exh. cat., Siena, 2003–4 [Milan, 2003]), no. 24

272, fol. 307r

272. The Arsenal Bible

Acre, 1250–54
Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment; 368 fols.
28.5 x 20.2 cm (11¼ x 8 in.)
PROVENANCE: Early history unknown; in the fifteenth century in the collection of Louis de Grolée, abbot of Bonneaux and Saint Pierre of Vienne (his coat of arms is sewn into the flyleaf); at some date in the eighteenth century, acquired by the marquis de Paulmy; purchased by the comte d'Artois, whose manuscript collection formed the core of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.
CONDITION: The manuscript is in good condition. Currently bound in an eighteenth-century red leather binding, it retains its original order.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (Ms. 5211)

Carefully studied by Hugo Buchthal and, more recently, by Daniel Weiss, this Bible is the most elaborately decorated work produced by a Latin scriptorium in the Crusader East.[1] Written in Old French, the twenty books of the Old Testament are each preceded by a frontispiece miniature and opened with a lavishly illuminated initial. The elaborate decorative program with its stress on kingship supports the generally accepted identification of this Bible as a work produced for, or by the order of, King Louis IX of France, later Saint Louis, during the years 1250–54, when he was in the East. The Bible is attributed to the Latin scriptorium in the Crusader city of Acre, the last Crusader city to fall to Islam, in 1291, and long a major center for Franciscan missionary efforts in the East.[2] Buchthal identified the cycle of illuminations as ultimately deriving from a French model, one related to the Moralized Bibles produced in Paris for the king's court. At the same time, Buchthal stressed the byzantinizing style of the illuminations and associated the illuminator with the style of an Italian missal from Perugia (cat. 276).[3] Weiss, accepting Buchthal's identifications, also stressed the Byzantine style of the manuscript and agreed with Cecil Striker that the artist may have painted the frescoes of the life of Saint Francis in Constantinople (cat. 274).[4]

The full-page depiction of King Solomon that is the frontispiece to the Book of Proverbs (fol. 307r) exemplifies the fusion of styles found in the Arsenal Bible. Solomon, garbed as a Byzantine—that is, Roman—emperor, is seated with an open book. He looks toward the winged figure of Divine Wisdom, Hagia Sophia, seated beside him, while a small boy with a book is seated at his feet. Busts of Christ and the Virgin look down on the scene. The imperial dress and the figures of Hagia Sophia, Christ, and the Virgin are inspired by Byzantine art. The composition of Solomon with the small boy is found in the Moralized Bibles.[5]

Works in the style of the Moralized Bibles were brought to the East by the Franciscan William of Rubruck, who served as an envoy of Louis IX to the Mongols.[6] The Arsenal Bible is only one of a number of works produced in the second half of the thirteenth century in the East that reflect awareness of compositions in the Moralized Bibles.[7] Among those works is a triptych icon at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, Egypt (cat. 216), which is also one of the icons of Sinai that have been identified as painted in a style similar to that of the Perugia Missal (cat. 223). Kurt Weitzmann suggested that the Sinai triptych and the Arsenal Bible were both produced by a workshop in Acre in the mid-thirteenth century.[8] Weitzmann and Weiss linked the images of Christ and the Virgin over the head of Solomon on the Bible's frontispiece with an icon of Saint Nicholas at Sinai.[9] It is possible that there is also a connection, not yet determined, between the royal iconography of the Bible and the increasing popularity of the sainted princess Catherine in the West in the thirteenth century. Certainly, there was a connection between the monastery and Acre, where the Monastery of Saint Catherine had a metochion, or town church, whose presence in the Latin city had been confirmed by a papal bull of Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–41).[10] HCE

1. Buchthal 1957, pp. 54–68, 96–97, pls. 62–81; D. Weiss 1998, pp. 85–195.
2. For information on Acre, see Folda 1976, pp. 3–26, esp. 14–15, concerning the Dominican and Franciscan presence there.
3. Buchthal 1957, pp. 54–56, 65–66.
4. D. Weiss 1998, pp. 86–104, esp. 103–4.
5. Buchthal 1957, pp. 63–65, identified the composition as being based on a Byzantine model with the small boy derived from the Moralized Bibles. D. Weiss 1998, pp. 123–25, 141–45, more accurately recognized that the composition of Solomon with the boy is found in the Moralized Bibles and limited the Byzantine influence to the imperial dress and to the presence of Hagia Sophia, Christ, and the Virgin. Both recognized that Christ and the Virgin were variations on the Western images of Sponsus and Sponsa as found in the *Song of Solomon*.
6. Evans 1990, pp. 40–43, 91, 109–10; Evans 1998, p. 110 and n. 26; D. Weiss 1998, p. 149.
7. Weitzmann 1982, pp. 291–324; Evans 1990, pp. 40–44, 108–10, 113–14, 117, 118–20, 123–25, 132–39.
8. Weitzmann 1982, pp. 300–302.
9. Ibid., pp. 301–2; D. Weiss 1998, p. 143.
10. Folda 1976, p. 6 and n. 12.

References: Buchthal 1957 (with bibl.); Folda 1976; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 291–324; D. Weiss 1998 (with bibl.).

273. Fragmentary Funerary Epitaph for an Unidentified Archbishop of Tyre

Crusader, Adloun (Lebanon) or el-Tirch (Lebanon) (?), 13th century
Marble
27 x 92 cm (10⅝ x 36¼ in.)
Inscribed: . . . PLANGAT AMENA TYRUS IN FUNERE PONTIFICALI/. . . PLANGERE DEBEMUS QUIA TALI PATRE CAREMUS/. . . PLUS CUPIENS X[PRISTI] QUAM PLEBIS HABERE FAVOREM/. . . SPIRITUS ILLIUS COMMENDETUR TIBI XPISTE (. . . pleasant Tyre laments the death of its bishop/. . . It is our duty to mourn, because we are deprived of one such father [of the church],/. . . may his spirit, which yearns for Christ more than the favor of the crowd . . . be commended to you, Christ)
Provenance: Attributed to Adloun or el-Tirch, Lebanon; found in 1881 during the French excavations of Clermont-Ganneau in the region of Tyre (Ṣūr, Lebanon); after the excavation, acquired by the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes et Hôtel de Cluny.
Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes et Hôtel de Cluny, Paris (Cl.18597)

This finely carved Latin epitaph commemorates one of the archbishops of Tyre (modern Ṣūr, Lebanon), a city conquered by the Crusaders in 1124. An important fortress and trading center, the city was also one of the most important metropolitan sees in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Muslim traveler Ibn Jubayr in 1184 admired the tolerance of the city's Christians toward Muslims and described the lavish public celebration of a local wedding.[1] Tyre was one of the few cities that did not fall to Saladin in 1187 and was among the last the Mamlūks conquered, finally, in 1291. The kings of Jerusalem were often crowned in the city's cathedral, as Hugh of Cyprus was in 1269. The city was a stronghold for the Genoese during the War of Saint Sabas (1256) against their trading rival, Venice.[2]

The Latin archbishopric established in Tyre, under the spiritual authority of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, existed alongside Tyre's Christian-Orthodox metropolitan bishopric, with each overseeing its respective Christian community.[3] Tyre's Latin archbishops, most of them of Frankish descent, brought to the Holy Land many of the artistic traditions of their homeland, as this fragmentary funerary epitaph attests. The surviving arched marble panel with denticulate border and Latin inscription in fine Gothic script would most likely have formed part of a larger funeral effigy. The complete tomb image would have included the sculpted portrait of the archbishop, as well as his name and death date—a traditional form for tomb sculptures in the Latin West.

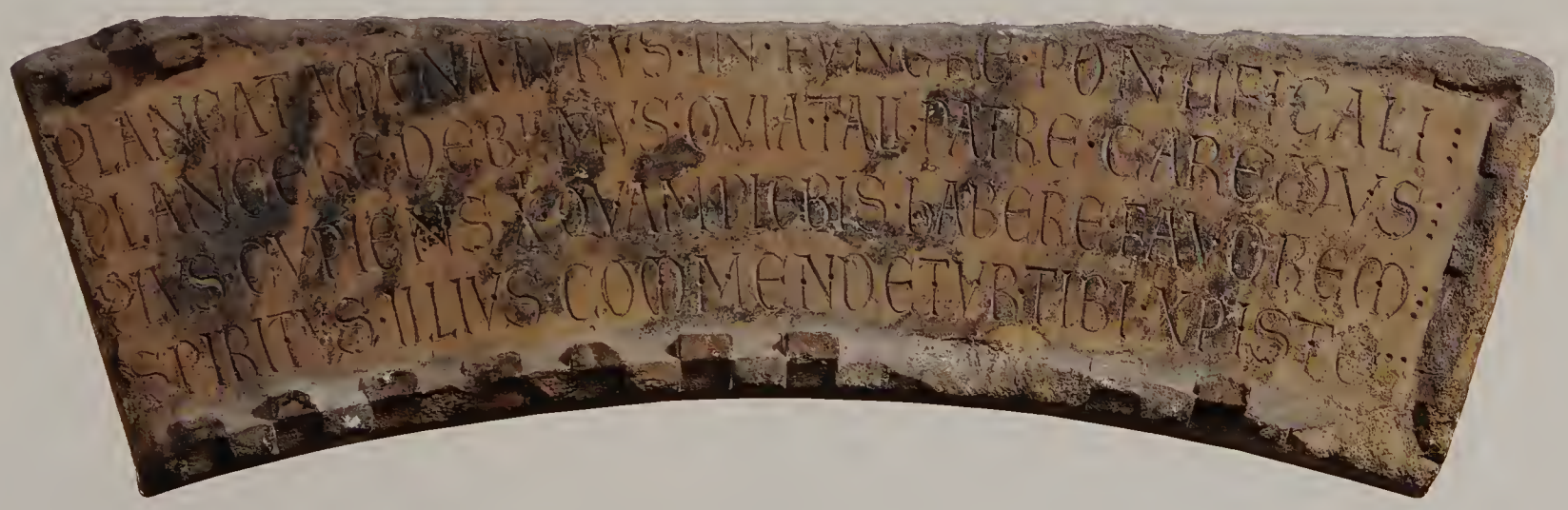
CHM

1. Ibn Jubair 1952, pp. 319–20.
2. Shirley 1999, p. 117.
3. "Tyre," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, p. 2134.

References: Philip de Novare 1936; Wolff and Hazard 1969, pp. 568–71, 588–90; Riley-Smith 1973; Chéhab 1975–79; Chéhab 1983–86; Paris 1998–99, pp. 236–38; Shirley 1999.

274. Fresco Fragment with Franciscan Friars

Crusader (Constantinople), mid-13th century (before 1261)
Tempera on fresco
50.2 x 35 cm (19¾ x 13¾ in.)
Inscribed: On the arch framing the apse, DOMINE DILEXI DECOREM DOMU[S TUAE ET LOCUM HABITATIONIS GLORIAE] TUAE (Psalm 25[26]:8, O Lord, I love the house in which you dwell, and the place where your glory abides). Each scene was labeled in Latin, but the surviving fragments are now mostly illegible. On scene 6 (Striker and Kuban 1997), S.FRANCISCI . . . V̄ I[N] AERA (which seems to describe Francis "in aera," suspended in air at his miraculous apparition at Arles).[1] On another fragment are the letters STO (which permit identification of a large, standing Greek Church Father as John Chrysostom).[2]
Provenance: Kalenderhane Camii (Kyriotissa Monastery), Istanbul (Constantinople).
Condition: The present montage of the Kalenderhane frescoes joins several relatively large segments of painting found in situ with other sections pieced together from the hundreds of small fragments found during the excavations of the chapel. It was possible to recover only about two-fifths of the original fresco surface.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum



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Following the Fourth Crusade, Constantinople was under Latin rule from 1204 to 1261. These are the sole surviving frescoes from this period in Constantinople, and, besides providing rare documentation of artistic activity in the conquered Byzantine capital, the frescoes illustrate the important role of the Franciscans in the Mediterranean East. Inside a late-twelfth-century Byzantine church, identified as the Kyriotissa Monastery, Latin occupants commissioned the decoration of a small chapel adjoining the main apse of the church.[3] Only fragments survive, but painstaking recovery and restoration of the surviving fragments have allowed reconstruction of the composition in the apse of the chapel: a large figure of Saint Francis flanked by ten scenes from his life (fig. 274.1). Painted above Francis was a bust of the Virgin and Child with angels, and on the arch before the semidome of the apse were two large figures, Greek Church Fathers. One of these can be identified as Saint John Chrysostom by the inscription *STO* found on a detached fragment of the fresco. Between the two saints and the semidome, a passage from Psalm 26 (25 in the Latin Psalter) frames the figures of Mary and Francis. It seems to refer to Mary—and perhaps also the chapel itself—as the site of divine habitation.[4]

The fragment shown here includes parts of three scenes. At the top left, two Franciscan friars stand behind a crenellated wall, gazing and gesturing in awe. To the right, three barefoot friars stand as witnesses to another unidentified scene. Below, from the scene of Francis Preaching to the Birds, two friars stand with Francis, whose raised hand indicates his speech to a flock of fluttering birds.[5] The most completely preserved figure, is full of tense energy. His tightly held arms, jutting neck, and deep-set eyes and the dabs of white paint highlighting his face create a sense of animated concentration. Comparison of this friar with figures from the Arsenal Bible (cat. 272) supports an attribution of both works probably not to the same hand but to the style of a group of Crusader artists who worked in Acre, Constantinople, and Sinai.[6] Following Hugo Buchthal, most scholars assign the Arsenal Bible and therefore also the Kalenderhane frescoes to French artists influenced by Byzantine models and techniques. The possibility of an Italian artist or artists, however, deserves further consideration.[7]

In these frescoes painted by Westerners, the appropriation of Byzantine art points to a thoughtful selection of Eastern features. The compositional similarity to a vita icon, for example, and Francis's likeness to a Byzantine ascetic (fig. 14.3) seem to place Francis in the sacred company of Eastern saints.[8] Although no historical evidence documents a Franciscan convent at the site of Kalenderhane, Franciscans had settled in Constantinople from 1220. This extensive program dedicated to Francis was surely commissioned by patrons with close ties to the order.[9]

AN

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Fig. 274.1. Reconstruction drawing of the Saint Francis Chapel fresco program, Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople, before 1261. Drawing: Daniel K. McCoubrey, reproduced with the permission of Cecil Striker

My thanks to Cecil L. Striker for his helpful comments on this catalogue entry.

1. Blume 1983, p. 18.
2. Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 138–40.
3. For the identification of the monastery and the complex building history of the site, see ibid., pp. 8–15, 23–100.
4. In his *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, written ca. 1248, Bonaventure cited this verse to describe Mary guarded by angels; *S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia* VII (Quaracchi, 1895), p. 27.
5. For the identification of scenes, see Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 132–37; additional identifications are suggested by Blume 1983, pp. 18–19. Cecil Striker (in Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 134, 141) has noted the intriguing similarity of Francis's gesture to that in the same scene painted ca. 1295 in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi.
6. Striker credits this attribution to Hugo Buchthal; see Striker and Kuban 1997, p. 142.
7. For example, see Scarpellini 1982b, p. 100, who suggests a Venetian artist. For Buchthal's attribution of the Arsenal Bible to a French illuminator, see Buchthal 1957, pp. 65–66. It should be noted that Buchthal also attributed some miniatures of the Crusading period to Venetian artists; ibid., pp. 48–51.
8. See the essay by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff in this publication.
9. Striker 1982, p. 120, and Albrecht Berger, in Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 16–17, suggest that the frescoes may have been painted in a French Dominican convent documented in Constantinople from 1233. The patronage of the frescoes was not, however, necessarily French, and the Dominicans seem rarely to have used the format of the vita panel. And, while paintings of Saint Francis are known from non-Franciscan churches, these are generally isolated figures of the saint, such as the image of Saint Francis at the Benedictine Sacro Speco, Subiaco, rather than extended cycles in prominent locations. For examples from ca. 1240–60 of images of Francis not in Franciscan churches, see Cook 1999, nos. 40, 70, 128 (Stigmatization), 193, 199. Most of these are in Benedictine churches, none in Dominican. Also, the legend of a miraculous fresco of Francis painted in a Dominican friary is clearly Franciscan propaganda; its factual basis is questionable; for the story, see the *Deeds of Blessed Francis and His Companions*, LXV, 1–18, FAED, vol. 3, pp. 559–60). At Kalenderhane, patronage by the Franciscans or by an aristocrat sympathetic to the order seems likely. For the Franciscans in Constantinople, see Wolff 1944 and Lock 1995, pp. 230–31, who suggests that John of Brienne, emperor of Constantinople, was involved in the commission. John, however, died in 1237.

REFERENCES: Striker and Kuban 1967–75; Folda 1976, pp. 23, 105 n. 153; Goetz 1978; Scarpellini 1982b, pp. 99–100; Striker 1982; Blume 1983, pp. 18–20, 158–59; Krüger 1992, pp. 110, 187; Belting 1994, p. 384; Lock 1995, p. 231; Tullia Carratù, "Venezia e la lingua franca," in Rome 1997, pp. 310–12; Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 16–17, 128–42; D. Weiss 1998, pp. 102–4, 152, Cormack 2000, p. 188; Romano 2001, p. 26; Italo Furlan, "Duecento veneziano," in Rimini 2002, pp. 67–68.

275. Epistolary of Giovanni da Gaibana

Padua, 1259
Tempera and gold on vellum; 102 fols.
26 x 18.7 cm (10¼ x 7⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: Colophon fols. 98v–99r begin *Ego presbyter Johannes scripsi feliciter* . . . (I, the priest Giovanni, happily wrote . . .)
PROVENANCE: Cathedral of Padua.
CONDITION: The volume is in a sixteenth-century red velvet binding.
Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, Italy (Ms. E 2)

Anchored by its firm localization and date, the epistolary made for the Cathedral of Padua and signed by the scribe Giovanni da Gaibana in 1259 provides rare insight into the spread of byzantinizing styles through Europe, for within a decade painters from this same Italian atelier were illuminating manuscripts in Austria.[1] Among works from Padua, a leading center for the production of illuminated manuscripts by the middle of the thirteenth century, what has come to be known as the Gaibanesque style is distinctive and recognizable both in its figure style and in the ornamentation of its initials. The sixteen full-page images that accompany the epistolary's readings from the Old and New Testaments demonstrate remarkable familiarity with Byzantine painting, including the volumetric figures characteristic of the early stages of Palaiologan painting. Scholars have convincingly pointed to the mosaic panels of prophets and Christ Emmanuel in the nave of San Marco in Venice as the closest comparisons for figures in the epistolary.[2] Manuscript painting of Armenian Cilicia has also been proposed as an indirect source of Byzantine iconography and style for the Gaibana Epistolary, but since the Cilicia works were executed nearly two decades later, it seems more likely that a resemblance to the epistolary is evidence of the presence of Italian manuscripts at the Armenian court.[3] Moreover, unlike the Armenian images, the distinctive Gaibana facial types, with small, fine noses, copy early Palaiologan types. Along with the characteristic flowering trees, and an initial style that combines strapwork, three-dimensional initials, flowers, and dragons, these faces are recognizable in all the work identified with this Gaibana Epistolary painter and his collaborators, including manuscripts, panel painting, wall painting, and rock-crystal enamels.[4]

It is significant that the majority of the manuscripts attributed to the Gaibana Epistolary painter and his collaborators and

275, fol. 2v: Birth of Christ

immediate followers that remain today were painted not in Italy but north of the Alps, many in Salzburg.[5] Some, including a missal made for the monastery in Admont, now in Lisbon, and a psalter now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, that was probably made for Helen, wife of the duke of Breslau, appear to have been illuminated by painters trained in Italy, although the script style is Austrian.[6] On the other hand, the Gaibanesque portion of the Seitenstetten Missal (cat. 278) seems to be the work of an Austrian painter who had encountered the Italian atelier that was now working north of the Alps, an atelier whose impact eventually reached illuminators at Prague.[7]

RC

1. Bellinati and Bettini 1968; Padua 1999, pp. 47–51; Hänsel-Hacker 1952; Berger-Fix 1980.
2. Padua 1999, pp. 50–51.
3. Grape 1973; Evans 1998; Carr 1998; Corrie 1996b, pp. 38–41.
4. Hänsel-Hacker 1952; Padua 1999, pp. 47–60; Neff 1993. Works continue to be added to this group; see Tanis 2001, pp. 31–33.
5. Corrie 1987.
6. Padua 1999, pp. 52–56; Wormald and Giles 1982, vol. 2, pp. 414–29, figs. 18–20.
7. Corrie 1987; Květ 1927; Friedl 1928.

REFERENCES: Hänsel-Hacker 1952; Bellinati and Bettini 1968; Grape 1973; Berger-Fix 1980; F. Martin 1993, figs. 124–126; Padua 1999, pp. 47–51.

276. The Perugia Missal

Saint-Jean d'Acre, ca. 1250–75
Tempera on vellum; 354 fols.
30.1 x 20.1 cm (11⅞ x 7⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Probably from Perugia Cathedral.
CONDITION: The manuscript is in excellent condition.
Museo Capitolare della Cattedrale di San Lorenzo, Perugia, Italy (Ms. 6 [formerly 21])

After the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had lost Jerusalem itself, the port of Acre, modern ʿAkko in Israel, served as the capital until it was taken by the Mamlūks in 1291. The Frankish court and the local population shared this rich city with a cosmopolitan array of soldiers, pilgrims, and merchants from Europe and the entire Mediterranean basin.[1] Thirteenth-century painters resident at Acre have been credited with illuminated manuscripts, including the spectacular Arsenal Bible (cat. 272) probably made for King Louis IX of France during his four-year stay there, and as many as forty-two icons, most now at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai (for example, see cats. 214, 216, 223, 229–232, 235).[2] The Perugia Missal, with its calendar that cites the *Dedicatio ecclesie Acconensis* (Dedication of a church at ʿAkko), is central to the geographical placement of these works.[3] Written in a French hand, the missal has six illuminations with the round-eyed faces characteristic of Acre manuscripts and icons and of the Istanbul fresco fragment attributed to an Acre painter (cat. 274).[4] Most significant are the missal's largest illuminations, the Crucifixion that begins the Canon of the Mass and the *Te igitur* facing it (fols. 182v–183r).[5] They reveal the range of sources available to the city's painters, for they reflect contemporary French iconography and style of initials, the vine ornament and *Te igitur* formula found in manuscripts produced by the twelfth-century scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and Byzantine drapery styles of the early Palaiologan era.[6] The Crucifixion shares, in addition to facial types, distinctive iconographic motifs with other icon and manuscript images, including an icon and a triptych attributed to French painters and a double-sided icon (cat. 223) by a painter who has been described as of Venetian or Cypriot origin, all three still at Sinai and dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.[7] Of these Crucifixions, the missal's may be earliest, however, for it seems least influenced by recent Western iconographic innovations. While the feet are pierced by a single nail, the legs are not twisted, and the frantically weeping angels found in the icons on Sinai (cats. 224, 226) and some contemporary Italian and Armenian images are lacking.[8] Moreover, of the painters whose work has been attributed to Acre, this illuminator, using soft, full drapery and a pastel palette,

276, fols. 182v–183r

seems most familiar with contemporary Byzantine painting, such as that at Mileševa or even Sopoćani.[9] RC

1. Folda 1976, pp. 3–26; Jacoby 1979; Boas 1999, pp. 32–42.
2. Ibid., pp. 214–16; D. Weiss 1998, pp. 81–153.
3. Buchthal 1957, p. 108.
4. Ibid., pp. 48–105, 137, 144–53, pls. 57a, 58a–d, 59a; D. Weiss 1998, fig. 54.
5. Buchthal 1957, pls. 57a, 58a.
6. Ibid., p. 49.
7. Pace 1986a; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 211–14; Weitzmann 1984, fig. 11; Manafis 1990, figs. 63–64. Some scholars have suggested that the icons were made at Sinai, while others propose production at Acre for donation to the monastery at Sinai, which seems more likely. See Lafontaine-Dosogne 1996, figs. 10–11.
8. Morello and Kanter 1999, p. 79, fig. 6/10; Carr 1998, figs. 1, 25–26.
9. Carr 1986, p. 348.

REFERENCES: Buchthal 1957, pp. 48–51, 108, 144–45, pls. 57–58; Weitzmann 1963b, fig. 2; Mancini and Casagrande 1982, colorpl. p. 32; Pace 1986a, fig. 68; Lloyd 1993, p. 133, fig. 1; D. Weiss 1998, fig. 51.

277, fol. 118r

277. The Conradin Bible

Southern Italy, possibly Naples, between 1260 and 1270

Tempera and gold on vellum; 164 fols.

36.2 x 24.8 cm (14¼ x 9¾ in.)

PROVENANCE: Auguste, comte Bastard d'Estang, Paris, published 1843 and 1885; Frédéric Spitzer, until 1893; Charles Stein, Paris; Jacques Rosenthal, Munich, 1902; Leo Olschki, Florence; Henry Walters, 1905.

CONDITION: This manuscript is a large fragment of a Bible rebound in the nineteenth century in order from Daniel to Revelation, with earlier books of the Old Testament gathered at the end and with much text and some miniatures removed. Some cuttings have been recovered, including two groups now in the Walters Art Museum.

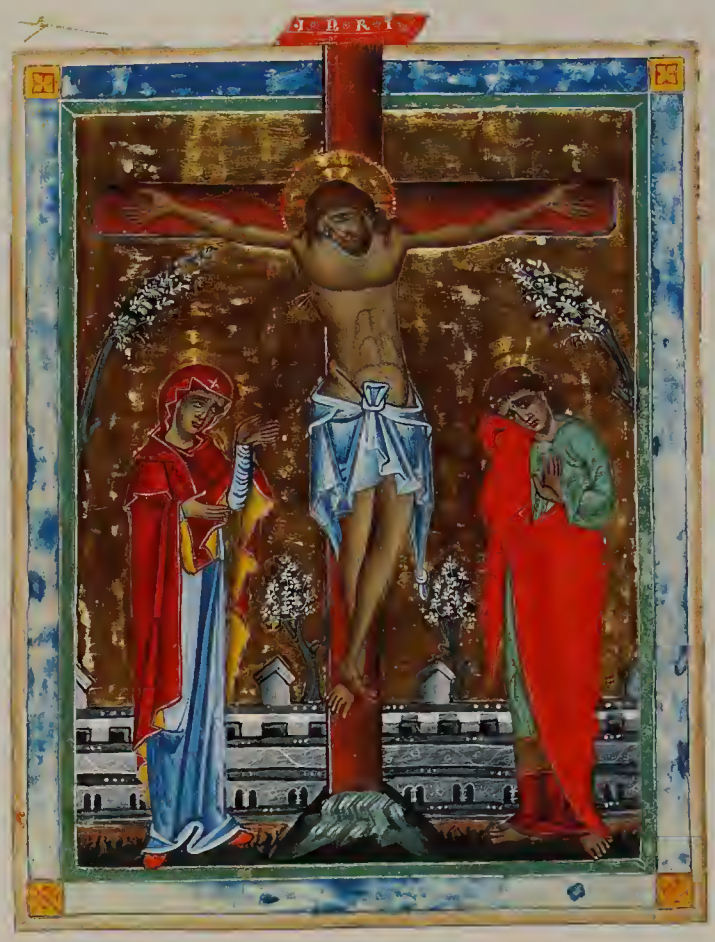
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Ms. W. 152)

What Otto Demus called a product of the "backwash of the Levant" is the spectacular fragment of an Italian single-volume Bible that combines French and southern Italian ornament, English and Bolognese iconographic formulations, and Byzantine facial and figure types.[1] Mutilated by collectors and disguised as a Bible lectionary, in the nineteenth century it was described as a gift commissioned in southern Italy for the ill-fated Conradin, last of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, on the basis of a note, presumably copying a lost colophon, that disappeared between 1892 and 1902.[2] Comparison of the volume with the work of Tuscan and Umbrian painters of the maniera greca and doubts about whether the note repeated an original colophon or was simply the wishful thinking of an eighteenth-century collector led mid-twentieth-century scholars to attribute the Bible to various other Italian centers.[3] In the last few decades, however, it has been returned to southern Italy by most writers, as scholars identified an extensive group of manuscripts from the same atelier, including five other Bibles, at least two antiphonaries (one is the Colchester antiphonary, cat. 279), and, most recently, a large portion of a historical romance illuminated for a member of the Angevin family that ruled Naples after defeating the Hohenstaufen.[4] Despite some attempts by scholars to pull apart the group, it holds together well as the product of an atelier working over at least two decades in southern Italy, probably in Naples. Several of the manuscripts have provenances that reach to either southern Italy or Sicily, and among the manuscripts the combinations of motifs and the various hands overlap.[5]

In the Conradin Bible, the page showing Paul and Timothy, for the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians (fol. 118r), combines French ornamentation, including the cusping, brilliant dots, and dragons found in the other Bibles in the group, with the pairing of New Testament authors with their companions, such as Timothy, interacting as they do in earlier northern European Bibles.[6] Many of the figures in the Conradin Bible match individual figures in the mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale, but there are no whole scenes as there are in the Stockholm and Uffizi New Testament cuttings (cat. 284).[7] Some figures, such as Saint Paul, here modeled on a Byzantine prophet, appear to copy figures from Byzantine manuscripts that must have been in royal or monastic libraries.[8] Like the Sicilian illuminators of the succeeding century, the painters of this atelier found models in earlier as well as contemporary Byzantine works, possibly for symbolic reasons but assuredly because they were available.

RC

1. O. Demus 1970, pp. 30–31.
2. Evanston 2001, pp. 225–27, figs. 31–32, 128; Corrie 1986b, pp. 27–137; Corrie 1982; Corrie 1993.
3. Corrie 1993, pp. 66, 84 n. 17; Caleca 1986, vol. 1, fig. 375, vol. 2, p. 602; Marques 1987, fig. 166.
4. Daneu Lattanzi 1968, pp. 53–58; Toubert 1972; Leone De Castris 1986a, p. 105; Corrie 1993; Corrie 1994; Oltrogge 1989, pp. 39–41, 142–43, 243–46, figs. 82–88, 118, 123, 126; Corrie 2004a.



278, fols. 110v–111r

5. Rome 1995–96, pp. 260–67; Toubert 1972, pp. 772–84; Corrie 1993, pp. 65–67, 83–84; Corrie 1994, pp. 19–22.
6. Corrie 1986b, pp. 279–369, figs. 68–70, 171–173.
7. Ibid., figs. 104–106, 189–191, 199–204.
8. Ibid., figs. 68, 207–209, 211; Corrie 1986a, figs. 46–47.

REFERENCES: Daneu Lattanzi 1968, pp. 53–58; O. Demus 1970, pp. 30–31; Toubert 1972; Florentine Mütterich, "Konradin-Bibel," in Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, pp. 662–63, vol. 2, figs. 621–622; Corrie 1982; Caleca 1986, fig. 375; Corrie 1986a; Corrie 1986b; Leone De Castris 1986a, p. 105; Marques 1987, fig. 166; Corrie 1993; Corrie 1994; Russo 1995; Rome 1995–96, pp. 262–65; Evanston 2001, pp. 225–27; Corrie 2004a.

278. The Seitenstetten Missal

Austria (probably Salzburg), ca. 1265
Tempera and gold on vellum; 220 fols.
32.2 x 22.8 cm (12⅝ x 9 in.)
INSCRIBED: In the calendar in the original hand on May 11, the name of Udalschalk von Stille, the founder of Seitenstetten; on November 3, commemoration of the traditional foundation date.
PROVENANCE: Benedictine Abbey at Seitenstetten, Austria, until shortly before 1927;[1] manuscript dealer Jacques Rosenthal, Munich; purchased from him by A. Chester Beatty, 1927; purchased from Mrs. Chester Beatty for the Morgan Library, 1951.

CONDITION: In excellent condition, this manuscript was probably rebound in the eighteenth century.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Purchased with the assistance of the Fellows, 1951 (Ms. M. 855)

This one-volume manuscript, written in a single style, includes calendar, gradual, sequentiary, prefaces, and sacramentary, although it is traditionally referred to as a missal. It was made for the Benedictine monastery at Seitenstetten, Austria, probably about 1265, at the conclusion of the monastery's rebuilding following a catastrophic fire in the 1250s.[2] Written in a local hand, the volume was decorated by at least two painters. One, working in an entirely Austrian idiom, provided the initials for its gradual, sequentiary, and most of the sacramentary. The second, working in a combination of the style of the Gaibana Epistolary (cat. 275) and the Austrian *Zackenstil* (zigzag style), painted its beginning, middle, and end: the calendar, the proper and common prefaces to the Canon of the Mass, the iconlike diptych of the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion that opens the Canon of the Mass (fols. 110v–111r), and the final quire of the sacramentary.[3] Although elements of the initial ornamentation, the characteristic flowering trees, and the palette in these portions imitate the style in the Gaibana Epistolary, the facial types and the saw-toothed drapery edges here reveal the northern training of this painter, whose work also appears without these characteristics in a manuscript of Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica* preserved in Linz (Studienbibliothek, Ms. 490).[4]

While the calendar indicates use specifically for the Seitenstetten monastery, the array of saints points to the volume's production in Salzburg, as does the calendar's decoration, which copies that of the byzantinizing Orationale of Saint Erentrud, made decades earlier at the Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter in Salzburg.[5] The Seitenstetten Missal's Gaibanesque painter probably encountered members of a Paduan atelier recruited by a new archbishop returning to Salzburg in 1265 from his education in Padua.[6] The links between the byzantinizing *Zackenstil* aspect of this painter's work and that of other artists as distant as glaziers in the Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi, identified by Frank Martin, and the painter of the Virgin on the ceiling of the Church of Saint Michael in Hildesheim likely point to the prominence of Salzburg as an artistic center in the second half of the thirteenth century.[7] The impact of the

Gaibanesque atelier north of the Alps as well as that of other highly mobile painters—and of collections of their drawings such as the Wolfenbüttel Book—reveals their role in the diffusion of later Byzantine painting through thirteenth-century Europe.[8]

RC

1. Millar 1927–30, vol. 2, pp. 13, 17; Rosenthal 1928, pp. 83–85, lot 165.
2. Seitenstetten 1988; Seitenstetten 1980, pp. 58–61; Corrie 1987, p. 113.
3. Padua 1999, pp. 57–60; Corrie 1987, pp. 111–12.
4. Berger-Fix 1980; Corrie 1987, pp. 114–23, fig. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 113; Millar 1927–30, vol. 2, p. 21.
6. Corrie 1987, pp. 113–14; Hänsel-Hacker 1952; Hänsel-Hacker 1954.
7. F. Martin 1993, pp. 96–119, figs. 115–160; Corrie 1987, pp. 112, 120–23.
8. Buchthal 1979.

REFERENCES: Hänsel-Hacker 1952; Harrsen and Boyce 1953, p. 8; New York 1957, p. 18; Berger-Fix 1980; Voelkle 1980, pp. 56–57; Corrie 1987; F. Martin 1993, pp. 96–119, figs. 115–123, 139–140; Padua 1999, pp. 57–60.

279. Antiphonary for Franciscan Use

Southern Italy, possibly Naples, ca. 1265–70
Tempera on vellum; 255 fols.
47.2 x 32.5 cm (18⅝ x 12¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Probably Baron Alexander Peckover, Wisbech; his grandson Lionel Penrose; his gift to the Colchester Museum, 1932.
CONDITION: In generally good condition, this manuscript is the major portion of a sanctorale, from an incomplete Purification of the Virgin to Saint Clement followed by a Common of Saints ending imperfectly in a Common for a Virgin. A cutting from a nineteenth-century auction catalogue is glued onto the interior of the front cover.
Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester Castle, England (Ms. 222.32)

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the production of illuminated manuscripts was accelerated by the confirmation of new religious orders, changes in the liturgy, and increasing wealth to pay for manuscripts. In Italy, as in northern Europe, liturgical manuscripts for religious institutions were now often painted by professional lay painters in urban centers such as Bologna, Arezzo, and Naples, and as a result, their decoration, formerly dominated by foliate ornamentation, more frequently included the motifs, often of Byzantine origin, that were used by icon and wall painters.[1] A comparison of the two Franciscan chorale manuscripts in this exhibition, the Bolognese gradual (cat. 280) and this antiphonary, which contains the sung portions of the offices used by the friars themselves, made in southern Italy, probably in Naples and in the atelier that produced the Conradin Bible (cat. 277), demonstrates that while painters throughout Italy and their clients looked to Byzantine and byzantinizing art, the nature of the images they produced varied depending on the training of the painters and the models available.[2]

A significant number of the manuscripts now attributed to the Conradin Bible atelier are chorale manuscripts, including a portion of an Augustinian antiphonary in Pisa (Museo Nazionale e Civico di San Matteo) and some of its dispersed leaves perhaps including cuttings published by Ilaria Toesca, antiphonary folios now in the Fondazione Cini in Venice, and the largely complete sanctorale portion of the antiphonary at Colchester.[3] Even though the Colchester painters omitted the gold dots and dragons characteristic of the Conradin Bible because of restrictions imposed by the mendicant orders, their work can be recognized in the manuscripts grouped around the Conradin Bible. Indeed, the iconlike images of the Virgin and Child used for responses for feasts of the Virgin in the Colchester antiphonary, such as that on folio 123r, find identical matches in the Conradin Bible and the Pisa antiphonary cuttings, and the hand of the principal artist in the Colchester antiphonary clearly appears not only in the Conradin Bible and Bodleian Bibles (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Canon. Bib. Lat. 59) but also in the Pisa antiphonary, as a recently recovered cutting confirms.[4]

The texts and rubrics of the Colchester antiphonary strictly follow the Franciscan usage established in 1260, so the volume cannot be earlier than that date.[5] On the other hand, its lack of a feast for Saint Clare and its old-fashioned red-and-yellow cleft system point to a date in the 1260s, and it is thus possible that this is the earliest extant Italian Franciscan antiphonary written entirely in square notation. The numerous differences between the text and rubrics of this Franciscan antiphonary and those of the Augustinian antiphonary at Pisa, each written according to the requirements of its order, and the similarities of visual motifs in the two manuscripts, indicate that while the orders

279, fol. 123r

could control the production of their books, they remained dependent for images on the repertoires of their local painters.[6]

RC

1. Conti 1981, figs. 14, 22–23, 56, 58–60, 78–82, 86–90; Passalacqua 1980.
2. Ker 1969–2002, vol. 2, p. 408; Corrie 1993; Corrie 1994, fig. 16; Corrie 1986a, figs. 41–47; Corrie 1982, figs. 5–6. For a somewhat different view on this manuscript and others, see Rome 1995–96, pp. 260–67.
3. Corrie 1993; Caleca 1979; I. Toesca 1969, pp. 68–72; P. Toesca 1958, no. 77.
4. Corrie 1986a, figs. 42–43. Including fols. 200v, 222v, 223v, 224r of the Bodleian Library Bible, Ms. Canon. Bib. Lat. 59. Casa d'Aste 2003, lot 212.
5. Corrie 1993, pp. 69–75.
6. Ibid., pp. 74–83.

REFERENCES: Ker 1969–2002, vol. 2, p. 408; Corrie 1982; Corrie 1986a; Corrie 1986b; Corrie 1993; Corrie 1994; Russo 1995; Antonio Russo, "Antifonario," in Rome 1995–96, p. 265.

280. Gradual, Proper and Common of Saints

Gerona Bible Master
Bologna, ca. 1285
Tempera on vellum; 290 fols.
51.5 x 35.5 cm (20¼ x 14 in.)
Text opening: Gaudeamus (Let us rejoice)
PROVENANCE: San Francesco, Bologna.
CONDITION: The volume is bound in leather on wood in excellent condition.
Musei Civici d'Arte Antica, Bologna (Ms. 526)

280, fol. 84v

No painters in thirteenth-century Italy displayed greater familiarity with Byzantine art of the early Palaiologan period than the Bolognese manuscript illuminator known as the Gerona Bible Master and his collaborators.[1] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Bologna, a university city, was the most prolific and influential center of manuscript production in Italy, and arguably its most beautiful productions were by the painter whose appellation derives from the Bible of Charles V now in Gerona, Spain (Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 10).[2] Among the many manuscripts attributed to him, one of the most significant is this gradual volume, Bologna 526, one of the set of three that together comprise the sung portions of the Mass for the entire church year. They were made for the Franciscans in Bologna about 1285 to accompany a similar set of antiphonaries that comprise the year's sung portions of the daily observances of the Franciscans themselves.[3] For this gradual, the Gerona Bible Master painted, among other initials (in the following sequence), the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Birth and Naming of John the Baptist, Saints Peter and Paul, the Martyrdom of Saint Paul, the Dormition of the Virgin (Koimesis), the Birth of the Virgin, Saint Michael Slaying the Dragon (in Byzantine court costume), and Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata.[4] All of these images parallel Palaiologan painting in their iconography, architecture, landscape, facial types, figures, drapery, and even the shapes of the feet,[5] thus providing important information on the emergence of Palaiologan art, as Michael Jacoff suggested in 1982.[6] Among the sources available to the Bolognese illuminators, asserted Jacoff, were Byzantine artists imported to Venice to work on the mosaics in the atrium of the Basilica of San Marco.[7] This in turn argues that Bologna 526 provides evidence of now-lost Palaiologan painting of the second half of the thirteenth century, for while the Dormition of the Virgin shown here (fol. 84v) conforms to the type that Henry Maguire identified at Sopoćani Monastery, Serbia, dating to about 1260, scenes such as the Birth of the Virgin find their extant matches in Byzantine mosaics and Serbian wall painting of the fourteenth century.[8] Comparing the use of Byzantine art by the Gerona Bible Master with that by the painters of the Conradin Bible atelier (cat. 277) and by the painter of Glazier 60 (cat. 283) and his atelier demonstrates that while Italian painters of the second half of the thirteenth century and their clients were interested in adopting aspects of Byzantine painting, they achieved this in different ways using a variety of sources.

RC

1. Conti 1981, pp. 37–54, figs. 62–111; Bologna 2000, pp. 109–40, 310–42.
2. Ibid., pp. 310–42; Norris 1993, pp. 26–93.
3. Bologna 2000, pp. 312–14.
4. Ibid., figs. 99a–c; Conti 1981, fig. 86.
5. On this issue, see Medica 1999.
6. Jacoff 1982.
7. Jacoff 1976.
8. Maguire 1981, pp. 62–68, 54–57. Comparisons for the Birth of the Virgin include Underwood 1966–75, vol. 2, p. 98, and Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben 1963–76, vol. 3, pp. 169, 249. See also Rebecca W. Corrie, "Bologna 526: Palaeologan Painting and the *Maniera Greca*," paper presented at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 1997, based on inspection of the gradual and antiphonary volumes in Bologna in 1988.

REFERENCES: Jacoff 1976; Conti 1981; Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto 1982; Medica 1999, fig. 12; Bologna 2000, pp. 312–14, figs. 99a–d.

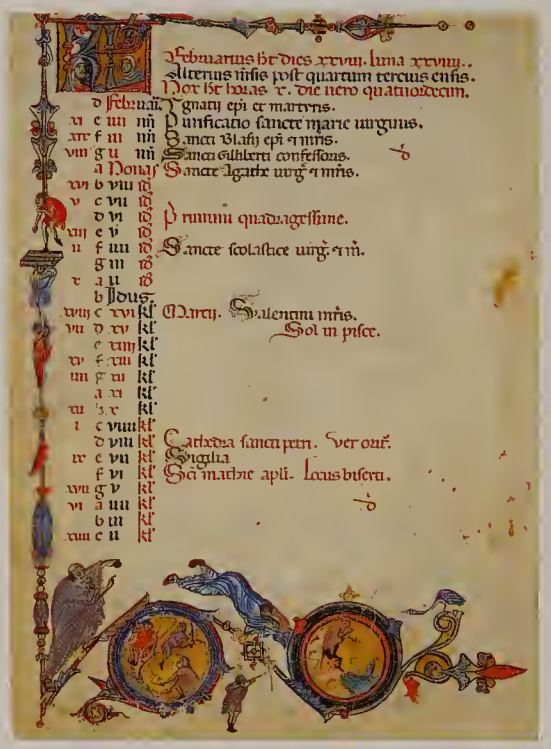
281, fols. 370v–371r

281. *Supplicationes variae*

Northern Italy (Veneto?), 1293, made for use in Genoa
Tinted drawings on parchment, also tempera and gold leaf; 388 fols.
27 x 19.5 cm (10⅝ x 7⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: In gold letters on a detached folio pasted inside the front cover of the manuscript, *M.C.C.L.XXXX.III. Kalendis Januarius* (1293. Kalends of January). The inscription is in the hand of Manuel, the principal scribe, whose name is recorded in formulaic verses on fols. 57v, 113, 130v, and 346.
PROVENANCE: Medici collections of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence.
CONDITION: The manuscript was trimmed to its present size when rebound in its sixteenth-century Medici binding. Otherwise, save for damage to the color on a few pages, it is in excellent condition.
Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
(Plut. 25.3)

This manuscript, the *Supplicationes variae,* is a devotional anthology of prayers, offices, sermons, and contemplative texts intended to be used by an individual in his private spiritual practice. Many of its texts are Franciscan, and the impact of the Franciscan movement can be seen in the illustrations' affective qualities and the emphasis on Christ's Passion. Illustrated here are two of the forty-five full-page tinted drawings that were placed at the end of the manuscript. While cycles of full-page illustrations, "picture-books," without accompanying text, were often featured in late-thirteenth-century French and English devotional manuscripts, this type of illustration was rare in Italy and unknown in Byzantium.[1] Considered as a series, the drawings conform to Western, transalpine book design. Several individual scenes, however, are based on Byzantine models.

Since the Feast of the Transfiguration was not celebrated by the medieval Latin church, the scene was depicted less frequently in Europe than in Byzantium. For this drawing (fol. 371r), the Italian artist turned to contemporary Byzantine iconography: dazzled by the transformed Christ, whose divine nature is revealed, three apostles fall headlong to the ground.[2] This dramatic Late Byzantine iconography was probably developed in response to the hesychast movement. But while the designer of the *Supplicationes* surely appreciated the Byzantine scene's affective impact, its



281, fol. 16v

importance in the manuscript stems from its significance in Franciscan theology.[3] For Bonaventure (1221–1274), the Christian theologian and mystic and minister general of the

Franciscan Order from 1257 to 1274, the mountain of the Transfiguration was an exemplary site of spiritual transformation, as it was for the hesychasts. But Mount Tabor was also a prototype for Calvary and La Verna, where Francis was transformed by the stigmata, the marks of the crucified Christ.[4] The small cave in the drawing probably refers to La Verna's caves, which were sometimes compared to the rocks split at the time of the Crucifixion. A similarly shaped cave is drawn on Calvary in the *Supplicationes* (fol. 376v).[5]

The Wedding at Cana (fol. 370v) also looks forward to the Passion. Because there was no wine, Mary, to the left of Christ, requests it from her son. In the foreground, water is miraculously changed into wine, anticipating the true wine of the Last Supper. Although Mary's pose of supplication repeats a Byzantine formula, the drawing—in contrast to that of the Transfiguration—is Western in appearance. As in a twelfth-century book of Pericopes from the monastery of Saint Erentrud, Salzburg, the table touches both sides of the frame, seeming to create a barrier that implies a plausible foreground space.[6] The central position of Christ, typical of Western iconography, and the curved shape of the table, similar to that in the manuscript's Last Supper (fol. 372v), visually reinforce conceptual links between Cana and the Last Supper.[7] Christ points to the wine and holds a loaf of bread, prefiguring the Last Supper's institution of the Eucharist.

Tinted drawings are unusual in late-thirteenth-century Italian manuscripts, but it is not clear whether the artist was aware of the fashion for this medium in contemporary Byzantium, as seen, for example, in a drawing in this exhibit (cat. 170).[8] Equally unusual at this date is the pose of the servant with crossed arms; his relaxed, unformulaic stance brings to mind contemporary Italian artists' experiments in depicting the human figure observed from life.[9]

AN

1. In Western manuscripts, full-page narrative cycles most often precede the text, but a few examples are known in which these are placed at the end of the manuscript, e.g., the English Lambeth Apocalypse, of 1260–70 (Lambeth Palace Library, London, Ms. 209); see Morgan 1982–88, vol. 2, no. 126.
2. For later Byzantine examples, see in this exhibition the manuscript of John VI Kantakouzenos's theological works (cat. 171).
3. See Neff 1999 and 2002.
4. The *Legenda maior* XIII.1, for instance, uses words from Matthew's account of the Transfiguration to describe Francis's descent from La Verna; FAED, vol. 2, p. 630. For the Transfiguration in Bonaventure's thought, see Belting 1977, pp. 50–53; Hayes 1981, pp. 29–32; Johnson 2001, pp. 134ff.
5. See Neff 1999, pp. 83–86.
6. See Schiller 1971, vol. 1, p. 164, fig. 474.
7. The table in the *Supplicationes* drawing forms an arc, in contrast to the semicircular table often seen in Byzantine representations of the Wedding at Cana. The semicircular table is more closely related to the sigma table seen in Early Christian representations of the Last Supper. In Byzantine images of Cana, Christ is typically seated at the left of the table. For the Byzantine tradition, see Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 264–67, 280–85.
8. The *Supplicationes* is closer to Byzantine style than the few contemporary Italian tinted drawings known, for example, those from the Sienese *Tractatum de creatione mundi* (Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, Cod. H.VI.31); see Siena 1982, no. 22.
9. A figure in a comparable pose was sculpted ca. 1265 on Nicola Pisano's *Arca di San Domenico;* see Moskowitz 1994, fig. 19. About a decade after the *Supplicationes,* Giotto painted a servant at the Wedding of Cana in a similar pose; see Basile 1993, p. 126.

REFERENCES: Degenhart and Schmitt 1968–, vol. 1, pp. 7–16; Belting 1990b, pp. 35, 75, 135, 170, 278; Neff 1999; Silvia Pasi, "Sulle persistenze bizantine nella pittura italiana del Duecento: L'Italia settentrionale," in Ferrara 1999, p. 95; Rome 2000–2001, p. 176, no. IV.8; Italo Furlan, "Duecento veneziano," in Rimini 2002, p. 69; Neff 2002.

282. Latin Psalter

Bologna, end of the 13th century
Tempera and gold on parchment
13.5 x 10.5 cm (5¼ x 4⅛ in.)
PROVENANCE: Smith-Lesouef collection, Nogent-sur-Marne; bequeathed to the Bibliothèque Nationale, 1913, bequest in effect after 1940.
CONDITION: The volume is well preserved; the binding is eighteenth century.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris (Smith-Lesouef 21)

Copied and illuminated in Bologna at the end of the thirteenth century, this miniature manuscript includes the Latin Psalter, preceded by a calendar, which preserves twelve of its original fourteen full-page illuminations depicting the life of Christ.[1] Although one of the missing folios is lost, the other is now at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. The calendar's listing of saints' feast days follows the usage within the diocese of Tournai, which was probably where the manuscript's patron was born. Six additional Latin manuscripts now preserved in Paris, London, and the Vatican can also be attributed to the same illuminator, most likely Iacopino da Reggio, whose work appears in a manuscript of the Decree of Gratian in the Vatican Library

282, fol. 213v

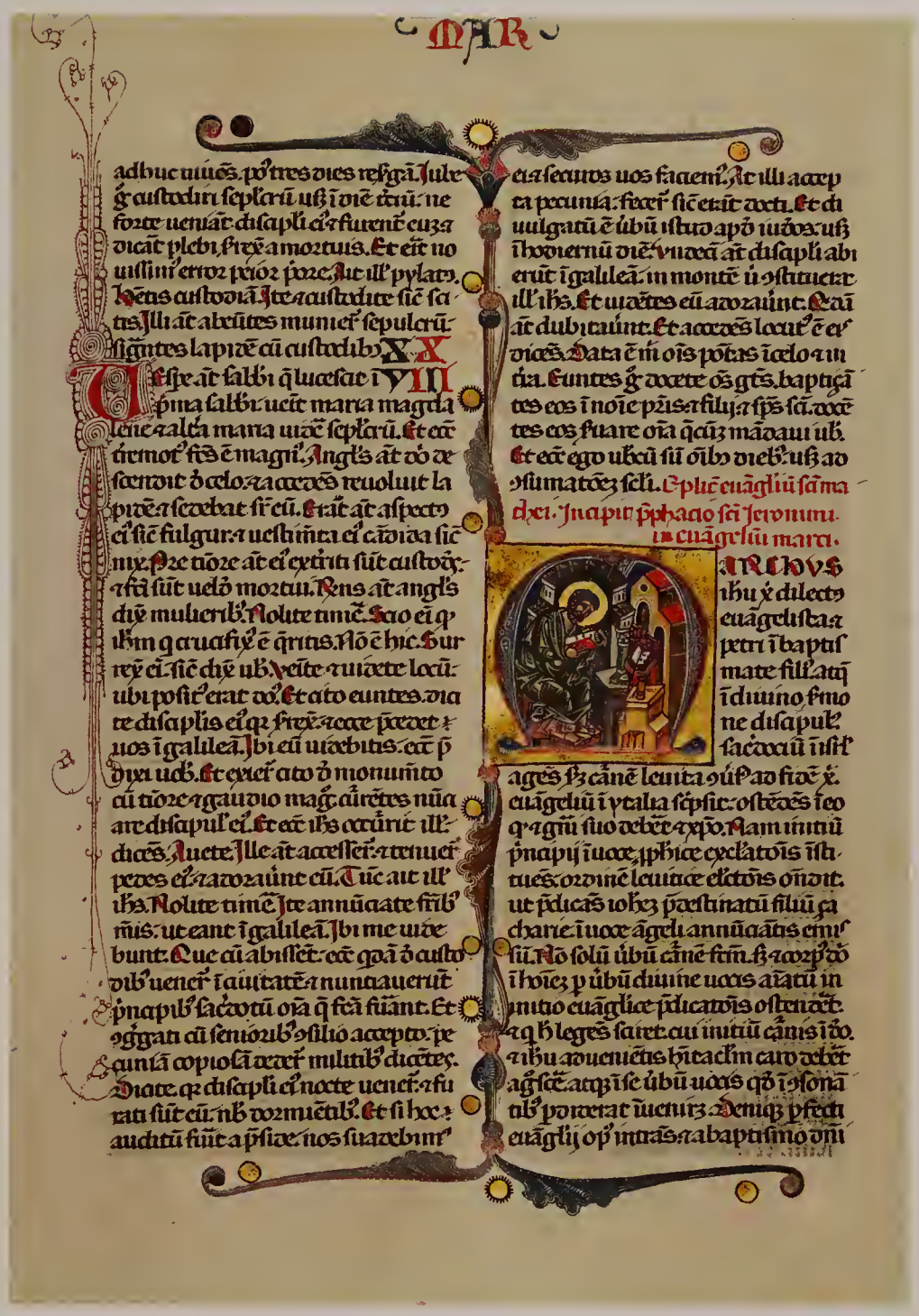
(Vat. lat. 1375). The illumination of folio 213 verso represents the preeminently Byzantine iconographic theme of the Anastasis, or Resurrection.

Here the Anastasis is illustrated with elements that are unique to Middle Byzantine art.[2] Christ has broken down the gates of hell to free those who believed in him before his Incarnation; the figure of Hades has disappeared, with the locks and keys placed in the foreground symbolizing his defeat. Hell itself is relegated in appearance to two boulders at the very edges of the image; Christ occupies the central area of the composition. Represented within a mandorla, he raises Adam with his right hand in an upward movement that also accentuates the presence in the upper half of the image of the angel carrying the Cross. Based solely on Byzantine iconography, this depiction of the Anastasis shows the influence of Byzantine art on the Italian painters of the thirteenth century. CF

1. Avril and Gousset 1980–84, vol. 2, pp. 100–101; Bologna 2000, pp. 346–48.
2. E. Lucchesi Palli, "Anastasis," in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1963–), vol. 1, pp. 142–48.

283. Saint Mark in a Latin Bible

Sicily, shortly after 1300
Tempera and gold on vellum; 652 fols.
28 x 20 cm (11 x 7⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Collection of C. W. Dyson Perrins, from at least 1920; his sale, 1960;[1] purchased at that sale by William S. Glazier; his bequest to the Morgan Library, 1963.
CONDITION: The single volume is in a fifteenth-century binding.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Gift of the Trustees of the William S. Glazier Collection, 1984 (Ms. Glazier 60)



283, fol. 538v

This single-volume Bible, written in two columns, was grouped by Angela Daneu Lattanzi and Hugo Buchthal in the 1960s with several manuscripts and four cuttings (cats. 284, 285), which they securely attributed to an atelier active in Sicily, most likely in Palermo in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[2] Consistent in its text and organization with the one-volume Latin Bibles produced in immense numbers in Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, this Bible, Glazier 60, was painted in two distinctive styles, both incorporating aspects of early Palaiologan painting.[3] The first style finishes with Proverbs (fol. 293v) and accords with the painting style of the cuttings and the illuminated manuscripts the *Vitae patrum* (Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 375) and the *Leggendario di santi* (Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin, I.II.17). In these, the figures and architecture combine elements of Komnenian and Palaiologan design. Most striking is an ornamental style composed of elements drawn from various earlier Sicilian illumination styles.[4]

Exhibited here is an image of Saint Mark executed in the Bible's second style, a style used throughout the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor (Biblioteca Nazionale, Palermo, I.F.10).[5] On one hand, it incorporates foliate ornament of a kind found in manuscripts produced in Naples that ultimately derives from Bolognese illumination.[6] On the other hand, the elaborate architecture and the broad figures with angular drapery correspond remarkably to evangelist portraits in Palaiologan Gospels produced about 1300. Since the initials for Saints Matthew, Luke, and John (fols. 523r, 549r, 565v) follow similar models, it seems possible that the painter copied them from a Byzantine Gospel produced in Constantinople about 1300 (cat. 163).[7] Such a Byzantine model supports Buchthal and Daneu Lattanzi's already convincing attribution of the manuscript group to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. And these contemporary Byzantine elements, like the appropriation in the New Testament cuttings of scenes in the mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale, argue that the atelier was carrying out commissions for members of the immediate entourage of the ambitious Aragonese king Frederick II of Sicily, who sought to revive there the rule of his Norman and Hohenstaufen ancestors and like them claim an Eastern empire.[8] Also pertinent to speculation about the commission of this Bible is the fact that throughout it Dominican friars are included in the historiated initials, and many of the manuscripts remaining in Palermo, including others from this period, were made for that order.[9] RC

1. G. Warner 1920, vol. 1, pp. 145–48, no. 52, vol. 2, pls. 56–57; Sotheby's 1960, pp. 41–42, lot III, pls. 17, 18.
2. Buchthal 1965, pp. 185–90, pls. XCVI–1C; Daneu Lattanzi 1968, pp. 65–77, 208–9, 228, figs. 71–94.
3. Ibid., figs. 71–79; Plummer 1968, p. 34, pls. 40–41.
4. Daneu Lattanzi 1968, pp. 67–70.
5. Ibid., figs. 80–84.
6. Rotili 1976, pp. 113–18, pls. 39–42.
7. Buchthal and Belting 1978, pp. 55, 64–66, pls. 80–87.
8. Backman 1995.
9. Daneu Lattanzi 1965, pp. 6–7.

REFERENCES: Daneu Lattanzi 1968, pp. 67–77, figs. 71–79; Plummer 1968, p. 34, pls. 40–41; Ryskamp 1989, pp. 98–100; Baroffio 1999, p. 163.

284A,B. New Testament Manuscript Cuttings

284A. Christ Heals the Paralytic
Sicily, shortly after 1300
Tempera on parchment
14.6 x 14.5 cm (5¾ x 5¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Purchased from H. P. Kraus, New York, 1957.
CONDITION: This illumination was cut from the margin of a Gospel text; the verso is blank.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Cod. NMB. 1713)

284B. Christ Heals Saint Peter's Mother-in-Law
Sicily, shortly after 1300
Tempera on parchment
11.8 x 14 cm (4⅝ x 5½ in.)
PROVENANCE: Santarelli collection.
CONDITION: This illumination was cut from the margin of a Gospel text; the verso is blank.
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (12524 [Santarelli 32])

284A

284B

In a 1973 symposium on the role of Byzantine manuscript illumination, William Loerke addressed the still-fraught question of whether manuscript illuminators commonly copied monumental paintings, both frescoes and mosaics. Among his most important evidence were these two fragments of a Latin Gospel, which were published a decade earlier by Hugo Buchthal and Angela Daneu Lattanzi.[1] The two scholars had recognized the models of these scenes in mosaics executed by Byzantine artisans for the Norman king of Sicily, William II, in the Cathedral of Monreale, just outside Palermo, in the last quarter of the twelfth century. As Loerke noted, the few differences between the fragments of illuminated manuscript and the mosaic scenes from which they were taken can be attributed to the shape of the spaces on the leaves on which they were painted, a right-hand vertical margin and a horizontal lower margin that was longer than the mosaic panel. The fragments depict healing scenes taken from the middle of Gospel texts, the Healing of Saint Peter's Mother-in-Law (Luke 4:38–39) and the Healing of the Paralytic at Capernaum (Mark 2:1–12). Since even the most luxurious Bibles produced after 1200 were decorated primarily by extensive historiated initials on the folios opening each book of the Bible, the choice of these texts suggests that they were in an elaborate volume, a special commission. Daneu Lattanzi classed the fragments with manuscripts she identified as produced by one atelier, and the provenances within the group point to Palermo, the capital of the Aragonese rulers of Sicily,[2] as the atelier's location. Moreover, the choice of the Monreale mosaics as the model and the apparent scale of the manuscript project may well point to a royal commission intended to validate the legitimacy of

Aragonese rule and its connection to the Hauteville dynasty of the Norman kings of Sicily, probably the period of consolidation under Frederick II between 1302 and 1337.[3] Although Buchthal, Loerke, and Ernst Kitzinger dated the fragments to the late thirteenth century, it seems quite likely that they belong to the first quarter of the fourteenth, for they fit easily among the group of manuscripts that includes Glazier 60 (cat. 283) and the Getty prophets fragments (cat. 285) which have images with highly developed architecture and landscape like that of Palaiologan manuscripts and wall painting.[4] The degree to which the painter of these cuttings imitated the style of the Monreale mosaics, both the architecture and the drapery, makes it difficult to decide whether he was Italian or originally Byzantine. Characteristics of the ornament in the first portion of Glazier 60 and other manuscripts in the group, however, suggest that the illuminators working in this style were not trained in a contemporary Italian manuscript style but may have been, as Thomas Kren proposed, Greeks working in southern Italy.[5] Frederick's support of Greek monasteries in Sicily as well as his interest in creating an Eastern empire would have made this possible.[6]

RC

1. Loerke 1975, pp. 65–67, figs. 3–4; Buchthal 1965, pp. 185–90, pls. XCVI–1C; Daneu Lattanzi 1968, pp. 65–77, 208–9, 228–29, 240–41, figs. 77–94.
2. Daneu Lattanzi 1965, pp. 5–7, 56–58.
3. Backman 1995.
4. Kitzinger 1996, p. 38, figs. B–C, pp. 184, 232. For a 1300 date, see Pace 1982c, p. 456, fig. 406; for architecture, see Daneu Lattanzi 1968, figs. 85–89; in the Glazier Bible: fols. 131r, 318r, 523r.
5. Daneu Lattanzi 1968, figs. 12–13, 18, 23, 31, 39, 41, 71–72, 75–78, 85, 91; Kren et al. 1997, p. 54.
6. Backman 1995, pp. 199–200, 54–64.

REFERENCES: Athens 1964, p. 356, fig. 384; Buchthal 1965, pp. 185–90, pls. XCVI.1–2; Daneu Lattanzi 1968, fig. 94; O. Demus 1970, fig. 168; Loerke 1975, fig. 3; Pace 1982c, p. 456, fig. 406; Kitzinger 1996, p. 38, figs. B–C.

285. Two Miniatures from an Old Testament Manuscript

Sicily, shortly after 1300
Tempera and gold on vellum
7.3 x 17.5 cm (2⅞ x 6⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Pieter Birmann, Basel, probably collected in Paris, 1790s; Daniel Burckhardt-Wildt, Basel, 1796; Tobias Christ, Basel; M. Schulthess, Basel.
CONDITION: Now mounted together, these two cuttings were probably taken from the same manuscript by dealer Pieter Birmann in Paris in the 1790s, when he assembled the album of 475 fragments and cuttings that he sold in 1796 to Burckhardt-Wildt.[1]
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Ms. 35; 88.Ms.125)

In the 1960s Hugo Buchthal and Angela Daneu Lattanzi identified the production of a manuscript atelier active in Sicily, probably in Palermo in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, in which they included these two cuttings illustrating scenes from the Old Testament now in the Getty Museum, New Testament cuttings in Stockholm and Florence (cat. 284), the Morgan Library's Glazier Bible (cat. 283), a copy of Comestor's *Historia scholastica* in Palermo (Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. I.F.10), and two richly illuminated volumes, a *Leggendario di santi* in Turin (Biblioteca Nazionale, I.II.17), and a *Vitae patrum* in the Vatican (Vat. lat. 375).[2] The Palermo provenance of the Comestor volume and the New Testament cuttings' imitation of the mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale make a Palermo location for the atelier seem likely, and the figure styles of the manuscripts' principal painters point to a date between 1300 and 1325. Thus, the patronage of the group has been associated with the Aragonese rulers who took over Sicily following the Vespers rebellion in 1282, in particular Frederick II, a grandson of the Hohenstaufen king Manfred of Sicily and younger brother of the king of Aragon, who confirmed his own rule of Sicily between 1302 and 1337.[3]

The Getty cuttings illustrate rare subjects from the Old Testament, the Angel Slaying the Assyrian Army and the Assassination of Sennacherib by His Sons (Isaiah 37:36–38 and 2 Kings 19:35–37) and the Vision of Zechariah (1:7–11). Buchthal argued that tails of descenders in the former scene show that the text must have been written in Latin in two columns. Although he cited some Western parallels for the scenes, Buchthal nevertheless suggested that they were based on a lost Byzantine book of prophets. In 1988, however, John Lowden argued that the three horses set among the myrtles fit the Latin Vulgate's Zechariah, not those of the Greek text.[4] This plus the lack of a Byzantine precedent and Buchthal's northern European parallels for both scenes make a Western model seem most likely. On the other hand, the Morgan, Turin, and Vatican manuscripts incorporate a brilliant style that is a composite of Byzantine, late-twelfth-century Sicilian, and mid-thirteenth-century Sicilian motifs, suggesting that the painters working in this style were not trained in a leading Italian center of manuscript production.[5] The tall, elegant volumetric figures of Zechariah and the angel, with their brilliantly highlighted drapery, certainly suggest that the painter of these figures was familiar

285, Angel Slaying the Assyrian Army and the Assassination of Sennacherib

285, Vision of Zechariah

with contemporary Byzantine painting, although his work, like that of other painters of this atelier, was transformed by copying Sicilian mosaics.

Whatever their iconographic and stylistic origins, these fragments were most likely cut from an elaborately decorated book of prophets or even a luxury Latin Bible, a practice widespread in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, as the condition of the Conradin Bible (cat. 277) shows, although identification of the text requires more of the manuscript.[6] It is possible that the unusual subjects point to a royal commission. The same horses, red, white, and black, appear, with a fourth "pale" horse, in the Book of Revelation (6:1–8), also called in Latin "Apocalypis." In some Apocalyptic literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the riders were identified with the Hohenstaufen Holy Roman emperors Frederick I Barbarossa and Frederick II. Return to rule of Hohenstaufen princes was anticipated by their adherents and by both German and Italian religious visionaries.[7] The emperors' descendant King Frederick II of Sicily fashioned himself as the "God-elected king," like them, who would be the "chastiser of the church in the Last Days."[8] Thus, he too would have compared himself with these riders. The story of Sennacherib might have symbolized the power struggles between Frederick and his own brother, James of Aragon, among others, over the Kingdom of Sicily. We should also consider the possibility that this cutting repeats a now-lost monumental composition, comparable to the Painted Chamber commissioned by Henry III at Westminster Palace between 1263 and 1267 (destroyed), a composition copied for a manuscript to support Frederick's claim to the crown of Sicily for himself and his heirs.[9] In sum, Frederick seems to have made use of the late-thirteenth-century Sicilian art with its contemporary and twelfth-century Byzantine sources in a European power struggle.

RC

1. Kren et al. 1997, pp. 54–55; Evanston 2001, pp. 85–86.
2. Buchthal 1965, pp. 185–90, pls. XCVI–1C; Daneu Lattanzi 1968, pp. 65–77, 208–9, 228–29, 240–41, figs. 77–94; Daneu Lattanzi 1965, pp. 56–58, pl. 15.
3. Backman 1995, pp. xv–xvi.
4. Lowden 1988a, pp. 81–82.
5. Daneu Lattanzi 1968, figs. 71–72, 75–78, 85–86, 91. Compare with figs. 12–13, 18, 23, 31, 39, 41, as well as work by or attributed to Byzantine painters, for example, New York 1997, p. 359.
6. Evanston 2001, pp. 49–101.
7. Cohn 1970, pp. 108–26; Abulafia 1988, pp. 76–79, 428–35.
8. Backman 1995, pp. 196–224; Abulafia 1988, pp. 425–28; Cohn 1970, p. 111.
9. On secular mosaics in Norman Sicily, see O. Demus 1949, pp. 178–86; Buchthal 1965, pp. 188–89; Binski 1995, pp. 87–88.

References: Buchthal 1965, pp. 185–90, pl. XCVIII.5–6; Daneu Lattanzi 1968, p. 76; Binski 1986, pp. 91–93, pl. 71; Lowden 1988a, pp. 81–82, fig. 134; Kren et al. 1997, pp. 54–55; Evanston 2001, pp. 85–86.

286. Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne

Probably Byzantine (Greece or Macedonia), also attributed to Tuscany or Cyprus, ca. 1275–1300
Tempera, gold, and gesso on wood
81.5 x 49 cm (32⅛ x 19¼ in.)
Provenance: Madrid art market, 1912; Lord Duveen; Carl W. Hamilton; purchased by Andrew Mellon, 1937.
Condition: An extensive restoration was commissioned by Lord Duveen in 1928.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.1.[1]/PA)

In the last half century, the publication of manuscript illumination and fresco, mosaic, and icon painting from Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Armenian Cilicia, and the Frankish states has provided a more detailed account of thirteenth-century painting in the Mediterranean basin. Emerging from their earlier isolation are the spectacular panels showing the Virgin and Child enthroned with angels usually known as the Mellon and Kahn (fig. 286.1) Madonnas. Shortly after these images first appeared at auction together in Madrid in 1912, Bernard Berenson identified them as Constantinopolitan.[2] In the following decades they were attributed to Venice, Sicily, Siena, Cyprus, and Thessalonike, among other centers, and most often were dated to shortly after 1261.[3] Nonetheless, although the two panels are now reunited in Washington, their origins and their relationship remain unclear. They are different in size, were prob-

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ably intended for different uses or settings, and are most likely by different painters.[4] Their analysis is complicated by the extensive restoration of the Mellon Madonna commissioned by Lord Duveen. Despite their obvious similarities and the probability that they were made at the same workshop at about the same time,[5] the question of where they were made remains unresolved. Joseph Polzer and Hans Belting have argued for Tuscany, on the basis of the decorated halo and the chair throne of the Kahn Madonna, but both elements, particularly the throne, have long histories in Byzantine art, according to Jaroslav Folda and Rebecca W. Corrie.[6] Certainly, the work of such artists as Coppo di Marcovaldo and the painter of the Perugia Triptych (cat. 290) are easier to understand if one assumes the presence of Byzantine painters in Italy, while similarities to the work of Bologna painters, such as the masters of the Mondadori panel and the Franciscan graduale (cat. 280), require that the question of an attribution to an Italian center remain open.[7] The recent extensive publication of icons and fresco painting, however, makes more convincing not only a Byzantine training for the painters but also an Eastern localization for the production of these images. Although Folda has attributed the Mellon image to Cyprus, the small, fine faces of both Virgins as well as the angels of the Kahn Madonna find their best matches in paintings produced in Constantinople, on Mount Athos, and at Ohrid, suggesting a Palaiologan origin. The angels themselves are dressed in court regalia that finds exact matches in Serbian painting.[8] Similarly, the chrysography of the Virgins' mantles, especially on the folds at the shoulders and the headpieces, is typical of Palaiologan frescoes and mosaics.[9] But it is the round-backed throne of the Mellon Madonna that points most clearly to a Palaiologan origin for the two panels. It has no consistent context in Italy but appears in numerous Byzantine frescoes painted after 1261, including images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned in the apses of churches commissioned by members of the imperial family.[10] A striking example is the Virgin and Child Enthroned, at Porta Panagia, which depicts a Virgin seated in a round-backed throne in a position similar to that of the Mellon Madonna.[11] It was painted shortly before his death in 1289 for the Orthodox Greek ruler of Thessaly, a "liege" man to the Byzantine emperor. The use of a virtually identical throne for Joshua in an imperial Octateuch also suggests that the throne was meant to have an imperial, Solomonic reference. The small niches, painted here in a technique used for depicting walls in other Byzantine paintings about 1300, recall circular architectural thrones found in Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts, suggesting even more venerable models most likely at Constantinople.[12]

RC

Fig. 286.1. Icon with the Virgin and Child Enthroned (the Kahn Madonna). Tempera and gold on wood, mid-13th century. © Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of Mrs. Otto Kahn (1949.7.1)

1. Shapley 1979, vol. 2, pp. 96–97.
2. Berenson 1921–22.
3. Recent publications recount the extensive bibliography: Folda 1995c; Jaroslav Folda in New York 1997, pp. 396–97; Folda 2002; Polzer 1999; Polzer 2002; Rebecca W. Corrie in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 438–39; Corrie 2003.
4. Belting 1982a; Hoenigswald 1982.
5. Bellosi 1998, pp. 103–4; Corrie 2003. Polzer 2002, p. 405, has come to the same conclusion.
6. As in notes 3 and 4 above.
7. Corrie 1990; Corrie 1996a; Bologna 2000, figs. 98a, 100e, 103c.
8. O. Demus 1970, pp. 212–18; Todić 1999, pp. 360–61, figs. 1, 189; Thessalonike 1997, pp. 76–80; Subotić 1998a, p. 283.
9. James 1996, pls. 16, 28, 59.
10. Gerstel 1999, figs. 46–47; for further examples, see Corrie 2003, nn. 37–44.
11. Kalopissi-Verti 1992, pp. 31, 99, fig. 85; Lock 1995, pp. 98–99.
12. Huber 1973, fig. 78; Corrie 2003, fig. 4. Corrie in Athens 2000–2001a, Folda 1995c, and Folda 2002 came to similar Solomonic interpretations but for different contexts. Hubert et al. 1970, figs. 66–67, 79.

References: Garrison 1949, no. 42, p. 48; O. Demus 1970, pp. 210–18; Shapley 1979, vol. 2, pp. 96–99; Belting 1982a; Hoenigswald 1982; Pace 1986b, fig. 718; Di Dario Guida 1992, pp. 114–23; Folda 1995c, pp. 501–6; Schmidt 1996b, fig. 16; New York 1997, pp. 396–97; Polzer 1999; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 438–39; Folda 2002; Polzer 2002; Corrie 2003.

287. Madonna and Child with Two Angels

Master of the San Bernardino Madonna
Siena, probably 1262
Tempera and gold on panel
140 x 97 cm (55⅛ x 38¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: As recorded in a notarized document of 1655 (now lost), ISTA*TABULA*EST*FRATERNITAS*BEATE*MARIAE*SEMPER*VIRIGINIS*QUA*FECIT*FIERI*IN*A*D*M*C*C*L*X*I*I* (This panel is [the property] of the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, they having had it made in A.D. 1262)[1]
PROVENANCE: Church of the Compagnia di Santa Maria degli Angeli in Siena, later renamed San Bernardino; in 1783, upon suppression of lay fraternities, it entered the collection of Abate G. Ciaccheri, who gave it to the Biblioteca Comunale; from there it entered the Siena Pinacoteca, in 1816.[2]
CONDITION: Originally a full-length enthroned Virgin and Child with a gable top, the panel was cut down to an arch, probably in the seventeenth century. Restored with a gable in 1931, it was cleaned and returned to the arched form in 1974. Despite some rubbing and damage (for example to the angels), the brilliance of the image is clear.[3]
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy (16)

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The earliest phase of Renaissance painting in Siena began just after 1260 with a group of images, many of which were painted for newly founded religious orders including the Franciscans.[4] On the basis of the few that are signed and dated, art historians have attributed these works to a painter called Guido of Siena and his colleagues and followers. The spectacular fresco cycle recently discovered beneath the cathedral, which fits both the style and iconography of these same artists, demonstrates their dominance in Siena.[5]

The division of these Sienese works among individual hands is still debated, but of the painters who have been isolated perhaps the most accomplished and elegant is the so-called San Bernardino Master, named for this image, attributed by a few scholars to Guido himself.[6] Now a half-length image, the San Bernardino panel originally depicted a full-length Virgin and Child enthroned, as can be seen in a smaller copy in Arezzo.[7] Commissioned for a Franciscan confraternity and with a generally accepted date of 1262, the San Bernardino Madonna was probably one of the largest images in Tuscany when it was made.[8] Most likely the second of several colossal images produced in response to the astounding victory of Siena over Florence at Montaperti in 1260, which was attributed to the Virgin's intervention, it repeats elements such as the Virgin's vestments from the first, painted by Coppo di Marcovaldo of Florence for Santa Maria dei Servi in Siena in 1261.[9]

Some Byzantine motifs in the San Bernardino panel, such as the bare-legged Child and the chrysography, probably came from Coppo's Madonna.[10] But other elements suggest firsthand knowledge of contemporary Byzantine art, perhaps through direct contact with Greek images or painters, who reached Siena as a result of the extensive activity of that rich city's merchants and clerics throughout the Mediterranean;[11] the Byzantine motif of angels in roundels, for example, is rare in Italian art. And, while rendered in a linear version of the Mount Athos style, the faces in the San Bernardino image are remarkably close to those of the brilliant Virgin Hodegetria at the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, usually dated to the 1260s.[12]

RC

1. Stubblebine 1964, p. 61; Torriti 1977, pp. 22–23.
2. Ibid.; Stubblebine 1964, p. 61.
3. Ibid.; Torriti 1977, p. 22.
4. Stubblebine 1964.
5. For a few of the frescoes known since about 1943, see Carli 1977. For the recent discoveries, see Alasdair Palmer, "Siena Unveils Hidden Fresco Masterpieces Missing for 700 Years," ywysiwyg://25/http://www.dailytelegraph.co...xml&sSheet=/news/2003/06/08/ixworld.html (July 5, 2003); Bruce Johnston, "Frescoes Unearthed under Siena Cathedral," wysiwyg://2/http://portal.telegraph.c...5.xml&sSheet=/news/2001/12/15/ixhome.html (December 23, 2001); Bruce Johnston, "Frescoes Unearthed under Siena Cathedral," *Daily Telegraph* (London), December 15, 2001. Compare with Stubblebine 1964, figs. 25, 29, 52.
6. Cole 1980, p. 5, fig. 4; De Benedictis 1986, pp. 326, 585; Bellosi 1991; Maginnis 2002; White 1979, pp. 25–32.
7. Ibid., pp. 64–65, fig. 32.
8. Stubblebine 1964, p. 63, and Belting 1994, p. 393, dispute this date. Scholars accepting the date include Os 1984–90, vol. 1, pp. 23–24, and Maginnis 2002.
9. Corrie 1990.
10. Corrie 1996a.
11. Derbes 1989; Pace 2000b, pp. 26–29; Maginnis 2001, pp. 18–21; Carr 1995b, pp. 352–53.
12. Thessalonike 1997, pp. 67–68.

REFERENCES: Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, pp. 88–89; Garrison 1949, p. 79; Stubblebine 1964, pp. 61–64, fig. 31; Torriti 1977, pp. 22–23; White 1979, pp. 25–32, figs. 7–8; Cole 1980, p. 5, fig. 4; Os 1984–90, vol. 1, pp. 21–33, fig. 23; De Benedictis 1986, fig. 497; Derbes 1989, fig. 1; Bellosi 1991, fig. 23; Corrie 1996a, fig. 11; Pace 2000b, fig. 9; Maginnis 2001, pp. 90, 97, 149, fig. 8; Maginnis 2002, frontispiece, fig. 3.

288. Diptych of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Archangels Raphael and Gabriel and Donor and the Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist

Probably Saint-Jean d'Acre, ca. 1275–85
Tempera on panel
Each wing 38 x 29.5 cm (15 x 11⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: Upper corners of left panel, S. RAP[H]AEL / S. GABRIEL; on right panel, $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{CR}$ (Latin abbreviation for Greek form of "Jesus Christ" on the cross); to the left of the Virgin $\overline{MP}$ $\overline{\Theta Y}$ (Greek abbreviation for "Mother of God")
PROVENANCE: Albin Chalandon, Paris, by 1850; Henri Chalandon, until 1924; Langton Douglas, London, 1924; Martin A. Ryerson, Chicago, 1924.[1]
CONDITION: Cleaned in 1953 and 1974, the panels are in generally good condition with small losses.
The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection (1933.1035)

Diptychs that pair the Virgin and Child with the Crucifixion stress theological references relating the body of Christ to the Eucharist and the Virgin's foreknowledge of the Crucifixion.[2] Similar to the facing images that open the Canon of the Mass in manuscripts like the Seitenstetten Missal (cat. 278), small, portable diptychs such as the Chicago panels were undoubtedly commissioned for personal devotion. The diptych, painted as it was during the most intense period of artistic and social exchange between central Italy and eastern Mediterranean centers, demonstrates the complexity of that interaction. Formerly attributed by Edward Garrison and others to Venice, it has more recently been ascribed to so-called Crusader ateliers working in Acre, in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, primarily on the basis of its similarities to icons at Sinai and to manuscripts including the Arsenal Bible (cat. 272) and the Perugia Missal (cat. 276).[3] Most telling is the gilded plaster relief decoration, or *pastiglia*, used for the halos and frames, a technique found in icons on Cyprus and among the Sinai icons usually given to Acre painters (cat. 216).[4] The facial types, especially of the Child and the angels in the left panel, find their closest comparisons in the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal. The Crucifixion is of a type with parallels in Italy, but details such as the drapery and the angels' wings are best matched in the Sinai icons. In the Egerton Missal, long attributed to Acre, the poses of the angels are repeated exactly, as Hugo Buchthal noted in 1957.[5]

Some scholars still prefer an Italian origin for this diptych, and Joseph Polzer correctly points out a similar example of the *pastiglia* technique in an Italian image.[6] Moreover, a diptych in the National Gallery in London, convincingly published by Joanna Cannon as Umbrian, shares motifs with our diptych, including the Virgin's red snood and the marbleized outsides of the panels.[7] The face of the crucified Christ in the right panel finds its best comparison in Umbrian and Emilian painting.[8] The Chicago diptych was certainly produced either in Acre by a painter who had central Italian training or models, or in Italy by a painter who was trained in Acre. At this point, however, the red Greek and Latin titles, the *pastiglia* relief, and the close stylistic comparisons with works generally given to painters in Acre make production there most likely. RC

1. Lloyd 1993, p. 131.
2. Corrie 1996a.
3. Garrison 1949, no. 241, p. 97; Lloyd 1993, pp. 131–35; Buchthal 1957, pp. 49–51, pl. 145; Folda 2002, pp. 131–32, figs. 9–10.
4. Robin Cormack, "Icon of St. George and the Youth of Mytilene," in Buckton 1994b, pp. 176–77; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 215–19.
5. Buchthal 1957, pp. 51, 145–46, pl. 57b.
6. Polzer 1999, pp. 174–75, figs. 31, 33.
7. Cannon 1999, fig. 54, p. 110 n. 29.
8. Bologna 2000, pp. 189–97.

REFERENCES: Garrison 1949, no. 241, p. 97; Buchthal 1957, pp. 49–51, pl. 145; Lloyd 1993, pp. 131–35; Cannon 1999, p. 110 n. 29; Polzer 1999, figs. 7, 31; Folda 2002, figs. 9–10.

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289. Madonna and Child

Badia a Isola Master (flourished 1290–1320)
Siena, just before 1290
Tempera and gold on wood panel
65 x 50 cm (25⅝ x 19⅝ in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of San Giorgio at Petroio, near Siena, until 1906.
CONDITION: Cleaned in 1932, the painting has damaged areas on the Child's face and drapery and across the hand of the Virgin, but is otherwise in excellent condition.[1]
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy (593)

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In the increasingly rich and powerful cities of late-thirteenth-century central Italy, painters laying the basis for Renaissance art produced images that drew on those of their Byzantine contemporaries. Among the most renowned Italians were Duccio di Buoninsegna and his fellow Sienese artists and followers who, working in the last quarter of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century, combined Byzantine painting with aspects of European Gothic art.[2] Similar to the San Bernardino Madonna and the Perugia Triptych (cats. 287, 290) in its use of Byzantine Marian iconography, this Ducciesque Virgin and Child also partakes of the elegance and increasing naturalism of thirteenth-century Byzantine painting, thereby muting the linearity found in those slightly earlier images. Although on occasion attributed to the youthful Duccio himself, this image and those with which it is grouped are most convincingly identified as the work of a conservative early follower of Duccio,[3] a painter most often referred to as the Badia a Isola Master, after a *Maestà* in that town near Siena. Michael Mallory proposed that he was the "Guidoni dipegnitore" cited in Sienese documents, and James Stubblebine and Gertrude Coor-Achenbach suggested "Nerio di Ugolino," the father of one of Duccio's leading followers.[4] His images share the facial type found in Duccio's early Virgins, a distinctive chrysography, the Virgin's rose tunic and bright red coif, and the combination of red and rose clothing on the Child. Without question the closest stylistic comparison in Byzantine art for this image and similar early Ducciesque works is the Kahn Madonna (fig. 286.1). Indeed comparisons between images by Duccio and the Kahn and Mellon (cat. 286) Madonnas have led some historians to attribute the production of the latter pair to Siena. Certainly these Byzantine Madonnas represent the style that Sienese painters encountered perhaps through Greek artists working in Italy.[5]

The attraction of Byzantine art lay in its religious and political authority along with its naturalism and emotion.[6] Sienese painters' familiarity with Byzantine images of the Virgin is apparent in two motifs that are combined in this panel. First, the Child rests his legs across the Virgin's arm so that she supports him with both hands. Second, the Child tucks one leg under the other, revealing the sole of his foot, a motif found in several thirteenth-century icons at Sinai and Mount Athos.[7] As in many such images, the Child here leans back to look at his mother. Although the bare-sole motif originated in antiquity, it entered European art, such as the Seitenstetten Missal (cat. 278), through Byzantine sources.[8] Now a rectangular panel with an inscribed arch, this work may have been the center of a polyptych with saints similar to other works attributed to the same painter.[9] RC

1. Torriti 1977, pp. 60–61.
2. Stubblebine 1979, vol. 1, pp. ix, 4; Maginnis 1997, pp. 68–78; Diana Norman, "Duccio: Recovery of a Reputation," in Norman 1995, vol. 1, pp. 49–63; Deuchler 1984, pp. 175–85; Belting 1994, pp. 370–76.
3. Stubblebine 1979, vol. 1, pp. 75–85, esp. p. 78, vol. 2, pls. 160–184, esp. pl. 167; Carli 1972, p. 4; Cole 1980, pp. 62–63; Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, p. 117; Torriti 1977, pp. 60–61; White 1979, pp. 150–51.
4. Mallory 1987; Stubblebine 1985, p. 371; Coor-Achenbach 1955, p. 164.
5. Belting 1982a; Polzer 1999; Polzer 2002.
6. Belting 1994, p. 349.
7. Belting 1982a, fig. 11; Pace 2000b, figs. 2, 5, 10–11; Thessalonike 1997, pp. 70–73.
8. See Pace 2000b, fig. 4, for a Florentine example; Krause 1980.
9. Stubblebine 1979, vol. 1, pp. 75–76, 78–81; Coor-Achenbach 1952.

REFERENCES: Coor-Achenbach 1952; Carli 1972; Torriti 1977, pp. 60–61; White 1979, pp. 150–51.

290. Triptych with the Virgin and Child Enthroned and Scenes of the Infancy and Passion of Christ

Perugia, ca. 1275
Tempera and gold on panel
215 x 95 cm (84⅝ x 37⅜ in.)
PROVENANCE: Convent of Sant'Agnese, Perugia (Poor Clares, 1329–40, 1428–30); Marzolini collection; collection of Count Rossi Scotti, 1907; Galleria Nazionale, by 1918.[1]
CONDITION: Recently conserved and in relatively good condition, the triptych includes full-length images of Saints Francis and Clare on the outside of the wings.
Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, Italy (877)

In the 1970s, following extensive publication of Armenian manuscripts and icons at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai and on Cyprus, scholars began to recognize the connections between thirteenth-century Italian religious images and painting in Eastern capitals.[2] Often cited in this context is the large triptych in Perugia that is usually dated about 1275.[3] The image of the embracing Virgin and Child, sometimes called the Virgin Eleousa, sitting on a backless throne usually with a lotus-shaped base, is found among Byzantine icons as early as the twelfth century,[4] but the type must have been known and revered in central Italy since it is found in several altarpieces dating after 1250, some framed by scenes of the life of Christ. While this triptych may reflect the veneration of a particular image, it also was in accordance with contemporary devotion in its theological and liturgical association of the Christ Child, the crucified Christ, and the eucharistic host as articulated in the embrace (found as well in images of the Lamentation) and elaborated in the juxtaposition of infancy and Passion scenes in the wings.[5] The large altarpiece with scenes was not used exclusively by the Franciscans, but scholars have credited Franciscan practices with its proliferation.[6] And the inclusion here of the Y-shaped cross found in many Franciscan crucifixions and the full-length images of Saints Francis and Clare on the outsides of the wings confirm that this altarpiece was commissioned for Franciscans or Clarisses, both established in Perugia by the mid-thirteenth century.[7] Similarities between the Perugia triptych and Armenian manuscripts painted in the 1270s and 1280s, such as the Gospel of Prince Vasak, may be explained by the presence of Franciscans, bearing Italian

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manuscripts and devotional images, at the court of Armenian Cilicia.[8]

Tuscan and Umbrian prelates and merchants, along with artists from cities such as Pisa, Siena, and Perugia, visited Eastern capitals, including those of Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom, which may account for this Umbrian painter's familiarity with contemporary and earlier Byzantine and byzantinizing painting.[9] Comparison of the triptych with wall painting and manuscript illuminations have long confirmed that it was produced by a leading local painter working about 1275 in a style that might have derived from Coppo di Marcovaldo of Florence.[10] A slightly earlier, colossal altarpiece sometimes attributed to Coppo (Pushkin Museum, Moscow, no. 2700) and the Perugia triptych share a rich array of Byzantine iconography.[11] The Moscow panel also depicts the enthroned Eleousa and such distinctive motifs as Christ among the Doctors and the Child riding on Joseph's shoulders on a Return from the Flight into Egypt, also found in the stained glass at Assisi.[12] The origins of these central Italian motifs are ultimately broader, however, for the Annunciation in the Perugia triptych resembles an icon at Mount Sinai produced in Constantinople about 1200; the triptych's Flight into Egypt matches the twelfth-century mosaics at Monreale and Palermo; and the triptych's Christ among the Elders is similar to one by the painters of the Gaibana Epistolary's atelier.[13] The elaborate architecture in scenes such as Christ among the Doctors, which has been compared with Cimabue's frescoes at Assisi, finds better parallels in Byzantine mosaics as early as the fifth century, in the Mount Sinai icon about 1200, and in the frescoes at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Rome, by 1260.[14] While the sources of such scattered similar motifs still elude us, the identification in 1991 of an unfinished antiphonary (Vatican Library, Ms. Rossiana 609) painted in part by the same hand as the Perugia triptych provides insight into one of the ways in which the painters of central Italy accumulated these Byzantine motifs, since a number of its scenes are based directly on Byzantine manuscript formulations.[15]

RC

1. Garrison 1949, no. 348, p. 132; Santi 1969, pp. 37–38.
2. Grape 1973, p. 146; Pace 1986a, figs. 69–70; Pace 1984; Carr 1995b.
3. Corrie 1996b, pp. 35–48.
4. Ibid., pp. 36–37.
5. De Marchi in Turin 1988, pp. 31–38; Marques 1987, p. 65; Corrie 1996b, pp. 37–38.
6. Garrison 1949, no. 327, p. 124; Krüger 1992, fig. 198, pp. 35–36; Belting 1994, pp. 377–87.
7. Mancini and Casagrande 1982, p. 56.
8. Evans 1998; Corrie 1996b, fig. 2.
9. Carr 1995b, pp. 352–53.
10. Boskovits 1981, pp. 7–9, figs. 50–52; Todini 1982; Todini 1989, vol. 2, pl. 67; Castelnuovo 1986, vol. 2, pp. 380–81, 595, 618.
11. Boskovits and Gregori 1993, pp. 748–61.
12. F. Martin 1993, figs. 18, 98, pp. 30–31.
13. Respectively, Weitzmann 1978, pp. 92–93; O. Demus 1949, figs. 18, 65a; Wormald and Giles 1982, fig. 19.
14. Rodley 1994, fig. 27; Muñoz 1944, pls. 23–24, 29.
15. Corrie 1996b, pp. 44–47, figs. 6–8.

References: Garrison 1949, no. 348, p. 132; Santi 1969, pp. 37–38; Grape 1973; Boskovits 1981, pp. 1–30, fig. 50; Todini 1982; Castelnuovo 1986, vol. 2, pp. 380–81, 595, 618; Pace 1986a; Marques 1987, p. 65; Andrea De Marchi, "Maestro Umbro 1260 circa," in Turin 1988, pp. 31–38; Krüger 1992, pp. 35–36, fig. 198; F. Martin 1993, pp. 30–31, fig. 98; Corrie 1996b; Schmidt 1996b, fig. 3.

291. Panel with the Virgin and Child and the Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence

Northern Adriatic (Venice or Croatia), early 1300s
Tempera and gold on gesso on wood
34 x 16.5 cm (13⅜ x 6½ in.)

Provenance: In 1949 in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Fine Arts; purchased from V. D. Spark, New York, January 1959, and now in the Lillian Malcove Collection of the University of Toronto.

Condition: The panel, with holes on the left side indicating that it was once a wing of a diptych or triptych, has extensive losses on its left edge and lower border. There is a loss of wood on the lower right corner and wormholes are present on the left edge. There is limited inpainting, mostly on the martyrdom panel. The faces of the emperor, two of the soldiers, and the man with the spear have been scratched, probably in recognition of their negative role in the saint's martyrdom.

Malcove Collection, University of Toronto Art Centre, Ontario (M82.119)

The upper half of the panel presents a bust-length image of the Virgin and Child, and Saint Francis with his stigmata on the left. Traces remain on the right of another saint, possibly Saint Anthony.[1] By the Virgin's head are busts of Saint Peter, on the left, and Saint Paul, on the right. The narrative on the lower half of the panel depicts the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, who was roasted to death on a grill in Rome in A.D. 258.[2] The Roman emperor watching the preparations for his martyrdom is depicted in contemporary Byzantine imperial dress. The busts of Peter and Paul are also very Byzantine in style. The pose of the Virgin, with the Christ Child reclining in her arms, and the jeweled border of her mantle are similar to those seen in an icon from the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai (cat. 214) that is attributed to a Crusader workshop and to an icon commissioned by King Wenceslas of Bohemia in 1396 that was said to have been painted by Saint Luke (cat. 302).[3] The image of Saint Lawrence may relate the panel to Genoa, since the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence is depicted on the first gift from the Byzantine emperor to Genoa after the restoration of the empire to Byzantine rule (fig. 1.14) Edward Garrison identified the panel as a Venetian work and connected it with a diptych in the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg that shows another image of the Virgin and Child with Saint Francis. He suggested that both works were from a Venetian workshop that produced the Benedictine Madonna of the Benedictines in Zara (ca. 301), a work of about 1300 now attributed to either a Venetian or a Zara artist.[4] The border of the mantle of the Virgin in the Zara work is exactly like that worn by the Virgin in the Malcove panel.

HCE

1. Garrison 1949, no. 270, p. 104, identifies the lost figure as the great Franciscan leader Saint Anthony.
2. Campbell 1985, no. 339, pp. 245–46.
3. Belting 1994, p. 336, figs. 204–205.
4. Garrison 1949, pp. 33, 98, 104, nos. 245, 270; Vatican 1999–2000, no. 30, pp. 442–43.

References: Garrison 1949, no. 270, p. 104; Campbell 1985, no. 339, pp. 245–46; Vatican 1999–2000.

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292. Madre della Consolazione with Saint Francis of Assisi

Workshop of Nikolaos Tzafouris
Crete, end of the 15th century
Tempera and gold on wood
60 x 52 cm (23⅝ x 20½ in.)
PROVENANCE: Donated by I. Fragoudis to the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, 1897.
CONDITION: The work has been conserved by A. Simantonis. The icon is worn along its lower edge, and there are paint losses on the hem of Saint Francis's garment and the Virgin's mantle.
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (T 233)

This representation of the Virgin and Child is of the Western iconographic type known as Madre della Consolazione, in which the Passion of Christ to come is presaged. Against a golden background the Virgin is shown bust-length, wearing a black dress and a purple maphorion draped over a pleated white veil. In her right arm she holds the young Christ, wearing a black tunic embroidered with gold motifs and a light red overgarment. He holds a golden globe in his left hand, and blesses the world with his right. At the left is the standing figure of Saint Francis of Assisi, represented in smaller scale. He wears the brown garment and tonsure of a friar and holds a closed Bible and a golden cross in his hands, which display the stigmata—marks of the wounds of the crucified Christ that the saint received in his vision. All three figures are crowned by pierced, decorated halos.

The stigmata of Saint Francis and the cross he holds both allude to the future Passion of Christ. Awareness of the crucifixion that awaits the Christ Child is also vividly manifest in the sad facial expressions of all the figures on the icon. This carefully detailed composition clearly was influenced by Italian prototypes and must be placed in the wider context of Cretan-Italian works produced on the island during the period of the Venetian occupation. After the fall of Constantinople, the capital of Crete, Candia (now Iráklion), became the most important center for icon painting. The type of the Madre della Consolazione appears to have been established in the middle of the fifteenth century by the Cretan painter Nikolaos Tzafouris, who in his work employed both Byzantine and Western iconographic types (see cat. 308).[1] Saint Francis of Assisi, a saint of the Western Church, was particularly popular with the Orthodox community of Crete and by the fourteenth century was represented in Orthodox churches throughout the island.[2] Western saints like Jerome, Sebastian, and Lawrence, as well as the so-called Madre della Consolazione, are often the subjects of Cretan icons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[3]

Stylistic and iconographical characteristics connect this icon to two works signed by Nikolaos Tzafouris shortly before 1501, one in a private collection in Trieste and the other in the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens.[4] The icon seen here was probably produced in Tzafouris's workshop at the end of the fifteenth century.[5]

K-PhK

1. Baltoyianni 1994, p. 273.
2. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1982, fig. 6; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, p. 144.
3. Venice 1993b, p. 120, figs. 24, 25, 27, 30, 31; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998, pls. A–D.
4. Bianco Fiorin 1983, p. 164, fig. 1; Baltoyianni 1994, no. 68.
5. M. Chatzidakis 1974b, p. 183.

REFERENCES: Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, no. 40; Trieste 1999–2000, no. 106; New York 2002–3, no. 8.

293. The Man of Sorrows

Central Italy, mid-14th century
Gilt copper, champlevé enamel
10.3 x 7.8 cm (4⅛ x 3⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: SOTIETATIS.S.DOMINICI; FR (?); PB (?)
PROVENANCE: From the collections of Albert Germeau, France (sold 1868); Victor Gay, Paris (sold 1909); Simon Seligmann, Paris; Georges and Edna Seligmann, New York.
CONDITION: Losses to the enameling are evident in the robes of the figures, which are partly enameled and partly gilded. The features of the Dominican have been smoothed down and regilt. The plaque has been regilt.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Georges E. Seligmann, in memory of his wife, Edna, his father, Simon Seligmann, and his brother, René, 1982 (1982.480)

The gilded image of Jesus appears, as in a vision, above his tomb. To either side are the sponge soaked with vinegar that was offered to him during his Crucifixion and the lance that caused the wound in his side. Both the function and the significance of this type of image, known as the Man of Sorrows and

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adapted from Byzantine examples from the thirteenth century and later (cat. 131), are clarified in this small enameled plaque. Here it is not a single image of Jesus, nor is it an image of Jesus accompanied by his mourning contemporaries, but rather, anachronistically, a Dominican friar and a hooded figure who contemplate Christ's suffering. The hooded figure, his face shrouded, is a flagellant. He would have used the scourge hanging from his arm to whip himself as part of his devotion. Baring his back to self-flagellation, he would both contemplate Jesus's image and personally experience a degree of his Savior's suffering. The inscription at the bottom of the plaque suggests that this is likely a member of a confraternity linked with Saint Dominic; a member of that saint's order appears opposite the flagellant lay brother in the manner of a confessor or spiritual adviser.

The small size of the plaque and the use of gold against a dark ground recall contemporary images of the Man of Sorrows in verre églomisé set into frames and intended for private contemplation. A similar use can be inferred for this piece.

BDB

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References: Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions 1982–1983* (New York, 1983), p. 22 (repr.); Cannon 1998, pp. 29–30, fig. 19; New York 1999, no. 177, pp. 151–52.

294. The Man of Sorrows

Michele Giambono (Michele Giovanni Bono; active 1420–62)
Venice, ca. 1420–30
Tempera and gold on wood
Overall, with engaged frame, 54.9 x 38.7 cm (21⅝ x 15¼ in.); painted surface 47 x 31.1 cm (18½ x 12¼ in.)
Inscribed: On strip nailed to Cross above halo,·IN:RI·
Provenance: Signora Alba Barbato di Naduri, Naples, until 1906; sold to the Metropolitan Museum.
Condition: The overall condition is very good, with perhaps some darkening of the pigments in the background.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.180)

Themes derived from Byzantium continued to inspire Venetian painters of the fifteenth century. Giambono's Man of Sorrows stands in an open tomb. His half-length body seems frail yet muscular, its tightly controlled curves silhouetted on the painted and tooled gold ground. Although Christ is unquestionably dead, there is still energy in his partly lowered head and extended arms. Streams of blood, sculpted in thick gesso, gush from wounds carved into the panel. The leaning of Christ's head, the almost imperceptible turn of his body, and his slightly opened mouth and eyes suggest an awareness of the small figure of Saint Francis, who stands behind the tomb. Francis's hands are clasped in a gesture expressive of both prayer and grief, a gesture not uncommon for Mary or John in North Italian scenes of the Crucifixion.[1]

The panel appropriates the paradoxical iconography of its Byzantine prototype, the icon of the humiliated yet glorified Savior (cat. 131), and to this Giambono added more concrete narrative and symbolic allusions. The blood still dripping upward on Christ's arms implies the immediacy of the Crucifixion, as if he had just been taken down from the Cross. Simultaneously, Christ is resurrected. In his marble and porphyry tomb, the embroidered shroud draped symmetrically over the front of the open tomb suggests the corporal of the Mass.[2] Christ's body therefore is visibly the liturgical sacrifice on the altar-tomb. His outstretched arms and palms display wounds that in contemporary devotional practice offered mystical union with Christ.

The presence of Francis is remarkable. It was believed that Francis, marked by the stigmata, attained perfect similitude to Christ crucified. In paintings, the stigmatization was often associated with the Crucifixion, but Giambono's panel particularly emphasizes the devotional foundation of Francis's conformity to Christ,[3] for red lines link Christ's wounds to those of Francis, devotee and *alter Christus*. In prayer and compassion, Francis provided an exemplary model for whoever prayed before this panel, possibly a Franciscan friar or tertiary.

AN

294, reverse

1. For example, in the mosaic of the Crucifixion in the baptistery of San Marco, Venice, of ca. 1350; see Lucco 1992, fig. 38.
2. Belting 1990b, pp. 77–78.
3. Land 1980, pp. 35–37.

REFERENCES: Zeri and Gardner 1973, p. 23; Land 1980; Egger 1982; Belting 1990b, pp. 77–78, 146, 281; New York 1990, no. 4, p. 36; Pesaro 1992; Baetjer 1995, p. 67; Franco 1998, pp. 95–96.

295. Icon with the Monogram JHS Containing Scenes of Christ

Andreas Ritzos (active 1421–92)
Candia (Iráklion), Crete, second half of the 15th century
Tempera and gold on wood
44.5 x 63.5 cm (17½ x 25 in.)
INSCRIBED: At the base of the icon, in Greek, a chant from the *Parakletike*, "Thou wast crucified without sin and placed willingly in the tomb. But thou arose as God, rousing the ancestor. Remember me as I call upon thee when thou enterest upon thy kingdom"; on the lower right edge, "hand [of] Andreas Ritzos"
PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1988 for the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.
CONDITION: The icon was conserved by Th. Papageōrgiou in the laboratories of the Byzantine and Christian Museum in 1993. Laboratory examination showed that the inscribed chant and name of the painter belong to later reconstructions, when various parts of the icon were repainted. The original inscription, in white paint, is preserved underneath.[1]
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (T 2638)

Representations of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Anastasis are painted inside the stylized letters JHS, an abbreviation of the Latin "Jesus Hominum Salvator" (Jesus the Savior of Men), the emblem of the Franciscan Institute established by Saint Bernardino of Siena.[2] To the left and right are lozenges containing the sun and the moon. The gold ground is filled with blossoming flowers. Inscribed on a black band running across the base of the icon is the hymn from the *Parakletike* chanted in the Sunday matins, which refers to the events depicted in the monogram.

Presented in the first letters are the crucified Christ and, flanking him, the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist. Unusually, a full flesh-and-blood figure of Adam appears at Christ's feet, before the cave at the rock of Golgotha. Two angels fly above the figures of the Virgin and John. The angel on the left holds a chalice to collect the blood running from the open spear wound in Christ's chest, while the one on the right averts his eyes. Shown in the letter S are a Byzantine-style Anastasis, with Christ reaching into Hell to draw out Adam and Eve, and, along the central diagonal, a Western-style image of the Resurrection, with the triumphant Christ emerging from his tomb as the soldiers keep watch.

The original and unique composition of this icon must be the work of the Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos. One of the most important examples of Cretan-Italian art, the icon demonstrates its painter's familiarity with Western iconography—hardly surprising, since Crete was under Venetian domination for a lengthy period that included the fifteenth century. Elements of the International Gothic style are harmoniously combined with Byzantine elements in this painting, which gives a good indication of the variety of themes and motifs used by artists on the island. Surviving notary papers for orders of portable icons in Candia (Iráklion) have also yielded a range of information regarding artistic activity in Crete during this period.[3] Stylistic and iconographical influences from Western art are many and noticeable, and local painters seem to have been well informed about both the Byzantine and the Italian traditions.[4] This awareness probably reflects the artists' mixed clientele, which may have included the local Greek Orthodox community, the prosperous Catholic community in Crete, and others outside the island.[5]

This icon is in all likelihood the one referred to as "cose pretiose, per pittura greca" ([a] valuable object, for Greek painting) in the 1611 will and testament of the nobleman Andreas Kornaros, offspring of a Veneto-Cretan family.[6] Kornaros, a widely admired man of letters in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Crete, valued the icon so greatly that he bequeathed it to an important person in Venice after his death.

K-PhK

1. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1989–90, p. 113.
2. Ibid., p. 110.
3. Cattapan 1972.
4. M. Chatzidakis 1987–97, vol. 1, pp. 79, 80.
5. Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou 1975, pp. 35–60.
6. Spanakēs 1955, p. 176.

REFERENCES: Acheimastou-Potamianou 1989–90, pp. 108–10; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998, no. 37; New York 2002–3, no. 7.

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296. Icon with Saint Catherine and Scenes from Her Life

Italy, late 13th century
Tempera on wood, cabochons
100 x 115 cm (39⅜ x 45¼ in.)
PROVENANCE: Church of San Silvestro, Pisa, until 1894.
CONDITION: The panel has a split in the wood along the left side, scattered scratches, and flaking paint, particularly in the areas around the identifying inscriptions. Many of the cabochons are missing from the central figure of Saint Catherine.
Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Italy

This panel, housed in the Dominican Church of San Silvestro in Pisa until 1894, elicits consideration of the transmission of Byzantine culture to the Latin West, particularly Italy, in the Late Byzantine period and highlights the crucial role that the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai played in this exchange.

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By the thirteenth century, this monastery was a popular destination for Western pilgrims, as well as those from Orthodox and Islamic lands, and it consequently became an important center for cross-cultural contact. The full-length image of Saint Catherine flanked by two vertical bands each divided into four scenes narrating her life[1] takes its form from the Byzantine vita icon,[2] such as the icon of Saint Catherine from Sinai (cat. 201). Similarities between the Pisa panel and the Sinai icon suggest that the panel's artist worked from a Byzantine model; for example, in both images, Saint Catherine holds a martyr's cross in her right hand, while holding her left hand with the palm facing out. The use of "ECATERINA," from the Greek Αἰκατερῖνα, in the inscriptions also points to a Greek source.[3]

The Pisan painter introduced a number of changes to his Byzantine model, fashioning an image suitable for a Western audience. While the Sinai icon ends with Catherine's death, the panel concludes with the translation of her body to Mount Sinai, directly linking her with the monastery. The panel, which tells the story of Catherine's martyrdom and relics, served as the saint's feast-day altarpiece in San Silvestro until 1319. Its function as an altarpiece dictated its shape, for the two vertical strips framing Saint Catherine create the illusion of triptych wings, an impression enhanced by the angled upper corners, creating an image well suited to stand on an altar.[4]

BR

1. Left side: Saint Catherine Proclaims Her Faith Before the Emperor; Saint Catherine Disputes with the Forty Philosophers; Angels Visit Saint Catherine during Her Imprisonment; Condemnation of Saint Catherine. Right side: Saint Catherine Is Liberated from the Wheel; Saint Catherine Is Decapitated; Burial of Saint Catherine; Translation of Saint Catherine's Body to Mount Sinai by Angels.
2. For a discussion of the development of the vita icon, see N. Ševčenko 1992.
3. For further discussion of the panel's dependence on a Byzantine model, see Belting 1994, p. 380; Stubblebine 1966, p. 92; Weitzmann 1984, pp. 153–55, pl. 59, fig. 13.
4. According to Belting (1994, pp. 377–81, fig. 378), the Catherine panel was replaced in 1319 with an altarpiece by Simone Martini (now housed in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Pisa). He further suggests that Saint Catherine had special appeal for the Dominicans and that she was the Dominican model in theological studies and eloquence.

References: Garrison 1949, no. 399; Carli 1958, p. 52, pl. 5, figs. 77–81; Carli 1961, pl. 11; Stubblebine 1966, p. 92; Carli 1974, no. 31, p. 41, pl. 6, figs. 46, 47;

Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1981, no. 22 (with early bibl.); Weitzmann 1984, pp. 153–55, pl. 59, fig. 13; Krüger 1992, pp. 66–67; Belting 1994, pp. 377–81, fig. 378; Carli 1994, pp. 20–21, pl. 3; Ševčenko 1999, pp. 149–65, esp. pp. 153–54.

297. The Body of Saint Catherine Carried to Mount Sinai

The Belles Heures of Jean, duc de Berry, fol. 20
Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg
French (Paris or Bourges), 1405–1408/9
Tempera, ink, and gold leaf on vellum; 225 fols.
Bifolium 23.7 x 34.5 cm (9⅜ x 13⅝ in.); image 10.3 x 8.1 cm (4 x 3¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: Angeli auī corpus eius accipientes ab illo loco / usque ad montē synay iti'ne plusq̄ dierum xx. / deduxerunt et ibidē sepeliverūt ex au' ossibus / idesinēter oleū manat infirmitates sanās (Angels, however, having received her body, transported it from that place / to Mount Sinai, a journey of more than twenty days, / and there they buried it. From her bones / oil, which heals sickness, flows continuously)

PROVENANCE: Jean, duc de Berry (d. 1416), 1408–9; first included in his inventory, 1413; purchased from his estate by Yolande of Aragon, queen of Sicily and duchess of Anjou (d. 1443), 1416; Baron d'Ailly, sold 1880; Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Paris, acquired 1880, his inventory no. 18; Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Geneva, acquired 1936, his inventory no. 7; Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York; purchased from that dealer for The Cloisters Collection, 1954.

CONDITION: The bifolium is in stable condition. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1)

Commissioned by Jean, duc de Berry (1340–1416), a legendary bibliophile, collector, and patron of the arts, this magnificent book of hours, created for the private devotion of the duke, was executed by one or more of the famed Limbourg brothers, Pol, Jean, and Herman. The manuscript, the only one to be undertaken by the Limbourg brothers and completed in its entirety by them, comprises 157 illuminations over 225 folios.

The present bifolium is drawn from the first of five independent gatherings devoted to saints particularly esteemed by the duke. Lavishly illustrated with a large illumination and four lines of text per page, these "picture book" insertions are unique to this book of hours and mark it as an exceptionally sumptuous and personal commission.

Four rocky pinnacles describe the barren, mountainous landscape of the southern Sinai. Nestled between two mountains is a blocky structure constructed of large gray stones, the severe walls of which are relieved only with two stringcourses. A dirt road leads to the monastic compound, and a hermit or monk in a hooded brown robe sits by the entrance. At the left, several pilgrims in broad-brimmed hats, including one clearly equipped with a staff and scrip, disappear behind a mountain on their way to the monastery. Above, three angels carry the shrouded body of Saint Catherine to her final resting place.

The earth tones of the landscape are set off by the vibrant blue of the sky. Although scale and perspective are distorted, the scene creates a landscape of remarkable depth, and its vastness is enhanced by its implied continuation beyond the borders as though the viewer were glimpsing the panorama through a window opening. Contemporaries of the duke had traveled to Sinai, and the Limbourg brothers may have had access to firsthand descriptions. If this was the case, the present illumination may be the earliest "portrait" of a famous pilgrimage site in Northern art.[1]

The unusual depiction of the aerial transport of Saint Catherine's earthly remains may well be a creation of Western art. The scene is found, for example, on a late-thirteenth-century image of Saint Catherine with episodes from her life attributed to a Pisan artist and now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (cat. 296), while the great thirteenth-century vita icon of the saint, still located at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai (cat. 201), lacks any depiction of her arrival at the site. TBH

1. Meiss and Beatson 1974, p. 119.

REFERENCES: Meiss 1974, esp. pp. 102–43; Plummer 1992, pp. 420–39.

Angeli aut corpus eius accipientes ab illo loco
usq; ad montē synay iti'ne plusq̄ dierum xx.
deduxerunt et ibidē sepeliverūt ex au' ossibus
idesinēter oleū manat infirmitates sanās.

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Venice and the Byzantine Sphere

MARIA GEORGOPOULOU

The relationship between Venice and Byzantium is as old as the city on the lagoon itself. From the beginning, Venice played a vital role as an intermediary between the Greek East and the Latin West, first through trade with Constantinople, later through its colonies in the eastern Mediterranean, and finally as a haven for Greek émigrés after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[1] The beginning of the period covered by this exhibition was a formative one for Venice, as the Republic transformed itself in the thirteenth century from a "privileged daughter of Byzantium"[2] to an heir of imperial status. By the end of the fifteenth century Venice, the richest, most populous and cosmopolitan metropolis in western Europe, reached the zenith of its political and economic power.

As a result of the Fourth Crusade, in 1204, the Venetians came into possession of territories along the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean coasts and in the Aegean archipelago that ensured their control of the major maritime routes connecting the eastern and central Mediterranean.[3] A carefully arranged system of commercial maritime convoys linked numerous emporia and colonies: Zara and Dubrovnik in Dalmatia; Chania, Iráklion, Methone, Chalkis, and Corfu/Kerkyra in Greece; Famagusta and Nikosia in Cyprus; and Alexandria in Egypt.[4] Political life focused on the urban centers that were commercial harbors. All colonies housed at least two population groups observing competing Christian rites—Greek Orthodox and Latin—and many cities also had significant Jewish communities and other ethnic minorities, such as Armenians.[5]

The most important of Venice's colonies were the islands of Crete (from 1211 to 1669) and Cyprus (from 1489 to 1571), which lay on the maritime routes connecting Syria and Venice, on the one hand, and Alexandria and Constantinople, on the other.[6] Latin settlers from Venice were given landed property, called "fiefs," in the countryside of Crete and estates in the capital city of Candia (modern Iráklion), in Canea (now Chania), and Retimo (now Rethymnon),[7] which were governed by the duca di Candia, a Venetian official sent every two years from the mother city, and two counselors. The colonizers could become members of the Great Council of Candia, a term echoing practices in Venice. Despite Venetian nomenclature, the establishment of Venetian rule did not totally transform life in Crete. The agrarian and fiscal systems followed Byzantine precedents, and some Byzantine legal practices remained in place for the Greek elite (archontes) and its hereditary property.[8] By the end of the thirteenth century, after a succession of revolts against the Venetian authorities, certain Greek lords were allowed to maintain their hereditary property, enter the Great Council, and thus become part of the local elite. Cyprus was originally ruled by the French noble family of Lusignan, but with the accession of Queen Caterina Cornaro to the throne of Cyprus the island came into Venetian hands in 1489.[9] Eventually Crete and Cyprus remained the only Christian strongholds in the Levant, and Venice commissioned state architects, such as Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559) from Verona, to fortify the colonies according to the new technological advances in warfare: strong ramparts emblazoned with the emblem of the lion of Saint Mark were strengthened with heart-shaped bastions to house canons (figs. 15.2–15.4).[10] The fortifications of Crete and Cyprus may have served as a testing ground for the design of early modern European fortifications.

In the colonies the Venetians showed a deep appreciation for local Byzantine traditions while asserting their presence in the political and religious arenas.[11] In Crete they embraced the cult of the local patron saint, Saint Titus, and of a miracle-working icon of the Virgin purportedly by the hand of Saint Luke, the icon of the Virgin Mesopanditissa (fig. 15.5). Elaborate liturgical and civic ceremonies centering on the Cathedral of Saint Titus in Candia encouraged the participation of both Latin and Greek clergy and of the people. After the loss of Crete to the

Fig. 15.1. Church of San Giorgio dei Greci, interior with iconostasis, Venice, 1539–77. Photo: Bruce White. © Istituto Ellenico

Fig. 15.2. General view of the Venetian fortifications of Candia (Iráklion), Crete, Greece, mid-15th–mid-16th century. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Ottomans, the relics of Saint Titus and the icon of the Virgin Mesopanditissa were brought to Venice.[12]

Although there was nominal religious freedom, Orthodox bishops were evicted from their posts and much of the property of the Orthodox Church was taken over by the Latin bishops who replaced them. The cathedrals were seemingly converted to the Latin rite, while new churches and monasteries of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians and of the Order of the Holy Cross-Bearers were erected in the cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[13] The three best-preserved Latin churches in Crete are the ducal church of Saint Mark in Candia (fig. 15.6), the Dominican Church of Saint Peter the Martyr in Candia (fig. 15.7), and the Franciscan monastery of Saint Francis in Canea. Because of their size, prominent placement, and rich endowment, these Latin churches stood out as symbols of the Latin Church and indirectly of the Venetian overlords. Orthodox churches were still erected or decorated, however. Although very little has survived in the cities, at the beginning of the fourteenth century Candia alone had more

Fig. 15.3. Fortifications with a Venetian lion, Candia (Iráklion), Crete, Greece, mid-15th–mid-16th century. Photo: Maria Georgopoulou

Fig. 15.4. Venetian fortifications of Famagusta, Cyprus, mid-15th–mid-16th century. Photo: Annemarie Weyl Carr

Fig. 15.5. Icon of the Virgin Mesopanditissa. Tempera on panel. Church of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice

than fifty Orthodox churches, many of which belonged to monasteries; this number rose to more than one hundred by the end of Venetian rule.[14] More than eight hundred single-nave or centrally planned Greek churches decorated with significant frescoes were in use in the countryside during the Venetian period. Similarly, many small Greek churches have survived on the islands of the Cyclades, which were under the rule of Venetian noblemen; on the island of Naxos alone more than 180 fresco cycles date to the thirteenth century.[15]

Ethnically and linguistically the Greek population predominated, not only in the countryside. Despite constituting a considerable part of the population in the urban centers, the Venetians never outnumbered the locals. As Venice was interested in mercantile success, it took measures to ensure that its non-Venetian subjects in the Stato da Mar (maritime empire) continued to be active participants in the economic life of the empire as merchants, artisans, or workers of the land.[16] As early as the fourteenth century numerous archival documents preserved in the state archives of Venice speak of an open, bilingual society in which ethnic differences between Latins and Greeks were gradually effaced to allow for the formation of a common cultural world.[17] A similar situation has been observed in Cyprus, where the Greek and Latin urban bourgeoisie, with access to many urban institutions, formed a class apart.[18] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the symbiosis of the Greek and Latin communities became even more pronounced in Crete and produced a unique phenomenon in the art, literature, and theater of early modern Greece, the so-called Cretan renaissance.[19] The most famous of Crete's sons from this period was Domenikos Theotokopoulos, who was born and trained as an icon painter in Candia, traveled in 1567 to Italy (Venice and Rome), and finally immigrated to Spain, where he was known as El Greco (cats. 309, 310).[20]

Unlike the large Gothic churches that the Lusignan kings had commissioned in Cyprus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the surviving Venetian buildings in Crete have the look of unassuming, provincial structures.[21] Until the large fortification campaigns of the sixteenth century, there is little to suggest that designs, architects, or workmen were imported from the mother city for the erection of Latin churches or governmental and commercial buildings.[22] Masonry techniques followed local styles, and only sculptural details and ribbed vaulting point to the probable Latin/Gothic affiliation of a building.[23] Thus, the similar decorative details on windows, doors, capitals, and corbels on Orthodox rural churches, such as the southern facade of Valsamonero Monastery (fig. 15.8).[24] The archival evidence on the many stonecutters, sculptors, woodworkers, and masons in Candia suggests that the ethnic identity of the artisans and the cultural source of their workmanship mattered little to the wealthy patrons of churches, who shared a single material culture regardless of ethnicity. Only after the dissemination of printed architectural treatises in the second half of the sixteenth century do we find public structures, churches, and houses that display a strong connection with the Renaissance style current in Italy.[25] At the same time, Latin churches and private homes were decorated with imported Italian panel paintings.[26]

The interiors of Orthodox churches, however, remained attached to the Byzantine tradition. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries painters from Constantinople—Nicholas Philanthropenos (1396–1435), Alexios Apokaukos, and the brothers Manuel and John Phokas (first half of the fifteenth century)—

Fig. 15.6. Ducal Church of Saint Mark, Candia (Iráklion), Crete, Greece. Photo: Maria Georgopoulou

Fig. 15.7. Exterior view from the east of the Dominican Church of Saint Peter the Martyr, Candia (Iráklion), Crete, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

Fig. 15.8. Southern facade of Valsamonero Monastery, Crete, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

brought Palaiologan painting to Crete, where they produced extensive painting cycles.[27] Certain rich monasteries, such as Valsamonero (1332–1426/27), Gouverniotissa in Potamies (mid-fourteenth century), and Sklaverochori (1481), not only show an up-to-date knowledge of the art of the metropolitan centers of Constantinople and Thessalonike but also seem to play an active role in the development of the Palaiologan style of painting.[28] The close relations with Byzantine culture are further underlined by the presence of donor inscriptions, which commemorate the reigning Byzantine emperor, in the interior of eight churches.[29] Until late in the fifteenth century there is little observably "Western" in the style of painting on Crete, and only minor iconographic details like Venetian-made vessels and occasionally a Western saint such as Saint Francis (in the Church of the Panagia Kera at Kritsa, for example) point to the bicultural milieu within which a painting was created.[30] Even in sixteenth-century Cyprus we find only a few intrusions of Italian iconographic patterns: for instance, the scene of the Anastasis painted by Symeon Axentis in the Church of Saint Sozomenos in Cyprus (dated 1513), in which Christ steps out of a sarcophagus (fig. 15.9), duplicates scenes by such Italian artists as Ugolino di Nerio or Piero della Francesca;[31] while the paintings of the Monastery of Panagia Podithou (1502) and the Latin chapel of Saint John Lampadistis Monastery in Cyprus (fig. 15.10) have a pronounced Italian character.[32]

The most significant contribution of Venice's colonies in the arts, of Crete in particular, is the production of icons from the middle of the fifteenth century until the end of Venetian rule and beyond. For a long time these icons were attributed to an Italo-Cretan or Creto-Venetian school of painting associated with Greek artists residing in Italy and ultimately with the byzantinizing style of thirteenth-century Italian art (maniera greca).[33] Discoveries in the state archives of Venice in the last fifty years have shown that the source of the icons was undoubtedly Crete (see also the essay by Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication).[34] Except for Paolo Veneziano (d. before 1362), who broadened the earlier maniera greca by enriching his Gothic art with Byzantine elements,[35] virtually all icon painters came from Crete until the sixteenth century. In the years 1453 to 1500, there were 120 to 130 painters in Candia out of a population of 15,000,[36] and in the sixteenth century there were more than 125.[37] Trained in the Byzantine style but able to incorporate Italian iconographic and stylistic elements, these artists adapted creatively the Byzantine tradition to the demands of a diverse clientele in Crete, the Venetian commonwealth, the Orthodox East, and western Europe. Because of its portability and relatively low cost, the Cretan icon was a desirable good for individuals and for both Orthodox and Latin ecclesiastical institutions.[38] Personal preferences played a role: in 1499 two merchants, one from the Peloponnesos and one from Venice, commissioned 700 icons of

Fig. 15.9. Anastasis. Symeon Axentis. Fresco, 1513. Church of Saint Sozomenos, Cyprus. Photo: Maria Georgopoulou

the Virgin, specifying their style: 500 "in forma alla latina" and 200 "in forma alla greca."[39]

The painters' cosmopolitan appeal is indicated by the fact that paintings were signed and painters became known by name. The earliest known artist from Candia is Angelos Akotantos (see cat. 121), who signed twenty works with his Greek first name as *cheir Angelou* ([by] the hand of Angelos). Under the Italian-sounding surname Acotanto, Angelos traveled to Constantinople for materials soon after 1436, when he composed his will. He died by 1457.[40] His icons adorn many Orthodox monasteries in Crete, and he is thought to have created particularly significant images, like the Embrace of Peter and Paul (see cat. 94). The Cretan painters of the second half of the fifteenth century that are known by name, for instance, Andreas Ritzos (active 1421–92; cat. 295), his son Nikolaos Ritzos (d. before 1507), Andreas Pavias (active 1470–d. before 1512), and Nikolaos Tzafouris (d. before 1501; cats. 94, 308), created new icon types that were subsequently copied by painters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among them the Virgin of the Passion, the Madre della Consolazione (Mother of Consolation; cat. 292), the Man of Sorrows, the Dormition of hermit saints, and the Lamentation.[41] Though many of these icons adorned Orthodox church templa, some of the new types must have been commissioned for different settings. Their fame was likely due to the artists' technical mastery of the Palaiologan style and their versatility in incorporating iconographic details and stylistic variants reminiscent of late Gothic Italian painting that were readily available within the bicultural society of Candia. The works maintain Palaiologan painting style—precise outlines, modeling of the flesh with dark brown underpaint and dense highlights on the cheeks of the faces, brightly colored garments, the geometric treatment of the drapery, and the balanced articulation of the composition—to which are added such features of Italian painting as the use of perspective, realistic details, fanciful architecture, reference to antique works, and so on.[42]

The painters of Candia were organized in the confraternity of Saint Luke, had workshops with apprentices, and even traded cartoons. We know, for instance, that Andreas Ritzos bought Angelos's cartoons from the painter's brother.[43] In the sixteenth century Cretan painters worked in Dalmatia (Angelos Pitzamanos, born before 1467), Otranto (Angelos and Donato Pitzamanos), Venice, as well as mainland Greece: Theophanes Strelitzas, who died in 1559, was active at Meteora and Mount Athos between 1527 and 1558.[44] In the second half of the sixteenth century icon painting was dominated by Domenikos Theotokopoulos, Michael Damaskenos (cats. 241, 242), and Georgios Klontzas (ca. 1540–1608), whose works included elements of Mannerism.[45] Michael Damaskenos (active 1555–91), a virtuoso of the Palaiologan tradition, created many new compositions by bringing into his paintings elements that suggested his familiarity with contemporary Venetian artists (Tintoretto, Veronese, and Parmigianino).[46] Klontzas favored the art of the miniaturist, whereas Theotokopoulos found aesthetic solutions beyond Byzantine art.

With its long-lived empire, the Venetian Republic saw itself as an heir of Rome and of Byzantium. By the end of the thirteenth century, antique, Byzantine, and Islamic treasures as well as sacred relics like the miracle-working icon of the Virgin Nikopoios and the horses of San Marco were displayed in San Marco.[47] In 1297 the governance of the republic was strengthened by the *Serrata* (the closing of the number of families who could participate in the Grand Council), and peace with the Genoese was achieved after the Second Genoese War (1294–99). Venice became more confident of its political and cultural supremacy over Byzantium by the middle of the fourteenth century. Not only was the Pala d'Oro, the famous Byzantine altarpiece of San Marco, modernized with a new Gothic setting of its jewels (fig. 15.11),[48] but the Byzantine style of the mosaics of the atrium,

Fig. 15.10. Fresco, Latin chapel of Saint John Lampadistis Monastery, Cyprus. Photo: Annemarie Weyl Carr

Fig. 15.11. The Pala d'Oro, Basilica di San Marco, Venice. Gold and enamel, 1102–5. Photo: Cameraphoto, Venice/Art Resource, NY

Fig. 15.12. Crucifixion. Mosaic, mid-14th century. Baptistery, Basilica di San Marco, Venice. Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY

southern chapel, and baptistery of San Marco increasingly gave way to more Romanesque and Italian elements.[49] Doge Andrea Dandolo (r. 1343–54) went as far as displacing the figure of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross in the large Crucifixion scene at the baptistery (fig. 15.12).[50]

Two major events define the relations between Venice and Byzantium in the fifteenth century: the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), concerning the union of the churches, and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks (1453). The Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos and his entourage of several hundred people arrived in Venice in February of 1438 to attend the council; the emperor's presence in Italy made a strong impression on artists and politicians alike (see cats. 318–321). His retinue included esteemed Greek intellectuals, for instance, Bessarion, George Scholarios, John Argyropoulos, and George Gemistos Plethon.[51] The most vocal proponent of union was Bessarion, a Greek from Trebizond who remained in Italy, where he became a Roman cardinal (see cats. 324 and 325 and the essay by Robert S. Nelson in this publication). Seemingly cognizant of the central role that Venice would play in the preservation of Greek culture in the future, Bessarion tried in Crete to promote the cause of union by endowing a special college for Uniate priests, and he donated his collection of Greek manuscripts to the Biblioteca Marciana.[52]

As the advance of the Ottomans stripped Venice of many of its colonies, among them Negroponte and the Ionian islands, the face of Venice itself was changing with the arrival of Greek humanists. Greeks had taught Greek there since the fourteenth century (Maximos Planoudes, Demetrios Kydones, Simon Atumano, John Laskaris Caloferos, Manuel Chrysoloras [see cat. 314], and Maximos Chrysoverges), but after 1453 many more scholars moved to the city directly from Constantinople or via Crete. In 1495 the newly established press of Aldus Manutius began publishing philosophical and literary texts in Greek, which had a huge influence on the intellectual culture of the Republic.[53] The degree to which Hellenism and humanism became conflated with Byzantium and its culture can be seen in the architectural plans of San Giovanni Crisostomo by Mauro Codussi and the paintings of Giovanni Bellini (see cat. 306).[54]

The expatriate Greek community of Venice included merchants, members of the imperial family, artisans from the colonies, and soldiers.[55] Some of them offered their personal valuable objects as liturgical adornments for the church. Anna Palaiologina, for example, daughter of the grand duke Loukas Notaras, who served the last three Byzantine emperors, reportedly brought books, icons, and relics from Constantinople (cat. 307).[56] Others donated their property to the Greek community, including more than 350 religious icons, which currently form the collection of icons at the museum of the Istituto Ellenico di Venezia.[57] By 1470 the Greeks were allowed to celebrate their rite *(more greco)* at a side altar in the Latin church of Saint Biagio,[58] but it is not until after they founded a confraternity in 1498 under the name of Scuola di San Nicolò or *nazione greca* (Greek nation), that they were given permission to build their own Orthodox church (1514).[59] Paid for primarily by Greek sailors and merchants, the current Church of San Giorgio dei Greci was built from 1539 to 1577 on the Campo dei Greci.[60] Although the architects were Italian, the community insisted on using Greek painters for the decoration of the interior (fig. 15.1): in 1574 Michael Damaskenos executed a portion of the icons that adorn the templon, and the dome was painted by John the Cypriot under the supervision of Jacopo Tintoretto.[61] As Bessarion wrote to the doge in 1468, Venice had indeed become almost another Byzantium ("quasi alterum Byzantium").[62]

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298, detail of medallion at center

298. Podea of Paul, Patriarch of Constantinople

Byzantine (possibly Greece or Constantinople), ca. 1366–84
Embroidered silk
166.3 x 139.7 cm (65½ x 55 in.)
INSCRIBED: Around the edge of the central medallion, ΠΑΥΛΟC ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧ(ΗC) ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ (ΠΟΛΕΩC) ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑC ΡΩΜΗC (Paul Patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome); three monograms in the center of the medallion (left to right), ΔΟΥΚΑC (Doukas), ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡ(Χ)ΟΥ (Patriarch), and ΠΑΛΑΙ(Ο)Λ(Ο)ΓΟΝ (Palaiologos); above the monograms, B
PROVENANCE: Ex collection of Michel Boy (d. 1904), Paris; sold by Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 15–24, 1905, lot 945, to Bacri Frères; acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1912.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.104.1)

This large embroidered silk is an altar cloth or podea, a skirt for an icon painting, not a military banner as once thought.[1] It is one of the few surviving church embroideries made before the fifteenth century. The inscription, naming a patriarch of Constantinople, and the eagle design, a patriarchal and imperial symbol, suggest an ecclesiastical rather than a military use for the cloth.[2]

The double-headed eagle, a popular motif in the Palaiologan period, has flaring wings, as seen, for example, in the figures of archangels represented on other church embroideries (cats. 187, 190) as well as in Late Byzantine sculpture (cats. 50, 51) and icon painting (cat. 240). Similarly constructed ecclesiastical textiles, using animal motifs done in richly colored embroidery with silver threads on red backgrounds, are described in monastic inventories of the Late Byzantine period.[3]

This eagle cloth is historically significant because of its inscription, which connects the textile to either a Latin titular patriarch named Paul, archbishop of Thebes (1366–70), or, more likely, Paul Tagaris, a sinner who posed as the patriarch of Constantinople in the capitals of Europe. Tagaris falsely signed documents and commissioned artworks in his name.[4] He used the Palaiologan name in addition to the title "Patriarch of Constantinople," both of which are inscribed on the eagle. Because the cloth was made either for or by one of these Pauls, it was probably manufactured in Greece or Constantinople. JB

1. The piece arrived at the Metropolitan mounted on a backing with a sleeve (for a hanging rod) that was added in the nineteenth century; it had been sold with two battle standards, which led to its identification as a battle flag (Boy 1905, no. 945).
2. On the use of imperial symbols in church ceremonies, see Woodfin 2002.
3. Red threads can be seen on the back of the embroidery, suggesting that it once was mounted on red cloth. For a description of similar textiles, see "Inventory of the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa in Stroumitza" (dated 1449), translated by Anastasius Bandy with Nancy Patterson Ševčenko in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, http://www.doaks.org/typikaPDF/typ075.pdf.
4. On Paul Tagaris's career, see Nicol 1970; on Paul, archbishop of Thebes, see Meyendorff 1960. I argue that Paul Tagaris and Paul, archbishop of Thebes, are the most likely candidates for the Paul named in the inscription, and that Paul Tagaris is more plausible because of the monograms on the eagle's breast.

REFERENCES: Boy 1905, no. 945; Dean 1914.

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299. Icon with Saint Michael the Archangel

Italo-Byzantine, late 13th century
Tempera and gold on gessoed wood
32.8 x 24.5 cm (12⅞ x 9⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: AR[CHANGELUS] MICHAEL (Archangel Michael)
PROVENANCE: Boys' Orphanage, Pisa.
CONDITION: The painting is in good condition.
Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Italy

The fluent highlights and pastel colors of this icon reflect the painter's full conversancy with Palaiologan art. The archangel's clothing—red boots signaling imperial service, military tunic belted high on the chest and hemmed with gold over a tight-sleeved lower tunic, courtier's chlamys tied on one shoulder—echoes that of the archangels in the parekklesion of Saint Savior in the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), Constantinople.[1] Usually, Michael wears his cuirass along with a short tunic, but one of the unarmed Chora angels, too, has the shorter garment,[2] as does Michael in an Italian altar frontal of 1250–1300.[3] Although archangels customarily carry globes, the medallion with Christ Emmanuel appears from the twelfth century onward.[4] Michael had many roles in Byzantium: as commander in chief of the heavenly hosts, as healer, as psychopomp. As psychopomp he figures in scenes of the Last Judgment, weighing or conducting souls and combating demons. This end-time drama does not enter into any known Byzantine icon of Michael alone; devil (lower right) and scales (above) are exceptional and point to Western intervention. W. F. Volbach suggests that the Latin inscription, along with the demon and scales, represents a later insertion, and indeed the scales hang without support. Viktor Lazarev, in turn, concludes from these elements that the panel was produced by a Palaiologan painter in Italy, just the kind of up-to-date Greek who could have trained

Duccio. The icon's fluent style, so unlike the residual Komnenian linearism in many Italian panels, drew the attention of early scholars, but its Italianate inflection, which makes it too Italian for Byzantinists, while remaining too Byzantine for Italianists, has caused the icon to receive little recent attention. It is valuable to restore it to consideration of Late Byzantine artistic relations.

AWC

1. See Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, p. 214.
2. Ibid., vol. 3, no. 217, pl. 417.
3. Venice 1974, no. 64: gilded silver *pala* in the Museo Provinciale, Torcello.
4. As in the beautiful steatite now in the Museo Bandini in Fiesole, published in Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, vol. 1, pp. 119–22, vol. 2, no. 30, with discussion of the medallion with Christ Emmanuel on pp. 121–22.

References: Marle 1923–38, vol. 1, p. 296; Kondakov 1927, pp. 100–101; Lazarev 1931, pp. 159–60, pl. 1 (printed in reverse); Bettini 1938–39, vol. 1, pp. 52 (repr.), 54; Veidle 1950, pl. 21; Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, p. 83, pl. 98B; D. T. Rice 1959, pp. 86, 336, no. 189; D. T. Rice 1963, p. 242, fig. 226; Athens 1964, pp. 265–66, no. 224; Lazarev 1967, pp. 285, 323, 326, fig. 446; Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, p. 181, no. 48; Weitzmann et al. 1968, pp. xxxiv–xxxv, lxxxvi, no. 77; Pallas 1978, p. 46; Lazarev 1986, vol. 1, pp. 130, 142, vol. 2, fig. 434.

300. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin Eleousa and Saint John the Baptist

Constantinople (?), late 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
188 x 68.3 cm (74 x 26⅞ in.)
Inscribed: On the obverse, flanking the Virgin, $\overline{\text{MP}}$ and $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ (Mother of God); above her shoulder, Η ΕΛΕΟΥCΑ (The Merciful); flanking Christ's halo, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ); above the donor, ΙΩ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΗΚΟΜΗΔΗΑC (John, Bishop of Nikomedeia). On the reverse, above the saint, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC / Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC (Saint John Prodromos); on the scroll, ΜΕΤΑ-ΝΟΕΙΤΕ ΗΓΓΕΙΚΕΝ ΓΑΡ Η ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ (Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand)
Roman Catholic Cathedral, Naxos, Greece

The two-sided icon shows on the obverse a slender full-length Virgin wearing a dark blue maphorion and holding the Christ Child in her left arm. This variation of the more formal Hodegetria type, with the Virgin bending her head slightly toward the Christ Child and touching his knee,[1] suggests a physical and emotional relationship between them. In his turn the Christ Child makes a blessing gesture while lifting his head toward his mother and seemingly holding her right hand. The icon

300, obverse

attests to the new trend that arose in the thirteenth century: the humanization of the images of the Virgin and Child, which ultimately led to the representation of a human infant responding to his mother.[2] At the bottom right, on the golden ground, a kneeling bishop wears a Western tiara and a pallium with crosses, both liturgical vestments proper to the Roman Catholic Church. The inscription above, which was overpainted in post-Byzantine times, identifies the figure as John, bishop of Nikomedeia, the donor of the icon.[3] On the reverse the thin figure of Saint John the Baptist, dressed in a short sleeveless chiton over a camel-hair pelt, is seen in a desert landscape. John holds a scepter surmounted by a cross and an unfurling scroll inscribed with a line from the Gospel related to his teaching in the wilderness.

This work displays stylistic elements of late-thirteenth-century Constantinopolitan painting. Until 1972, when it underwent a restoration, only one-third of the image was visible, the Virgin shown bust length with the Christ Child in her arms; the rest of the icon was covered with an ornamental silver revetment.[4] PL

1. An identical iconography can be found in a painting of the Virgin Brephokratousa (1313–14) on the north wall of the King's Church at Studenica Monastery, Serbia.
2. Mouriki 1991a, p. 165.
3. Athens 2000–2001a, p. 434: "The limited sample cleaning at this part of the painting, intended to uncover the older appellation, revealed traces of an inscription in minuscule letters which do not make up, or at least not yet, the name of the donor bishop."
4. This explains the description of the icon by a papal nuncio from the order of the Friars Minor Capuchins in 1652 as "the whole picture being covered with a lamina of silver, except for the two faces" (coperto tutto il quadro di lame d'argento, fuor delle due facie). Hofmann 1934–38, vol. 4, p. 85.

References: Elytês et al. 1992, fig. 128; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 434–37.

301. Two-Sided Icon with "Our Lady of the Benedictines" and Saint Peter

Venice or Zadar, early 14th century
Tempera, gold on wood
168 x 88 cm (66⅛ x 34⅝ in.)
Inscribed: On the obverse, above the Virgin, $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ (Mother of God). On the reverse, above Saint Peter, S. PETRVS
Benedictine Convent of Saint Mary, Zadar, Croatia

This enthroned Virgin and Child, framed in a projecting arch supported by spiral-fluted Corinthian columns and with angels in the spandels, was the central panel of a triptych with movable wings.[1] The image is a modification of the Hodegetria,[2] in which, rather than gesturing toward the Christ Child, the Virgin offers him a flower.[3] He holds a scroll in his lap and regards the flower—a rose[4]—while his right hand reaches for it rather than making the traditional gesture of blessing. The figure of the kneeling donor (in the lower left corner) wears a fur-lined scarlet cloak with a fur collar. The rim of his cap is also fur.[5] His robes indicate his status, as only doctors, notaries, and knights were permitted to wear this color and type of fur.[6] The artist has paid particular attention to the textiles: the Virgin's bright pink-red tunic glowing under the dark maphorion brocaded with golden flowers; Christ's red mantle, equally bright; the complementary colors of the

301, obverse

301, reverse

angels' dress. The icon is the product of an artist working in the Adriatic basin who—as indicated by the modified iconography,[7] the color palette, and the precious textiles—was obviously able to infuse Venetian elements into the Byzantine icon tradition. His attempt at a perspectival treatment of the throne and the similarity of the realistic representation of the donor to a painting by Paolo Veneziano of 1310[8] suggest a date around the first decade of the fourteenth century.[9] The standing figure of Saint Peter[10] on the back is probably the work of an assistant. PL

1. Garrison 1949, p. 120.
2. Mouriki 1991a, p. 171.
3. In Vatican 1999–2000, p. 443, it is described as a piece of fruit.
4. According to the mystic tradition, the blood oozing from the Savior's wounds turned the Virgin's rose red (Réau 1955–59, vol. 1, p. 133).
5. In medieval times, squirrel skin was widely used.
6. Levi Pisetzky 1964, vol. 1, fig. 179.
7. The iconography of the Virgin holding a flower was very popular in the Venetian area, especially in the paintings of Paolo Veneziano.
8. Pallucchini 1964, pp. 71–72, fig. 17.
9. Gamulin 1957, p. 151; Pallucchini 1964, p. 72; Lazarev 1965, p. 30 n. 42; Zagreb 1990, p. 37.
10. Unlike the inscription on the front, which is in Greek, that on the back is in Latin.

References: Sabalich 1906; Cecchelli 1932, p. 71; Garrison 1949, p. 120, fig. 310; P. Toesca 1951, p. 702 n. 230; Gamulin 1957, pls. 26–28; Pallucchini 1964, pp. 71–72, fig. 242; Lazarev 1965, p. 21, figs. 21–22; Sarajevo 1971, pp. 118, 129, fig. 182; Petricioli 1980, p. 60, fig. 26; Ivančević 1986, p. 101, fig. 83; Zagreb 1987b, p. 113; Zagreb 1990, pp. 66–68, no. 99; Vatican 1999–2000, pp. 442–43, no. 30; Rimini 2002, p. 34.

302. Madonna of Březnice

Bohemia, 1396
Tempera and gold leaf on parchment and linen over panel
41.5 x 29.5 cm (16 3/8 x 11 5/8 in.)
INSCRIBED: On the halo of the Virgin, nigra sum, sed formosa fili[a]e ier[usalem] (I am black, but beautiful, O ye daughters of Jerusalem [Song of Solomon 1:4]); on the reverse, [Haec] ymago gloriose virginis marie depicta est procu[rante] Serenissimo principe et domino wencesslao Ro[mano]rum et Boemie illustrissimo Rege ad similitudinem [y]maginis que habetur in Rudnycz, quam sanctus lucas propria manu depinxit. Anno domini m°ccc°lxxx sexto. (This glorious image of the Virgin Mary, procured by the most serene prince, lord of the Romans, Wenceslas, most illustrious king of Bohemia, was painted to resemble the image which is kept in Roudnice, which Saint Luke with his own hand painted. The year of the Lord 1396)
PROVENANCE: Original provenance unknown; in the Castle Chapel at Březnice prior to World War II; Národní Galerie, Prague, 1945; restituted to the Parish Church of Saint Ignatius, Březnice, 1990s; on loan to the Národni Galerie, Prague.
CONDITION: The icon was restored in 1948.
The Roman Catholic Parish of Březnice, The Bishopric of České Budějovice, Czech Republic

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Dialogue between the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Byzantine Empire is manifest in a number of areas in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century—political, religious, and artistic—but nowhere is it more explicitly evidenced than in the image of the Virgin and Child from Březnice Castle. Its composition closely mirrors that of an icon of the Virgin, the wing of a diptych of about 1280 preserved at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai (cat. 214), which in turn depends on a famous icon from the Kykkos Monastery, Cyprus. The rapport between the Sinai and Březnice icons is particularly noticeable in the manner in which the Virgin Mary cradles the infant Jesus in her arms, supporting one tiny foot in the hollow of her hand and the other on the edge of her forearm. Details of costume also conform to a common type, especially the star-studded mantle of the Virgin and robe of the Child, which, in the case of the Bohemian example, now lacks definition.

A Latin inscription on the reverse indicates that the panel was acquired by Wenceslas IV in 1396 and was based on an image, believed to have been painted by Saint Luke, which at the time was kept at Roudnice. It most likely was the property of the Augustinian canons or of the archbishop of Prague, who maintained a summer residence there. It has been suggested that the Roudnice icon reached Bohemia during the reign of Charles IV (1355–78), Wenceslas's father, as the gift of Peter I, the French king of Cyprus;[1] as such, this now-lost icon would not be a unique case. The Church of Saint Thomas, Brno, for example, still preserves an icon of the Virgin, probably Byzantine, that was the gift of Charles IV to the Augustinians of Brno in 1336.[2]

The dark features of the Virgin stem from her association, which is spelled out explicitly in her halo, with poetic imagery evoked in the Song of Solomon. The rinceaux decoration of the gold ground is a characteristically Bohemian feature of the panel. BDB

1. Myslivec 1970, pp. 343–45.
2. Belting 1994, p. 333.

REFERENCES: Matějček 1938, no. 284, pp. 165–66, fig. 272; Myslivec 1970, pp. 337–38, fig. 1; Kořan and Jakubowski 1976, pp. 225–27, fig. 6; Stejskal 1988, pp. 159–61, fig. 2; Schwarz 1993–94, p. 668, fig. 3; Belting 1994, pp. 335–37, 436; Bartlová 2001, pp. 118–20, fig. 4.

303. Pendant Icon with Virgin and Child

Steatite: Byzantine, late 10th–early 11th century
Frame: western Europe, mid-14th century
Steatite, silver gilt, pearls
5.2 x 4 cm (2 x 1⅝ in.); with frame 6.7 x 5.2 cm (2⅝ x 2 in.)
INSCRIBED: hanc imaginem fecit S. Lucas Ev. ad similitudinem B. V. Mariae (Saint Luke the Evangelist made this image in the likeness of the Blessed Virgin Mary)
PROVENANCE: Aachen Treasury until 1804; Empress Joséphine of France; Eugène de Beauharnais; Daguerre, Paris; César de Hauke, Paris.
CONDITION: The steatite has wear across the faces of the Virgin and Child.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (1951.445.1–2)

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This carved steatite pendant of the Virgin Hodegetria Dexiokratousa (Right-Handed), encased in a fourteenth-century silver-gilt Gothic mount adorned with pearls, is a variant of one of Byzantium's most revered icons, the Virgin Hodegetria. According to tradition, the original image was an actual portrait of the Virgin and Child painted by the evangelist Luke.[1] Here, the Virgin gazes at the viewer while gesturing to the Christ Child, held on her right arm; Christ sits upright, holding a scroll on his lap and extending his right hand in blessing. The pendant, known as the Lukasmadonna (Madonna of Saint Luke), is representative of Byzantine objects that traveled between Byzantium and the West as gifts, diplomatic exchanges, and, after the Fourth Crusade, spoils from Constantinople. While it is not known how the steatite entered the treasury at Aachen, the inscription on its new mount clearly suggests that the image was valued in the West for its association with Saint Luke and for the authenticity of the portrait. Luke's symbol, the winged ox, is engraved on the reverse.

Western reverence for the true image of the Virgin shaped much of the pendant's history, including its incorporation into the legendary history of Charlemagne. The seventeenth-century chronicles of Petrus a Beeck and Johannes Noppius refer to three reliquaries that hung from Charlemagne's neck when the emperor's tomb was opened by Otto III about the year 1000. Noppius describes one of the reliquaries as an image of the Virgin, resembling that painted by Saint Luke, on a small bright green stone about two fingers in width.[2] Although Noppius's description seems to refer to this pendant, the dating of the steatite to the late tenth–early eleventh century makes it impossible for the image to have been buried with Charlemagne. Ernst Grimme has suggested that the Lukasmadonna may have been at Aachen in 1349, when Charles IV endowed the chapel with a bust of Charlemagne.[3]

BR

1. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Virgin Hodegetria."
2. Montesquiou-Fezensac 1962, pp. 69–70.
3. Grimme 1965, p. 51.

REFERENCES: Montesquiou-Fezensac 1962, pp. 69–70; Cleveland 1963, no. 54; Grimme 1965, p. 51; Grimme 1972, no. 33, pp. 49–50, pl. 35; De Winter 1985, p. 20, fig. 14; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 32, pp. 124–25, fig. 32 (with bibl.); Belting 1994, pp. 334–35, fig. 203.

304. Triptych with the Virgin and Saints Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom

Constantinople (?), 14th century
Gilt bronze
Open 16.5 x 19 cm (6½ x 7¾ in.), closed 16.5 x 9 cm (6½ x 3½ in.)
INSCRIBED: A[ΓIOC] ΓPHΓωP[IOC] O ΘEOΛ[OΓOC] (Saint Gregory the Theologian); $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ (Mother of God); A[ΓIOC] Iω[ANNHC] O XPI[COCTOMOC] (Saint John Chrysostom); on the exterior of the wings, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ NIKA (Christ conquers)
PROVENANCE: Purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1855.
The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1613-1855)

Cast metal was much less usual in Byzantium than repoussé work. The most famous cast-metal objects were bronze doors, but liturgical objects from throughout the life of the empire have also survived.[1] Because this triptych resembles ivories, it has been proposed that an ivory was used as a matrix. Although the Byzantines made wax models of precious objects, the technique of casting using a matrix became current only in fifteenth-century Italy.[2]

The triptych has been traditionally dated to the twelfth century, but certain details point to a later period. The enthroned Virgin is not common on icons, though the image figures prominently in church apses—in fact, the iconographic detail of the two cushions used on the triptych points to the image of the enthroned Virgin in the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople—and it also appears on coins during the last quarter of the twelfth century.[3] The motif was used on portable objects, such as patriarchal seals, from the end of the thirteenth century onward and later on icons from Crete.[4] Otherwise the triptych displays typical Byzantine iconography: the suppedaneum on which the Virgin's feet rest, the halos studded with elongated pearls, the ornamented back of the throne, and the cross ending in pelleted disks were all customary features on Byzantine ivories.[5]

The zigzag pattern on the closed wings and the ornamental treatment of the cloth that wraps around the left hand of the two standing saints are almost identical to elements on the so-called Borradaile ivory triptych, dated to ca. 988, now at the British Museum, London.[6] Furthermore, the face and the veil of the Virgin here correspond to those in the Utrecht and Metropolitan ivories of the standing Virgin and Child.[7] In the present work the head of the Virgin seems smaller than those of the saints on the wings,

304, open

304, closed

304, detail of arms on left wing

304, detail of arms on right wing

which suggests that each part may have been molded on a different piece.[8]

The dating of this triptych is further complicated by two unidentified coats of arms applied on the exterior of the wings.[9] The shield displays two sets of bezants (golden roundels), three in the upper and two in the lower section, and a wavy or indented line in the middle. The coats of arms were made in a lower relief than the rest of the piece, as if they were stamped, and may have been added when the triptych entered a particular collection in the early modern period.[10] This impression is strengthened by the fact that the coat of arms on the right wing seems to have been struck more than once.

Although we cannot exclude the possibility that this work was executed in Venice, the unique combination of traditional Byzantine elements points to a place of manufacture within the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire, possibly Constantinople, in the fourteenth century. MG

1. Anthony Cutler, "The Industries of Art," in Laiou 2002, vol. 2, p. 573. A significant Palaiologan example of doors from Hagia Sophia of Thessalonike is now in the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos; cf. Bréhier 1936, p. 83, pl. 50. On a katzion (standing censer) and a polykandelon (lighting fixture with several lamps) of the Palaiologan period, see Buckton 1994b, nos. 216–17. Two bronze plaques from the Byzantine Museum of Athens also offer comparisons with the triptych; see Athens 1985–86, nos. 205, 211, pp. 192, 194.
2. Bréhier 1936, pl. 49, p. 83. A tenth-century example of a wax model is the emerald intaglio set in a silver paten that was presented by the Kievan Princess Olga to the patriarch of Constantinople; see Dalton 1911, p. 640. For casting methods in general, see Stone 1981.
3. For the icon, see Muñoz 1928, no. 48, p. 230. Two later Russian icons display the enthroned Christ seated on two cushions; see ibid., nos. 75, 79, pp. 281, 290. The coins are of Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183–85) and Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185–95, 1203–4).
4. Zacos and Veglery 1972, vol. 2, nos. 41, 49–51: seals of Athanasios I (r. 1289–93, 1303–9) and from Neilos Kerameus (r. 1380–88) to Matthew I (r. 1397–1410), all patriarchs of Constantinople. I would like to thank Dr. John Cotsonis for helping me with the iconography of the seals.
5. The suppedaneum can be seen on the mid-tenth-century coronation ivory of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in Moscow; the pearl-studded halos became current in the eleventh century; and a similar ornamented throne has a parallel in a green jasper cameo from the Kanellopoulos collection in Athens that has been dated to the thirteenth century; see Brussels 1982, no. 6; Athens 1964, no. 120. Saints' medallions, usually paired with crosses ending in pelleted disks, are absent on the Victoria and Albert triptych.
6. Cutler 1994, p. 236, fig. 242; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930–34, vol. 2, no. 41b. The unusual zigzag pattern also appears on the ivory of the collection of Lady Ludlow in London (no. 78) and an ivory at the Free Public Museum of Liverpool (no. 155b).
7. Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (ABM b.i. 751), and Metropolitan Museum of Art (17.190.103); see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930–34, vol. 2, nos. 46, 48 and New York 1997, nos. 85, 86.
8. Similarly, a metal casket with fourteen Eastern saints, now in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, seems to copy Byzantine prototypes, but the eclecticism of the figures suggests that the artist may not have used the same matrix throughout and may have copied different models; see Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, no. 154, pp. 136, 157–59, pls. 146–147.
9. According to the Victoria and Albert Museum records, they belong to the Venetian family of Pisani or Riva, but my research on Venetian and other Italian heraldic symbols has not allowed me to identify securely the owners of the escutcheons. The comprehensive studies *Le Arme, overo, Insegne di tutti li nobili della magnifica, et illustrissima città di Venetia c'hora viuono. Nuovamente raccolte et poste in luce* (Venice, 1561); Vincenzo Coronelli, *Blasone Veneto o gentilizie insegne delle famiglie patrizie oggi esistenti in Venezia* (1706; Venice, 1975); and Eugenio Morando di Custoza, *Libro d'arme di Venezia* (Verona, 1979), contain no identical heraldic symbols.
10. Compare the much earlier data on the Byzantine silver stamps studied by Dodd 1961, pp. 2–3. Dodd noticed that in most cases the stamps were applied on the object after the vessel was shaped but before the decoration was executed, although there were also instances in which the stamps were applied after the decoration was complete.

REFERENCES: Dalton 1911, p. 561; Paris 1931, no. 452; Bréhier 1936, p. 83, pl. 49; Athens 1964, no. 561; Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, no. 79, p. 197; Brussels 1982, no. Br.26, p. 183.

305. Icon of the Virgin Eleousa with Dodekaorton Scenes and Saints

Venice (?), mid-14th century
Tempera on wood, stucco, *verre églomisé*
42 x 30 cm (16½ x 11¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Acquired in Athens on March 5, 1934, by Anthony Benakis from the art dealer Theodore Zoumboulakis.
CONDITION: The icon is in a poor state of preservation. Some of the dodekaorton scenes and the apostles' busts on the frame are missing. Conservation took place at the Benaki Museum from 1988 to 1990 under Kalypso Milanou.
Benaki Museum, Athens (2972)

This icon uniquely combines different techniques on a single wooden surface. The Virgin Eleousa with the Christ Child in her arms, shown at the center of the icon, is executed in tempera on gesso, which is the traditional technique for icon painting. The glass plaques with the evangelists Luke and Matthew, on the faces of the arch that crowns the central representation of the

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Virgin Eleousa, are in the *verre églomisé* technique, in which the picture is first engraved and then colored on the reverse of the glass.[1] The compartments with the dodekaorton scenes on the frame are in stucco and have traces of gold on the halos and blue in the ground. Finally, the apostles' busts on the frame, which alternate with the dodekaorton scenes, are executed in tempera on gold and silver leaf.

In this icon, features of traditional Late Byzantine iconography and style are coupled with elements found in Italian and particularly in Venetian art. The posture of the Christ Child in the Virgin's arms, for example, with one arm touching his mother's chin and the other hanging down is found in fourteenth-century Byzantine icons.[2] There is also a close relationship between the relief scenes of the dodekaorton and those on the silver revetment of an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, thought to be a Constantinopolitan work and dated to the first decades of the fourteenth century.[3] However, the rendering of the Virgin's face, with its taut skin, almond-shaped eyes, delicately arched eyebrows, thin nose, and a groove between the nose and the top lip, is to be found in fourteenth-century Venetian painting, especially in the work of Paolo Veneziano.[4] Other features that recall fourteenth-century Venetian art are the punched halo of the Virgin,[5] Christ's radiate incised halo, the trilobed arches with portraits of the apostles on the frame, the *verre églomisé,* and the woodcarving (spiral columns, ropelike molding).[6] To these elements can be added others, revealed by technical analyses,[7] which show that the priming of the panel was in the two-layer gesso technique (gesso *grosso* and gesso *sottile*) favored in central and northern Italy.[8]

All these elements suggest that the panel was produced in a Venetian workshop, but by a Byzantine painter, one better acquainted with Byzantine than with Venetian traditions. The dimensions of the panel and its character may suggest that this was a private commission by an individual who was familiar with contemporary artistic trends in Venice and Byzantium. Some of the material and techniques employed for the icon were substitutes for more expensive and elaborate ones (stucco instead of steatite plaques, *verre églomisé* instead of enamel plaques), which may indicate that the person who commissioned the icon had pretensions beyond his financial means. MaV

1. Eisler 1961b; Gordon 1981; Gordon 2002a; Pettenati 1973; Pettenati 1978.
2. Such as the icon of the Virgin Eleousa in the Philotheou Monastery, on Mount Athos, dated to the mid-fourteenth century (Tsigaridas 1991, p. 654, pl. 355), and an icon now in the Kremlin Museum, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century (Smirnova 1989, no. 5, pp. 260–61).
3. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998, p. 486, pl. 433.
4. Muraro 1970, pp. 116–17, pls. 120–121.
5. Skaug 1994.
6. Muraro 1970, pls. 28–32, 34, 44, 53, 113–114.
7. Milanou 1997, Milanou 2002.
8. There is a very detailed account of this technique by Cennino Cennini in his *Libro dell'arte,* about 1390; see Cennini 1960, pp. 70–74, esp. 70–71. See also London 1989–90, pp. 17–18; Dunkerton et al. 1991, p. 163.

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306. Icon of the Virgin and Child

Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1430–1516)
Venice, ca. 1475
Oil on wood
53 x 43 cm (21 x 16¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collection of Conte Niccolò d'Attimis Maniago, Spilimbergo, Lombardy. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel E. Kress Collection (1939.1.352)

REFERENCES: Xyngopoulos 1936, pp. 1–4, pls. 1–4; Beckwith 1966 (rpt.), p. 285, fig. 14; Delivorrias 1980, p. 37, fig. 28; Baltoyianni 1986, p. 49; Vassilaki 1991a, p. 1213; Baltoyianni 1991–92, pp. 224–26; Athens 1994, no. 43; Baltoyianni 1994, no. 20, pls. 39–40; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, figs. 442–443; Milanou 1997; Athens 2000–2001a, no. 73; Athens 2001–2, no. 172; Gordon 2002a; Kouzeli 2002; Milanou 2002; Vassilaki 2002.

Giovanni Bellini produced numerous paintings of the Virgin and Child. His success was due to an inventive treatment of the subject that at the same time maintained the traditional form and meaning of the image. In this painting the Virgin presents the Child on a ledge that is reminiscent of an altar and thus the tomb associated with his death and sacrifice.[1] The limpness of the dressed Child foreshadows the inevitability of the situation.

The half-length, frontal representation of the Virgin dressed in Byzantine garb has been

interpreted as a conscious effort on Bellini's part to emulate the essence of Byzantine icons of Mary, both as personal portraits painted by Saint Luke and as contemplative, devotional objects.[2] Byzantine works such as the Virgin Nikopoios in San Marco and the contemporary Cretan icons that were traded in Venice in this period surely had an impact on the artist's depictions.

Bellini's portrayals of the Virgin and Child focus on the sacred figures, employing traditional Byzantine features for the Virgin: the veil that covers the hair, the tapered oval face with broad cheeks, straight, narrow nose, and large eyes that do not look directly at the viewer. The traditional Byzantine shadow between lip and chin and the gaze and furrowed brow of the Virgin encapsulate the sorrow and pain of the mother who foresees the death of her child.[3] The National Gallery painting has been compared to the so-called *Madonna Greca* in the Pinacoteca di Brera (ca. 1476–77), on which Bellini used the Greek designation for the Virgin, MP ΘY.[4]

MG

1. Goffen 1989, p. 28.
2. Goffen 1975.
3. Ibid., p. 490.
4. Robertson 1981, p. 79.

REFERENCES: New York 1924, no. 39; Duveen 1941, fig. 80; NGA 1941a, pp. 70 (repr.), 248; NGA 1941b, p. 21; NGA 1945, p. 90 (repr.); NGA 1965, p. 12; NGA 1968, p. 4 (repr.); Shapley 1968, p. 39, fig. 94; NGA 1975, p. 20 (repr.); Shapley 1979, vol. 1, pp. 56–57, vol. 2, pl. 32; Robertson 1981, p. 79; NGA 1985, p. 40 (repr.).

307. Icon of Christ Pantokrator with Apostles and Prophets

Byzantine (Constantinople?), first half of 14th century
Tempera on wood
110 x 79 cm (43⅜ x 31⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: On Christ's book, ΟΥΤΩC ΓΑΡ ΗΓΑ[ΠΗC]ΕΝ [Ο ΘΕΟC] ΤΟΝ [ΚΟ]CΜΟΝ [ΩCΤΕ] ΤΟΝ [ΥΙΟΝ] ΤΟΝ ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΔΩ[ΚΕΝ] ΙΝΑ ΠΑC Ο ΠΙCΤΕΥΩΝ ΕΙC ΑΥΤΟΝ ΜΗ ΑΠΟΛΗΤΑΙ [ΑΛΛ] ΕΧΗ [ΖΩ]ΗΝ ΑΙ[Ω]ΝΙΟΝ ΟΥ ΓΑ[Ρ] ΑΠΕCΤΕΙ[ΛΕΝ Ο ΘΕΟC] ΤΟΝ ΥΟΝ [ΕΙC ΤΟΝ] ΚΟCΜΟΝ (For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world [John 3: 16–17])
At left, from bottom to top: ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ ΥΜΑC ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΑΠΕΧΕCΘΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΗC ΚΟCΜΟΥ (Please, brethren, retreat from the world)
ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟC ΚΑΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟC ΗΝ ΠΡΟC ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟC ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟC (In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God [John 1:1])
ΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΙΗCΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΩC ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ (The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ as it is written [Mark 1:1])
ΜΗ ΑΓΑΠΑΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΟCΜΟΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΟCΜΩ (Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world [1 John 2:15])
ΙΔΟΥ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΟC ΠΟΙΗCΑΙ ΚΡΙCΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑCΙΝ (Behold, the Lord cometh . . . to execute judgment upon all [Jude 14–15])
ΑCΦΑΛΙCΑCΘΕ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΕΑΥΤΟΥC ΠΡΟ ΤΗC ΩΡΑC ΕΚΕΙΝΗC (Prepare yourselves, brethren, before that time)
ΜΑΚΡΟΘΥΜΗCΑΤΕ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΕΩC ΤΗC ΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑC (Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord [James 5:7])
At right, from bottom to top:
ΟCΤΙC . . . ΦΟΒΕΡΟΝ (Who . . . terrible)
ΒΙΒΛΟC ΓΕΝΕCΕΩC ΙΗCΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΔΑΥΙΔ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ (The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham [Matthew 1:1])
ΠΡΟCΕΧΕΤΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΥC ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΠΟΙΜΝΙΩ (Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock [Acts 20:28])
ΟΡΑΤΕ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΙ ΜΗΔΕΙC ΑΠΟΓΙΝΩCΚΕΤΟ, (See that no man know it [Matthew 9:30])
ΦΟΒΕΡΑ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ Η ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ (Brethren, the coming of Christ is terrible)
CΤΗΡΙΞΑΤΕ ΤΑC ΚΑΡΔΙΑC ΥΜΩΝ ΟΤΙ Η ΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ (Stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord [draweth nigh] [James 5:8])
CONDITION: The icon was cleaned in 1959 and restored in 1999.
Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Venice (242, cat. 1)

As the most precious Byzantine possession of the Greek community in Venice, this icon of Christ Pantokrator is located on the iconostasis of the Orthodox Church of San Giorgio dei Greci (Saint George of the Greeks). According to an inventory of 1528, it was brought from Constantinople.[1] Manolis Chatzidakis associated the donor with Anna Palaiologina, daughter of Grand Duke Loukas Notaras.[2]

Jesus, shown in bust form, is young and pensive. He appears in a frontal view with his face turning slightly to the right. His dark purple tunic is decorated with a clavus and its folds are accentuated with dense, golden highlights. The facial features are rendered in fine lines consistent with the elegant metropolitan style of the fourteenth century.

He blesses with his right hand and holds an open book inscribed with a passage from John 3:16–17 in his left hand. The raised side margins of the icon portray the Four Evangelists, eight apostles, and four prophets in bust form. Shown at the left, from bottom to top, are Peter, John the Evangelist, Mark, Andrew, an unidentifiable apostle, Philip (?), and two unidentifiable prophets. At the right, from bottom to top, are Paul, Matthew, Luke (very damaged), Bartholomew (?), James, Thomas (?), and two damaged prophets. All hold open books with sections from their writings or other passages that have an apocalyptic meaning consistent with the general meaning of the theme of the Pantokrator.

The icon has been overpainted, and once had an eighteenth-century silver revetment of a crown over the area of the halo that has left traces on the icon.

MG

1. The inventory reads: "Una imagine del nostro Signor JhsX con i sua apostoli e Evangelisti atorno, fo de regalo Dichisa la porto de Costantinopoli, belisima e vale moltto"; see Venice 2002, no. 1, p. 119.
2. M. Chatzidakis 1962, p. 6. Anna arrived in Venice in 1475 and left her precious possessions to the Greek community on her death in 1507. On Anna Notara, see Nicol 1994, pp. 98–104; Mertzios 1949.

REFERENCES: M. Chatzidakis 1962, pp. 4–7, no. 1; Maltezou 1999, pp. 46–47, no. 26; Hellenic Institute 2000, pp. 40–41.

308. Icon of Christ Carrying the Cross

Nikolaos Tzafouris (active 1489–93; d. before 1501)
Crete (Candia [Iráklion]?), last decade of the 15th century
Tempera on wood
69.2 x 54.6 cm (27¼ x 21½ in.)
INSCRIBED: ΕΛΚΟΜΕΝΟC ΕΠΙ CΤΑΥΡΟΥ ([Christ] being dragged to the Cross); above, IC XC (Jesus Christ); on the soldier's banner, SPQR
SIGNED: NICOLAUS ZAFURI PINXIT (Nikolaos Tzafouris painted it)
PROVENANCE: Unknown; acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum, 1929.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors, 1929 (29.158.746)

This painting is one of the five surviving panels signed by the Cretan painter Nikolaos Tzafouris. The combination of a Byzantine and Latin pictorial language is echoed by the artist's use of one language for his signature and another for the title of the scene.

In the typical Byzantine iconography for this episode of Christ's Passion, Simon of Cyrene holds the Cross. Here the painter instead follows current Italian prototypes, which base their portrayal on the Gospel of John (19:16–17) and the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.[1] Christ wears a long red, almost purple, tunic. His knees flex under the weight of the Cross, while his head is turned toward the soldier whose hand is on his shoulder. The dramatic effect is amplified by the rope around Jesus's neck.[2] Indeed, the drama of the event is echoed by the three typically Byzantine rock formations.

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By choosing to incorporate Byzantine and Italian sources, Tzafouris creates a solemn, monumental composition based on coloristic and thematic contrasts. The soldiers on the left wear short Byzantine armor rendered in warm red, gold, and green tones, whereas the soldier who pulls Christ by the rope is dressed in up-to-date Western armor painted white-silver.[3] The internal rhythm of the composition is set by the similar pose and gestures of the two soldiers who frame Christ. Faithful to his personal taste for detail, Tzafouris portrays the cuirasses and helmets of the soldiers in vivid detail and distinguishes the soldiers in the foreground with individualistic facial features, hairstyles, and expressions.

MG

1. Millet 1916, pp. 362–79; Vavalà 1929, pp. 266–72.
2. This was originally a Cappadocian feature that also appeared in Byzantium (on a manuscript from Constantinople [Athens 93] and a fresco from the Church of Christos, Veroia) and Palestine, as well as in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; see Derbes 1996, pp. 124, 128–37.
3. The different armors may have been intended to differentiate between the Jews and the Roman soldiers mentioned in the Gospel account; see Millet 1916, pp. 378–79.

References: Wehle 1940, p. 1; M. Chatzidakis 1987–97, vol. 1, p. 294; Baltimore 1988, p. 49, no. 52, p. 211, figs. 52–53.

309. Escutcheon with the Veil of Saint Veronica

El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos) (1541–1614)
Toledo, ca. 1579–late 1590s
Oil on wood
90 x 130 cm (35⅜ x 51⅛ in.)
Provenance: Part of the high altar of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo, until 1961; collection of Juan March Servera, Madrid, 1964; private collection, Madrid.
Private collection, Madrid

El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos) was born in 1541 in Candia (now Iráklion), Crete, which was at the time under Venetian rule. He thus grew up at a meeting place of two worlds, those of the Greek Orthodox East and Latin Roman Catholic West. He was trained as a painter in Crete, and his early surviving works exhibit the characteristics of Cretan icon painting, namely, the fusion of Byzantine tradition with distinctively Western innovations.[1] About 1567 he left Crete forever, but he never forgot his heritage. He continued to sign his works in Greek, and his initial training in the Byzantine-Cretan manner influenced the personal and indiosyncratic style that he developed later in Spain.[2] El Greco's Greek education and interests are also evident in the writings of the classical and ecclesiastical authors found in his library.

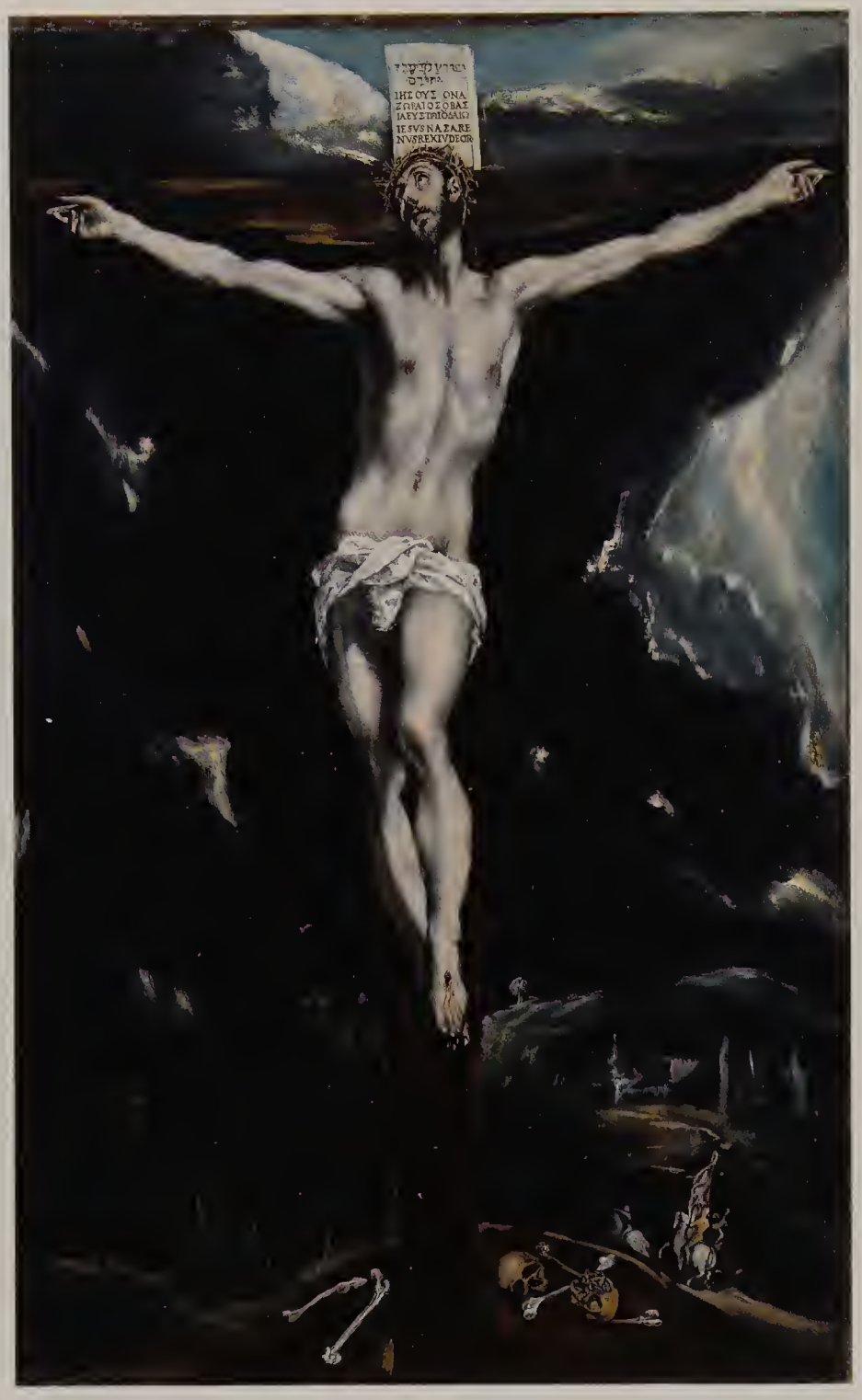
This escutcheon, originally part of the high altar of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo, depicts the legendary Veil of Saint Veronica.[3] According to the tradition, first recorded in the fourteenth century, a pious woman named Veronica wiped the face of Christ when, on his way to be crucified, he fell under the weight of the Cross. Christ's face was miraculously imprinted on the garment, which became a Vera Icon, a true image of Christ. Veronica's story was based on, or at least inspired by, a similar Byzantine legend, that of the Mandylion, one of the acheiropoieta ([icons] not made by human hands).[4] As the legend goes, Abgar, the king of Edessa in northern Syria, fell ill and sent for Christ's help. Christ gave Abgar's messenger a piece of cloth with which he had wiped his face, thus leaving on it an imprint of his features. Abgar was cured, and the piece of cloth, known as the Mandylion (Holy Towel), was honored as a venerable relic. Transferred to Constantinople in the tenth century, it was kept in the Church of Saint Mary of Pharos within the Great Palace. The Mandylion was likely one of the relics purchased by King Louis IX of France in 1247.

The way the two traditions conflated is not immediately clear. The earliest mention of an acheiropoieton in Rome is from the

year 752, and the use of the Greek term to describe it indicates the Byzantine origin of the object.[5] It has been suggested that the Greek pope John VII (r. 705–7) introduced to Rome the cult of the acheiropoieton; the notion of an "archetypal" image was further strengthened during the era of Iconoclasm (726–843).[6] Even though Roman records mention several images *non hominis manu picta* (not painted by human hands), the first such relic to which the term *veronica* was applied was the one kept in the Chapel of Sancta Maria ad Praesepe in Saint Peter's. Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) instituted the cult and an office of the Holy Face after a miracle that took place in 1216.[7]

El Greco painted several variations of Veronica's Veil, especially during his first years in Spain.[8] In this movingly beautiful painting, which is made even more so by the illusionistic treatment of the object, he opted for a more "Eastern" type, namely, depicting the veil by itself without Veronica holding it. Christ's aristocratic features, the calmness of his face, and the immediacy of his gaze are reminiscent of Byzantine images of the Mandylion (see cat. 96), although the style is of course entirely personal and different. VNM

1. New York–London 2003–4, nos. 1–2.
2. D. Davies 1995; see also the essays in M. Chatzidakis 1990.
3. New York–London 2003–4, pp. 114–17, no. 17; Toledo 1982–83, pp. 152–53, no. 8; Madrid–Rome–Athens 1999–2000, p. 372, no. 21; Mann 1986, pp. 43–44; Wethey 1962, vol. 2, p. 7, no. 6A.
4. For the Mandylion, see Dobschütz 1899, pp. 102–96, 158*–249*; Herbert L. Kessler, "Il *mandylion*," in Rome 2000–2001, pp. 67–76; Kessler and Wolf 1998; Runciman 1929–31.
5. It is mentioned in the life of Pope Stephen II: ". . . in a procession with the most sacred image of our lord god and savior Jesus Christ, which is called *acheropsita*" (. . . in letania cum sacratissima imagine domini dei et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi quae acheropsita nuncupatur); see Duchesne 1886–1957, vol. 1, p. 443. The various forms of the last word in the manuscript tradition *(achaereposita, achiropyta)* indicate that "acheropsita" is a Latinized version of "acheiropoieta."
6. Kuryluk 1991, p. 114.
7. Belting 1994, pp. 215–24; Kuryluk 1991, pp. 114–16.
8. New York–London 2003–4, p. 140; Madrid–Rome–Athens 1999–2000, p. 372.



310

310. Christ on the Cross

El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos) (1541–1614)
Toledo, 1595–1600
Oil on canvas
82.6 x 51.6 cm (32½ x 20⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: At the bottom of the cross in Greek,
ΔOMHNIKOC ΘEOTOKOΠOYΛO EΠOIA
(Domenikos Theotokopoulos made [this])
PROVENANCE: Private collection, Madrid, to 2000; sold, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2000, lot 36.
CONDITION: The paint surface is in very good condition with only small incidental losses, which were restored in 2000.
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (2000.40)

True to his origins as an icon painter, El Greco created devotional images that were repeated over and over again for his clients in Toledo.[1] This image of Christ on the Cross gazing heavenward was one of his most popular inventions, in part because isolated representations of the crucified Christ were particularly recommended for meditation during the Catholic Counter-Reformation. El Greco established the composition in *Christ on the Cross with Two Donors* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 1713), an altarpiece of the early 1580s,[2] and subsequently used it for other altarpieces and numerous small paintings, such as this one, for private devotion.[3]

In developing the composition, El Greco was inspired by Michelangelo's presentation drawing *Christ on the Cross* (British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings, DW67), in which the figure is depicted looking heavenward with his body and face contorted in heroic agony. El Greco transformed this model into a transcendent Christ whose idealized form is free from signs of physical suffering except for slight trickles of blood from the three nails.[4] The idealization of Christ's form reflects not only El Greco's assimilation of Italian Mannerist and Neo-Platonic ideals but also attitudes toward depicting the crucified Christ derived from his Byzantine heritage. The concern of Byzantine artists to indicate Christ's divinity on the Cross, to reconcile the contradiction between living God and dead man,[5] surely played some role in El Greco's evolution toward the elongated, soaring Christ in the Getty painting. Such a treatment of the crucified Christ, and the promise of eternal life that it implies, greatly appealed to the painter's Spanish contemporaries, who were far more accustomed to tortured depictions of the subject. The bold cloud forms that echo the figure of Christ may have been inspired by Byzantine patterning around holy figures.[6] DWC

1. El Greco and his workshop repeated his compositions far more than most of his contemporaries in Spain or Italy. On this aspect of his art, see particularly Jonathan Brown, "El Greco: An Introduction to His Life," and Susan Grace Galassi, "The Frick El Grecos," in New York 2001.
2. See Xavier Bray in New York–London 2003–4, pp. 132–35, no. 25.
3. Most of these versions are recorded in Wethey 1962, vol. 2, pp. 45–47, 48–51, 176–80.
4. El Greco consistently used three nails in depicting the crucified Christ, as did most of his contemporaries. By the early seventeenth century, artists in Spain were beginning to favor four; see J. Brown 1978, pp. 70–71.
5. See, for instance, Belting 1994, pp. 269–71.
6. This idea was first expressed in D. T. Rice 1937. On El Greco's Byzantine origins, see particularly D. Davies 1995.

REFERENCE: Vienna 2001, pp. 176–77, no. 25.

311. New Testament from the Monastery of Medzayr (Medsk'ar)

Armenian Cilicia (Sis), 1293, with additional 14th-century illuminations
Polychrome, red ink, ink, limited gilding, on vellum; 393 fols.
22.5 x 15.5 cm (8⅞ x 6⅛ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Armenian in part in the colophon on fol. 393v, "the work was copied under the protection of the Church of the Holy Virgin, in the Convent of Medzayr (Medsk'ar) near the capital of Sis." The colophon notes that it was done during the reign of King Het'um II and during the pontificate of the katholikos Step'annos the Confessor (d. 1293), who was taken captive.
PROVENANCE: Its history is unknown between its dedication in 1293 and its inclusion in 1856 as Ms. no. 41

311, fols. 3v–4r

in the inventory of the Armenian Bishopric of Nicosia, Cyprus. In 1978, it was given to the Armenian Catholicosate at Antelias.[1]

CONDITION: The manuscript is in good condition. Portions of the colophon are missing.

The Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon

In the latter half of the thirteenth century, scriptoria connected to the Armenian Cilician capital at Sis appear to have become the leading centers of manuscript production. While the elaborately drawn patterns in this manuscript's headpieces, incipit letters, and marginal markers are patterns well established in Armenian manuscripts by the mid-thirteenth century, the exclusive use of red ink without additional colors and gilding is more characteristic of late-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century illuminations.[2] Sylvia Agémian has noted specific connections to the marginal patterns of the late-thirteenth-century Gospels by T'oros the Philosopher (cat. 174) and to works by those associated with Sargis Pidzak, the most important Cilician illuminator at the turn of the fourteenth century.[3] The limited gilding may reflect the economic decline of the country, as this work was written the year after the Armenian patriarchate at Hṙomkla on the Euphrates River was overrun by the Egyptian army and the katholikos was taken captive by the Mamlūk sultan Mālik al-Ashraf.[4] In contrast to the traditional Armenian iconography of the text, the evangelist portraits are painted in a monumental manner suggesting an intimate awareness of contemporary Italian art. Agémian, detecting connections to the styles of Giotto, Simone Martini, Marino of Perugia, and the Master of the Missal of Cambrai, argues that the illuminations may have been added to the manuscript in Italy.[5] It is as likely that the illuminations were added at Sis, where the Franciscans had their own convent by 1289 and where King Het'um II became a Franciscan monk (see cat. 30). Alternatively, they may have been added after the manuscript was taken to Cyprus, whose Catholic Lusignan rulers had long been closely intermarried with the Het'umids, the ruling house of Cilicia.[6] HCE

1. Agémian 1991, p. 20 (with bibl.).
2. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 93–125, vol. 2, figs. 229, 289–290, 293, 295, 320, 322, 331, 428–430, 503, 544, 545, 547–556, 563–576.
3. Agémian 1991, pp. 22–23.
4. Ibid., p. 20.
5. Ibid., pp. 23–28.
6. For the ties to the Lusignans of Cyprus, see Boase 1978, pp. 28–33.

REFERENCES: Agémian 1991, no. II, pp. 19–30, pls. H–K, XVIII–XXVI; Halle 2000; Helen C. Evans, "Armenian Manuscript Illumination and the Kingdom of Cilicia," in Athens 2002, pp. 49–74.

312. Lectionary Binding

Constantinople (?), second half of the 13th or early 14th century

Repoussé silver-gilt, chased and engraved on a wood board, cloisonné enamel on gold

36.5 x 30.5 cm (14⅜ x 12 in.)

INSCRIBED: Forty-nine of the fifty-two surviving enameled plaques have inscriptions identifying the figures[1]

PROVENANCE: Transferred by Pietro di Giunta Torrigiani, a citizen of Venice, to the hospital Santa Maria della Scala, Siena (May 29, 1359), with a set of relics acquired in Constantinople before December 1357 that are supposed to have come from the imperial treasury and been sold by Empress Irene, wife of John VI Kantakouzenos; preserved in the hospital treasury until 1786, when it was transferred to the Biblioteca Communale in Siena.

CONDITION: Some minor damage in the enamel plaques. Only two of the imitation raised bands are left on the spine; a third, still in place in 1978, had two medallions, one with floral ornamentation and the other, in very poor condition, with a depiction of Saint Nicholas.[2]

Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala, Siena (Cod. X. IV. I.)

This sumptuous binding contains a splendid illuminated Greek lectionary for the use of Constantinople on parchment with full-page illustrations of the evangelists, numerous historiated initials, *pylai*, and gold titles.[3] Each

312, front cover

cover is made of a silver-gilt plate nailed onto a wood board, decorated with foliate designs, and framed by a granulate border. The foliate ornamentation is regularly interrupted by areas in reserve bordered by the same granulation, in which cloisonné enamel plaques on a gold ground have been nailed. The binding was obviously made to display the set of enamels. The spine was originally covered with red silk interwoven with gold thread (almost entirely lost) and had imitation raised bands of goldwork; only two of these remain, but the hinges of seven others are still attached to the edges of the covers. Each of these bands, made of a silver-gilt chain with articulated and riveted links, has two small articulated medallions that contain a cloisonné enamel disk. The bands are vertically connected by the same type of chain, the resulting mesh giving the spine the flexibility needed to open the book. The book can be closed with three hinged clasps attached to the bottom cover and fitting on pegs along the edge of the top cover.

The binding is adorned with fifty-two enamel plaques. Except for the medallion with floral ornamentation on the spine, these present religious scenes, all but two of which are identified by inscriptions. The designs differ and the scale of the figures varies perceptibly from medallion to medallion. The reworked edges of several of the enamels, the stylistic discrepancies, and the somewhat incoherent iconography indicate that the plaques were reused for the cover. At the center of the top cover appears the Anastasis, surrounded by eight figures (Christ blessing, the bishops John Chrysostom, Basil, Dionysios, and John the Almsgiver, two seraphim, and an unidentified standing archangel). At the top is the Deesis (Christ blessing, and two rectangular plaques with the Virgin and John the Baptist), and around the edges are figures of the apostles Peter and Paul; the evangelists John and Matthew; the archangels Michael (repeated three times) and Gabriel; Saint Theodore and Saint Demetrios (lower corners); and, surprisingly, the bust of a Virgin of the Deesis type at the bottom center. On the bottom cover, at the top center, there is a Deesis surrounded, strangely enough, by three medallions with Christ blessing and two with a Virgin in prayer, both of visibly different origins; at the center there is an Ascension. Also represented are other figures more often associated with the Deesis: Saints Peter and Paul (top corners), below them the bishop saints John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa, and at the bottom, the soldier saints (Mercurios, Nestor, Theodore, George) and the bishop saints Gregory the Theologian, Basil, John the Theologian, and lastly a saint named John. In the midst of them, however, are three depictions of the Virgin (one with the Child) and an unidentified archangel. Flanking the Ascension in the middle are two

312, back cover

representations rarely found in enamels: Christ on the road to Calvary and the Virgin and Saint John at the foot of the Cross.

The enamels can be divided into at least ten stylistic groups. Scholars agree that they must have originated in various Constantinopolitan workshops, with the possible exception of the Saint Nicholas on the spine, which features a Latin inscription.[4] The oldest enamels have been dated to the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, and the most recent to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The binding itself was intended for a Greek lectionary and to hold this impressive collection of enamels. It must have been made before 1359, when it is mentioned in the deed of transfer to the Sienese hospital of the relics that Pietro di Giunta Torrigiani had acquired in Constantinople less than two years earlier. The deed was registered in Venice on May 28, 1359: "Unum librum Evangelorium in lingua greca fulcitum auro et argento cum smaltis" (A book with the Gospels in Greek, bound in gold and silver with enamels).[5] The lectionary is not alluded to in the letter concerning the relics that Torrigiani was issued in Constantinople in December 1357,[6] probably because it was not a relic.

It is more difficult to say where the binding was made. Although it was long believed to be of Byzantine origin, Paul Hetherington (1978) suggested instead that it was made in Venice because of the many reused enamels and the incoherent iconography. It is true that Venice was perhaps the only city at the time that could boast such a large collection of Byzantine enamels—spoils from the Fourth Crusade. However, some enamels made prior to the Latin occupation were still in Constantinople at the end of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century, as can be seen by two of the reliquaries in Siena that were acquired in 1359.[7] The incoherent iconography, in particular the repeated depictions of Christ and the Virgin, is more problematic, but it would not be any easier to account for in a work of Western origin, and it is a feature of the famous twelfth-century Khakkouli Triptych in Tbilisi, as well as of some icon frames made under the Palaiologan emperors. On the other hand, hinged goldwork spines were not typical of Western workshops, while variants of this type can be found on other Byzantine bindings at San Marco[8] (see also cat. 71) and Mount Athos.[9] Finally, in the surviving Venetian goldwork there is little to compare with the intricate ornamentation of the binding: broad-grooved and spiraling foliage with striated buds and large asymmetrical leaves against a background of chased stippling. But similar designs are found on works of indubitable Byzantine origin from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; in particular, as Hetherington pointed out,[10] on the frame of the icon with the double portrait of Constantine Akropolites (d. before or in 1324) and his wife (cat. 4) in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow, or on the icon of the Virgin of Freising. These analogies confirm the generally accepted dating and could argue against the binding's being a Venetian copy. The hypothesis of its having been made in Constantinople for a private patron and collector during the first century of the Palaiologan dynasty is also open to question. JD

1. Transcription and translation in Hetherington 1978, figs. 18–20, and Bellosi 1996, pp. 90, 92.
2. See the photograph published in Hetherington 1978, p. 120, fig. 2.
3. See Bellosi 1996, pp. 80–89.
4. See ibid., pp. 90–103.
5. Ibid., pp. 73–78.
6. Ibid., pp. 72–73.
7. Ibid., nos. 3, 4.
8. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, nos. 35 (ninth–tenth centuries), 36 (tenth–eleventh centuries; see New York 1997, no. 41), and 38 (fourteenth century; see New York 1984, no. 20).
9. Binding at the Great Lavra with Christ Pantokrator (before 1204) and, on the back, the Anastasis (thirteenth or fourteenth century); see Velmans 1979, p. 124, figs. 13, 14.
10. Hetherington 1978, p. 123.

REFERENCES: Labarte 1872–75, vol. 2, pp. 24, 445–46, pl. 61; Kondakov 1892, pp. 187–90; Muñoz 1904, pp. 705–8; Dami 1922–23, pp. 227–39; Hetherington 1978, pp. 120–43; Bellosi 1996 (with bibl.).

313A–D. Coins of Byzantium and Western Europe

313A. Silver Grosso of Doge Ranieri Zeno

Venetian, 1253–68
Weight 2.1 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ)
Christ seated on a high-backed throne holding the Gospels.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Latin, RA GENO / DVX / S M VENETI (Ranieri Zeno / Doge / Saint Mark, Venice)
Doge Zeno standing next to a haloed Saint Mark; the doge holding in his left hand an akakia and reaching across his body to grasp with his right hand a banner staff held by Saint Mark, who holds the Gospels in his left hand.
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1984.131.12)

313A, obverse

313A, reverse

313B. Silver Basilikon of Andronikos III Palaiologos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1328–41
Weight 2.0 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ (Jesus Christ)
Christ seated on a high-backed throne holding the Gospels, with letter symbols Ꟍ and B to the left and right of the throne.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, A/N/ΔP/И I/KO/C/Γ/O/A′/Δ/H/M/Ŧ/O/C (Andronikos, Saint Demetrios)
Emperor Andronikos III standing next to, and gesturing toward, Saint Demetrios, who holds a martyr's cross in his left hand.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (64.19)

313B, obverse

313B, reverse

313C. Gold Florin of the City of Florence

Florentine, 1348–67
Weight 3.5 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Latin, S IOHA/NNES B (Saint John the Baptist)
Saint John standing, holding a long cross in his left hand.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Latin, + FLOR/ENTIA (Florence)
Lily (or fleur-de-lys) on a stem.
The American Numismatic Society, New York (1966.163.174)

313C, obverse

313C, reverse

313D, obverse

313D, reverse

313D. Gold Florin of John V Palaiologos

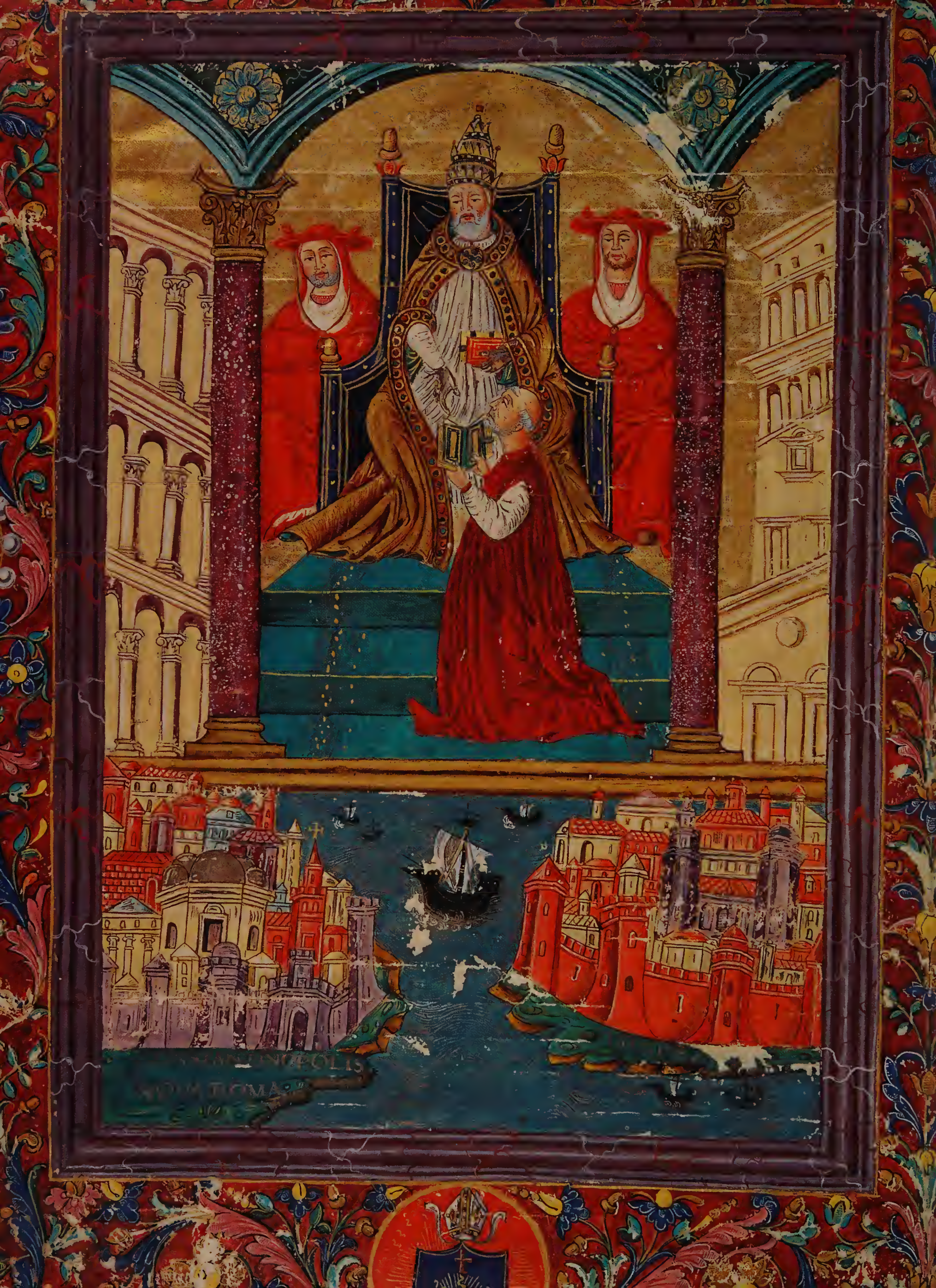
Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1350–60
Weight 1.88 g
Obverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, ΟΑ/Γ/ΙΩΟ/ΠΡΟ/ΔΡΟ/Μ/ΟC (Saint John the Forerunner)
Saint John standing, with a cross in his left hand and his right hand raised.
Reverse
INSCRIBED: In Greek, ΙΩ/Δ/ΕCΠ/ΟΤΙ/CΟ/ΠΑ/ΛΕ/Ο/Λ/Γ (Despot John Palaiologos)
Emperor John V standing, holding a cross in his right hand and an akakia in his left hand.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

Money, both a practical and a symbolic medium of exchange, illustrates the long history of interaction between Byzantium and western Europe. A new chapter in that history was heralded by the coins of the Late Byzantine period, which show a humbler empire, outpaced by the dynamic cities of Italy and other gold-rich states of western Europe.

The Venetian grosso, a high-quality silver coin, consistently depicts an enthroned Christ and standing figures of the doge and Venice's patron saint Mark (A). Modeled after contemporary Byzantine coin iconography when first issued at the turn of the thirteenth century, the grosso itself would become the model, nearly a century later, for a new Byzantine coin, the basilikon (B). Bulgarian grosh followed suit (see cat. 12), and the Serbian dinar (see cat. 13) so closely resembled the grosso that the Venetian senate banned the circulation of dinars in its overseas colonies.

While Byzantium and its neighbors were adopting the grosso and a silver currency standard, the states of western Europe were shifting to a gold standard, introduced by the Florentine florin (C), the Venetian ducat, and other successful gold coins. Although the ducat enjoyed greater circulation in Byzantine territories, it was Florence's florin that Emperor John V Palaiologos (r. 1341–91) made a fleeting effort to imitate with a new Byzantine gold coin (D). The sole surviving example of the Byzantine florin was several times pronounced a fake after it was first published in 1910, but a general consensus over the past thirty years considers the coin authentic. John V's florin reveals another facet of the westward focus of an emperor who had pinned his hopes for Byzantium's future on its accommodation and integration with western Europe. RH

REFERENCES: Bertelè and Morrisson 1978; Grierson 1999, nos. 860, 861 (cat. no. 313B obverse, reverse), 1207 (cat. no. 313D); Stahl 2000.



Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France

ROBERT S. NELSON

And fortune looked favorably on [Cimabue's] natural talent, when those who governed Florence sent for some Greek painters, solely to restore the art of painting which then was not so much in decline as altogether lost. . . . Now Cimabue, beginning to be attracted to art, was always skipping school to spend the whole day watching those artists work. His father and the painters decided that he had a talent for painting. . . . To Cimabue's delight, his father made an agreement for him to work with those artists, and helped by his natural talents, he applied himself so well that he surpassed his teachers in drawing and coloring. They did not care to advance art but made the works that we see today, not in the excellent ancient Greek style, but in the crude [goffa] *contemporary style of their time. . . . Thus, although Cimabue imitated those Greeks, he perfected the art of painting, raising it far above their rude* [goffa] *manner, and he honored his country by the reputation he gained and the work he made.*[1]

—GIORGIO VASARI

The discipline known as the history of art has been traced back to more than one founder. Proposed candidates include the early art and culinary historian Carl Friedrich von Rumohr (d. 1843), the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (d. 1831), and the historian of classical art Johann Joachim Winckelmann (d. 1768).[2] Going farther back leads inevitably to the Florentine Giorgio Vasari (d. 1574), "appropriately called the father of art history,"[3] and to his *Lives of the Artists,* published in 1550 and revised and republished in 1568. Chronologically, therefore, his treatise belongs to the very end of our exhibition. A foundational text for Renaissance art, which is itself the "model period" of art history,[4] Vasari's *Lives* promoted a biographical tradition of art criticism that eventually led to the discipline of art history, even if Vasari himself worked from different literary conventions. At the beginning of the life of Cimabue (active ca. 1272–1302), the first biography of the *Lives,* stands the quasi-mythological story of Byzantine painters, quoted above. Called to restore the lost art of painting in Florence, these artists trained Cimabue, who soon surpassed his teachers and inaugurated a glorious artistic tradition that led first to Giotto and ultimately to Michelangelo and to Vasari himself. Thus in more than one way, Byzantine art finds itself at the beginning of the beginning, albeit framed in a certain way.

Fig. 16.1. Presentation scene in a Greek Gospel lectionary (cat. 327), showing Bishop Alexius Celadenus giving the book to Pope Julius II (above) and the book's journey from Constantinople to Trebizond to Rome (below). Tempera on vellum, 11th-century manuscript with inserted miniature, ca. 1511/12. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (Med. Palat., fol. 1v)

From Cimabue and the chapter subtitled the "Florentine painter," down to the author himself, Vasari's genealogy is resolutely Florentine and implicitly credits the rebirth of art to the genius of the people of Florence. Such a narrative served the interests of the dukes of Tuscany and Vasari's patron, Grand Duke Cosimo I (1519–1574), to whom the *Lives* was dedicated. By the sixteenth century, the political and economic power of the Italian peninsula was beginning to be surpassed by the ascendancy of the Atlantic states and their colonies in the New World. The Italian powers found their profitable Eastern trade compromised, first by the rise of the Ottoman Empire and, later, by new trade routes around Africa and the discovery of the New World. Culture emerged as one of Italy's principal exports and became a defining characteristic of that society and a means of maintaining its former prestige. During the Renaissance, a new culture of luxury continued the medieval and pan-Mediterranean fascination with textiles and embraced other classes of objects. In the process, art collecting and patronage became an essential means of aristocratic self-definition.[5]

The Medici rulers of Florence played this game masterfully, sponsoring the creation of intricate and sophisticated crafts and

objects that came to be prized across Europe. It was this reputation for patronage that Vasari was burnishing, when he dedicated the *Lives* to Duke Cosimo: "It can well be said that the arts were reborn in your state, nay in your own most happily favored house. Thus it is to the members of your house that the world owes the benefit of these arts, restored, embellished, and ennobled as they are in our present day."[6] Historians of other artistic centers of Italy, not to mention other regions of Europe, have contested such claims.[7]

Origins are essential for definition, whether one is speaking of traditions, genres, or states, and frequently require an adversary that must be overcome or superseded. Although Vasari did not invent Byzantine art as progenitor and ultimately as "Other," he implanted these notions firmly within the enabling narrative of Italian art and of art in general. Centuries later, when art history became a scholarly discipline, Byzantine art continued to be regarded as a predecessor rather than a contemporary of medieval and Renaissance art. Byzantine art was thus marginalized and excluded from a genealogy not unlike what Vasari invented: a continuous evolutionary history spanning late antiquity and the Baroque period in the countries that became the powerful modern Western nation-states. An ironic reversal occurred in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century: because Byzantine art was regarded as archaic and primitive, the avant-garde was attracted to it as purer and more authentic and promoted its acceptance into the canon of Western art. But, in 1550, of course, that was the distant future.

The mid-sixteenth century, and the end of our exhibition, represents an important transition, when even the aftermath of the Middle Ages—what has been called *Byzance après Byzance*—had run its course, at least in the West, and something new was beginning. The Greek world was appreciated and respected primarily for its past, not its present, an attitude reinforced by its absorption by the Ottoman Empire. For Vasari, Byzantine art was awkward or clumsy; the word he uses is *goffo,* which Paul Barolsky tells us leads ultimately to the English "goofy."[8] The adjective is an indication of how far aesthetic taste in Italy had diverged from the period marked by the beginning of our exhibition, the thirteenth century, when Italy and the Levant interacted in diverse ways and shared a common visual culture. As a consequence, identifying provenance during this early period remains among the more challenging problems of connoisseurship in the history of art.

For this and other reasons, Hans Belting has proposed that rather than being concerned with regional artistic identity, we should be thinking of a broader artistic lingua franca, a kind of visual commonwealth in the eastern Mediterranean, one that is neither purely Byzantine nor Western nor Crusader.[9] The concept might productively be extended to include admixtures of Islamic elements, as in the case of mid-thirteenth-century Coptic painting (cats. 262, 263, 296). When attempting to assign a location to the Ryerson Diptych (cat. 288), for example, or to account for the phenomenon of Crusader art in general, Belting's notion also has a certain utility. Indeed, artists traveled back and forth, as evidenced by the similar style seen in both the French Bible in the Arsenal library, likely produced in the Holy Land (cat. 272), and in fragmentary frescoes from a chapel of Saint Francis in Istanbul (cat. 274). The currently popular term of postcolonial studies, *hybridity,* seems ready-made for such art and helps to explain Greek and Latin illustrated manuscripts of the period, such as a Gospel book in Paris (cat. 162) or a psalter in Berlin (cat. 77). Vasari's maniera greca—"the excellent ancient Greek style"—is yet another manifestation of this visual commonwealth.

In the later Middle Ages, the distance between the East and the West shrank, partly owing to increased trade but mainly because the West had a significant presence in the East. When, in 1204, the Venetian-led Fourth Crusade attacked not the Muslims in the Holy Land but the Christians of Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire fractured, and the region of the eastern Mediterranean became a yet more variegated piecework quilt of principalities, cultures, and religions. In 1261 the forces of the Greek state in Nicaea retook Constantinople with Genoese support, a relationship celebrated in an elaborate silk (fig. 1.13) sent to Genoa by Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82). Yet the Venetians and the Genoese both had significant trading colonies in Constantinople before and after 1204, a commercial rivalry that would play itself out across the lands of the Byzantine Empire in later centuries.

Along the Golden Horn, the narrow bay and natural port of Constantinople, the Venetians established a colony that also included Jewish merchants. The Genoese had their own fortified city on the opposite shore in Pera.[10] From the latter half of the thirteenth century, Genoese notarial documents describe the profitable long-distance trade from Pera to the Black Sea ports, especially Caffa in the Crimea, and back to Genoa. Because of its highly favorable location, Constantinople had been made an imperial capital in late antiquity and remained a lively trading center into the fifteenth century, in spite of the territorial retrenchment of the Byzantine Empire.[11] Pera, far more than Constantinople, generated large customs revenues, one indication of the strength of its commercial trade.[12] By the fifteenth century, the city of Constantinople-Pera lay at the center of the rapidly expanding Ottoman territory. Such a prize the Ottomans had to have.

Because of these frequent commercial and political interactions between Byzantium and Italy, Byzantine art and artists were incorporated into the visual cultures of the coastal trading centers of Italy, even if trade itself does not explain the appearance of foreign imagery in local contexts. In Venice, the eleventh- and twelfth-century mosaics at the city's Basilica of San Marco are well known, but important murals also date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. San Marco was officially the ducal chapel. Larger than any other church in the city and located in the ceremonial center, it functioned like a cathedral long before it was recognized as such. In Genoa, its counterpart was the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, located not far

from the *palazzo communale*. Venice and Genoa had different social and political structures and notions of public space, and, as a result, the two cathedrals or the piazzas in front of them are hardly equivalent visually. Nevertheless, the decoration of San Lorenzo, like that of San Marco, can be read against, and as a sign of, the city's trading network. The Gothic facade sculpture follows French examples, while the inner west wall has a lunette painted about 1310 by a Byzantine painter, perhaps the Marcus of Constantinople mentioned in local records.[13]

In Byzantium the foreign, Western manner was mainly restricted to the aristocratic sphere. During the Palaiologan era, from the late thirteenth century, it became fashionable for Constantinopolitan aristocrats to wear garments made of Italian textiles, and indeed cloth of various kinds was an important Western export to the eastern Mediterranean.[14] Such dress, deemed ostentatious, drew local criticism.[15] From the perspective of Italian proto-capitalism, it would have been preferable for the wealthy to have accumulated capital for trade and investment instead. In the West sumptuary laws did attempt to regulate luxury. But aristocrats in Byzantium, as was the case with their counterparts in Europe for centuries thereafter, participated in a social economy that privileged display.[16] Clothes made the man, and the woman, and in Byzantium both men and women sought to be portrayed in elaborate garments (cat. 2). Saints when portrayed in aristocratic contexts were dressed similarly.[17] As the Italians came to control long-distance trade in the late Middle Ages and their industries prevailed, Byzantium resembled a colony that supplied raw materials for the production of manufactured goods that were sold back to it. Thus Western textiles worn by Byzantine aristocrats are signs of more than local prestige. While those whom the Byzantines called "the powerful" paraded about in their imported finery, discussing the fine points of ancient literature and science, debating the theological controversies of the day, or securing their positions at court, the decline of the local economy was threatening all of the above as well as the ultimate independence of the empire.

Foreign elements do not appear in the central areas of Byzantine religious art, doubtless because of the widespread hostility to the Western church and to its customs. Despite periodic pressure from emperors for ecclesiastical union and the relentless advance of the Ottomans, Byzantium remained faithful to its venerable religious traditions, which won respect abroad: the West acquired relics and other objects (cat. 312) and appropriated the icon types for Christ and the Virgin that are so richly represented in our exhibition. Especially popular were the Man of Sorrows (cats. 329–331) and the Mandylion, the face of Christ miraculously imprinted on cloth (cats. 333–336). Byzantine icons themselves were as prized as in earlier centuries, and perhaps even more, as the Italians and, later, the northern Europeans discovered panel painting, a principal medium of Byzantine art throughout its long history.

What the West ceased to need, however, were Byzantine symbols and rites of power. For centuries Constantinople and its emperors had been the acknowledged locus and symbol of political authority, the continuation of the empire of ancient Rome. Even when the legitimacy of the Eastern empire was vigorously contested, the heat of the debate was a measure of the continuing potency of Byzantium. Byzantine emperors dispatched emissaries or other symbols of power to what they regarded as the provinces, where some local rulers accepted them and the often subtle subservient status their presence implied. When that same strategy was attempted in the late period of the empire, the results were different. For example, after a multiyear journey to seek aid in western Europe against the Turkish threat, Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425) sent a manuscript of the writings of the first-century saint Dionysios the Areopagite to the abbey of Saint-Denis, an establishment closely linked to the French throne.[18] The emissary bearing that manuscript in 1408 was Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415; cat. 314), an important figure in East-West relations of the time. The Greek manuscript included a portrait of Manuel II as the "Emperor of the Romans," together with his family (see fig. 2.5), an expanded version of the frontal image used elsewhere (cat. 1). As visual propaganda, however, the miniature in the imperial gift was ineffective, and the attempts to gain Western military support failed. Where once Byzantine court rituals had dazzled envoys from Ottonian Germany, it was now Emperor Manuel II who was awed by the luxury of Western courts.

Similar reversals of influence can be followed in the coinage. In the early Middle Ages, Byzantine gold coins had been the standard to be emulated by other cultures. As our exhibition opens, the prestige of that coinage still lingered, and the Venetians and the Serbs (cats. 13A, 13B, 13D) were imitating the Byzantine enthroned Christ, an image long associated with imperial power.[19] Once created, however, these Venetian silver coins became the new standard, so that when Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328) needed to pay Catalan mercenaries (whom he had hired, to his later regret, to fight the Turks in Anatolia), he had "coins struck after the manner of the Venetian ducat."[20] In the fourteenth century, the Byzantines copied purely Italian types, especially during the troubled reign of John V Palaiologos (r. 1341–91; cats. 12K, 12L).[21] Indeed, by then the most valued coins in the East had long since been those of the West. Throughout the period of the exhibition, but especially after the first few decades of the fourteenth century, Byzantine coinage became increasingly impoverished visually and monetarily.

Not all was lost, however, because the complex and multifaceted culture of Byzantium still had something that the West desired: its learning, its knowledge of ancient Greek language and literature, and its vast collections of manuscripts. These became Byzantium's most valued export symbolically, if not monetarily, and continued to be a strong link with Italy and later France throughout the sixteenth century. Fortunately, Italian humanists discovered the need for knowledge of Greek literature about fifty years before Constantinople fell, at nearly the last possible moment in the long history of the empire.[22] The

Fig. 16.2. World map in Ptolemy's *Geography*. Tempera on vellum, ca. 1300. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Vat. Urb. Gr. 82, fols. 60v–61r)

catalyst was the aforementioned Manuel Chrysoloras (cat. 314), who taught Greek in Florence from 1397 to 1400. During this short period, Chrysoloras inspired a number of students and launched a renaissance of Greek studies.[23] What made Chrysoloras's visit so important was not only his success as a teacher but also the social standing of those he taught, for they included the leading members of Florentine society, men who had the financial means to travel to Constantinople, buy manuscripts, continue their studies, and teach others.

To teach in Florence, Chrysoloras would have brought manuscripts, and once there he may have obtained more. One pupil, the nobleman Palla di Nofri Strozzi (1372–1462), "notable for his high qualities and his knowledge of Greek and Latin letters," is said to have bought the books Chrysoloras lacked, including "the *Cosmographia di Tolomeo* with illustrations," which came from Constantinople.[24] However, Strozzi himself gave it a different provenance: in his will, Strozzi, leaving to his sons a Greek manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography,* or what in Latin became the *Cosmographia,* instructed them to keep the manuscript in the family, because Manuel Chrysoloras, "Greek of Constantinople," had taken it to Florence in 1397.[25] Against his wishes, this valuable and large folio volume with maps of the world soon found its way to the vast library being assembled by Federigo da Montefeltro (1422–1482), count and later duke of Urbino (fig. 16.2). His heir, Guidobaldo I (1472–1508), supplied a handsome tooled and gilded leather binding, a sure indication of the book's prestige (fig. 16.3).

Other pupils of Chrysoloras also had an impact on the spread of Greek learning. For example, Guarino da Verona (1370 or 1374–1460) translated his teacher's grammar book, followed him back to Constantinople, lived in his household for five years, and collected manuscripts.[26] Returning to Italy, he taught Greek to pupils who included Cristoforo Buondelmonti, a member of a prominent Florentine family. His interests piqued, Buondelmonti set out to learn more about the Greek world and toured the islands of the eastern Mediterranean, writing down his impressions and collecting manuscripts. From his travels, he produced the illustrated treatise *Liber insularum archipelagi* of 1420, which includes a valuable map of Constantinople (cat. 246).[27] In Florence, Buondelmonti belonged to the intellectual circle around another student of Chrysoloras, Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437), who then was amassing one of the largest early collections of Greek manuscripts.[28]

One of the agents supplying manuscripts to Niccoli was the enterprising Sicilian Giovanni Aurispa. During the first of his two trips to the East in search of manuscripts, he visited the island of Chios, then a Genoese possession, and there obtained texts of Sophocles and Euripides. In 1421 he set out again for the East, sent by Gianfrancesco Gonzaga of Mantua on a political mission to Manuel II. Establishing a close relationship with Manuel's son, John VIII (cats. 319–321), Aurispa became his secretary, and John gave Aurispa copies of texts by Prokopios and Xenophon.[29] When Manuel dispatched John to the West in 1423 to seek aid yet again, Aurispa returned home to Italy with the imperial entourage. In his baggage was an astonishing treasure: 238 Greek manuscripts, worth a small fortune. Peter Schreiner has calculated that manuscripts in Constantinople might then have cost an average of five hyperpyra each, a conservative estimate,

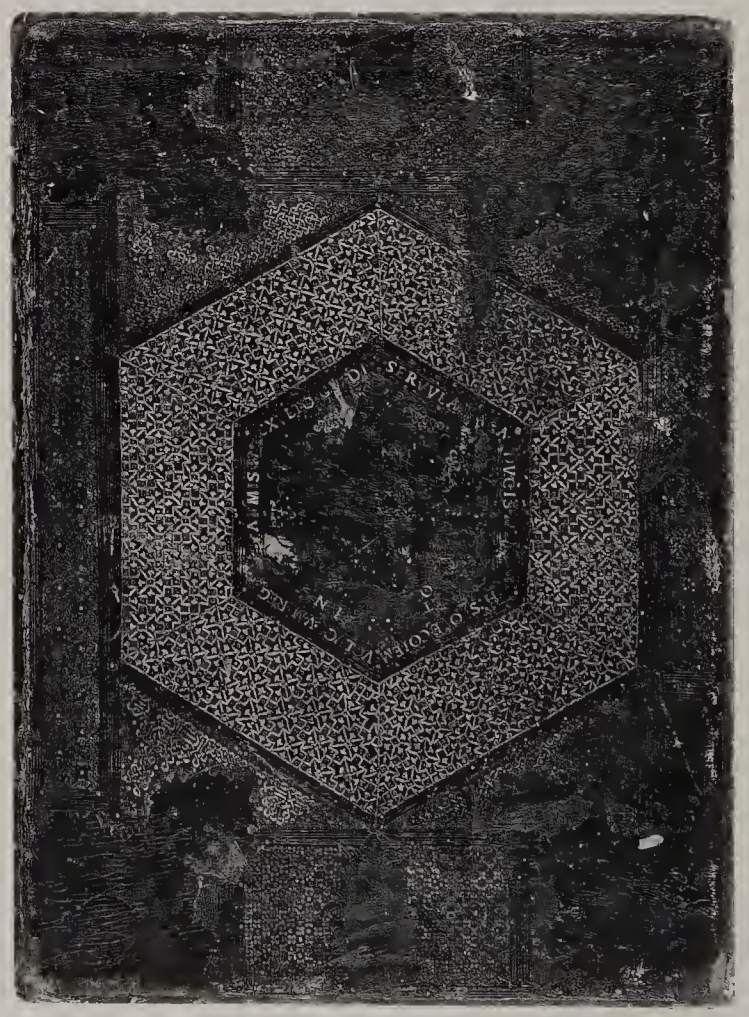


Fig. 16.3. Back cover of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Gilded leather, ca. 1480. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Vat. Urb. Gr. 82)

making the total value of the collection well over a thousand hyperpyra. At the time, a house with garden in Constantinople could be purchased for forty-five hyperpyra.[30] How a humanist of modest means, a man dependent upon the generosity of patrons and the income from his tutoring, could have obtained working capital of this magnitude is not known. One can only surmise that parties back home funded him or that John VIII gave him many manuscripts.

While in Constantinople, Aurispa visited the Prodromos (Saint John the Baptist) Monastery in Pera, located not far from the Palaiologan palace, and the Chora Monastery (also known as the Kariye Camii) with its fine mosaics. Favored with donations from Manuel II and popular with the last Palaiologan emperors, the Prodromos Monastery possessed an important library.[31] In a letter of 1430, Aurispa recalled that he had seen there the sixth-century herbal of Dioskorides that is now in Vienna. He praised its antiquity, noted its pictures of plants, roots, animals, and serpents, and remarked on the annotations. Not to have been able to take the book home must have been a disappointment: hence his recall of the manuscript some years later. The Dioskorides, however, was then in active use at the Pera monastery and its nearby hospital, which had been founded a century earlier by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321; cats. 13, 189). In 1405/6, a monk and a physician at the hospital commissioned the bibliophile and writer John Chortasmenos (ca. 1370–ca. 1439) to restore and rebind the book.[32] Its local importance is further attested by two late copies, the finer of which is now in Padua (cat. 315).[33] The hospital where the Dioskorides manuscript was consulted remained an active teaching institution until the fall of Constantinople.[34] In the next century the book regained its former status as a medical text, when it entered the possession of the Jewish physician to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (ca. 1494–1566). Sold to the Habsburg ambassador for a large sum, the manuscript reached Vienna in 1569 and became what it is today, a fine, rare, if medically useless book—thus art.[35]

The manuscripts that Aurispa did manage to import to Italy passed to various collectors, the most discerning of whom was the scholar and theologian Bessarion. Born in Trebizond in 1403, Bessarion was a member of the Greek delegation at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), which sought the union of the Eastern and Western churches. Soon thereafter he converted to Catholicism, was made a cardinal, and gathered around him in Rome a group of intellectuals committed to integrating Greek and Latin learning. In this effort his manuscripts played an important role, and he secured their future by donating them in 1468 to the Republic of Venice, all 482 works, a collection rivaled only by the burgeoning Vatican Library under Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55). Among Bessarion's medieval books were important illustrated Greek manuscripts, including the Psalter of Emperor Basil II from about 1000 (fig. 16.4) and an eleventh-century hunting treatise by the Pseudo-Oppian (Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, gr. 479), the only surviving illustrated version of a text that would interest the French in the next century (see cat. 326). What he could not buy, Bessarion had copied, even keeping a scribe in Crete on retainer.[36] Among his other copyists was Ioannes Rhosos, who went to Italy shortly before the fall of Byzantium and worked for the leading humanists and collectors until the end of the fifteenth century. By 1447 he was copying manuscripts for the cardinal in Rome.

Fig. 16.4. Portrait of Emperor Basil II in the Psalter of Basil II. Tempera on vellum, ca. 1000. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Gr. Z 17 [= 421], fol. 111)

Early in the 1450s, Bessarion commissioned him to make a large and splendid illustrated copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* (figs. 16.5, 16.6). Ptolemy's text was especially popular during the Renaissance, although wealthy collectors preferred the Latin translation, begun by Chrysoloras and completed by his student Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia. The history of Ptolemy's text spans the period surveyed by our exhibition. The best Greek version of the *Geography,* as recognized by philologists and historians of science, is the Chrysoloras/Strozzi manuscript, discussed above, which on the basis of its ornament and script may be dated to about 1300. Its creation coincides with a moment of genuine intellectual revival in late Byzantium. From 1295 the monk and polymath Maximos Planoudes (ca. 1255–ca. 1305) had been searching for a manuscript of the *Geography,* the most significant such treatise extant from antiquity, but its survival was tenuous. Planoudes gave it new life. Finding only a copy without maps, Planoudes commissioned a

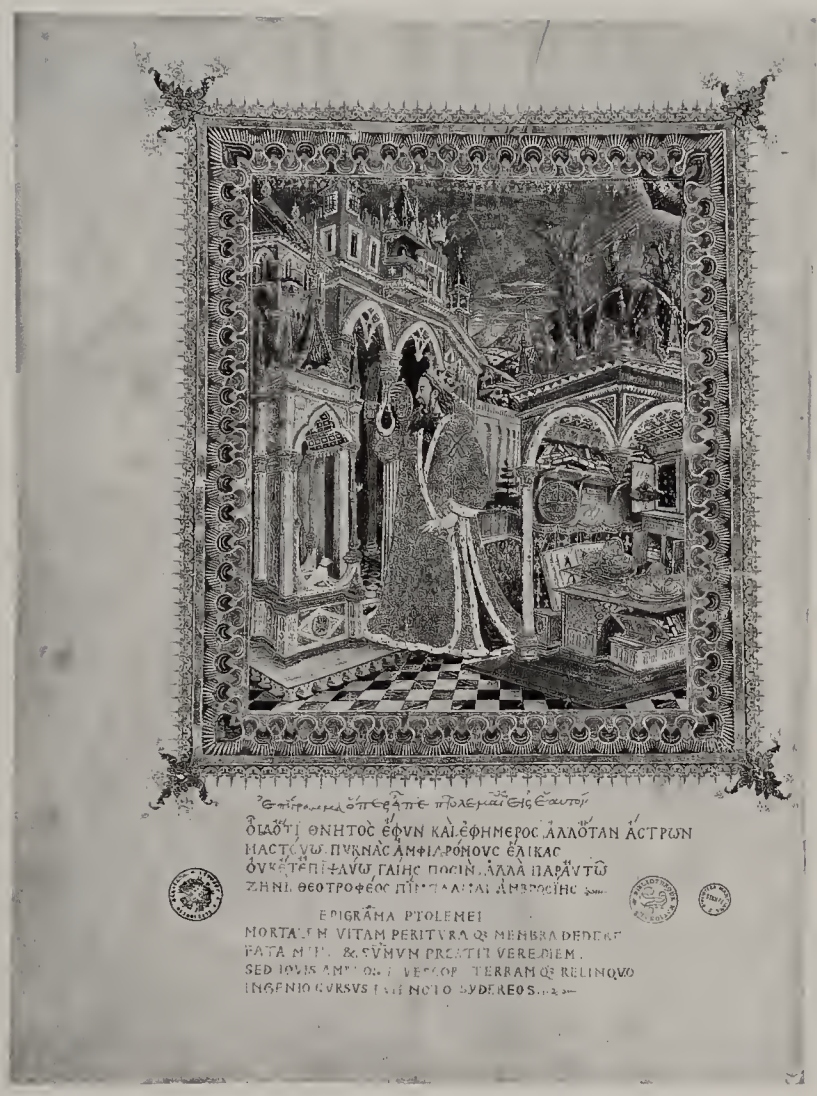


Fig. 16.5. Frontispiece portrait of Ptolemy in Ptolemy's *Geography*. Tempera on vellum, ca. 1450s. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Gr. Z 388 [= 333], fol. 6v)

set of twenty-seven, composed of twenty-six regional maps plus one map of the world that was spread across two pages. The work has been called "the seminal contribution of Byzantine scholarship to the long-term development of mapmaking" and "among the most important and lasting scientific accomplishments of the Eastern Empire."[37]

The one Ptolemy manuscript in our exhibition (cat. 252) belongs to a different version of the text than the Chrysolaras/Strozzi manuscript.[38] What Bessarion commissioned Rhosos to produce was evidently a copy of the latter, because the two books are close in size and design and have the same number of lines per page. Yet Bessarion's manuscript has one feature found neither in the presumed model nor in any other Greek copy: the frontispiece portrait of Ptolemy (fig. 16.5), lately attributed to a Florentine artist.[39] The image is more the size of a small panel painting (37 x 32 cm [14⅝ x 12⅝ in.]) than a "miniature," the term applied to pictures in manuscripts. Framed by an ornate border, Ptolemy stands amid the rich architecture and luxurious possessions of a palace. The setting and Ptolemy's gold crown are a result of the conflation of the ancient astronomer and mathematician with the Egyptian ruler of the same name. For the same reason, Raphael would later crown Ptolemy in the *School of Athens* and supply him with a globe in deference to his reputation as the author of the *Geography*.[40] In Bessarion's frontispiece, Ptolemy has taken off one of his white gloves to hold an astrolabe, an instrument for determining the altitude of the sun and other heavenly bodies and thus time and latitude. On the bench of the nearby study is a large, partially opened book with maps, the completed text of the *Geography*. Such a scene of luxury, refinement, and, above all, learning was the aspiration of humanists, to judge from other paintings of scholars in their studies.[41]

The epigram written in gold letters in Greek and Latin beneath the portrait in Bessarion's manuscript suits the star-gazing Ptolemy: "I know that I am mortal, a creature of a day; but when I search into the multitudinous revolving spirals of the stars my feet no longer rest on the earth, but, standing by Zeus himself, I take my fill of ambrosia, the food of the Gods."[42]

Fig. 16.6. World map in Ptolemy's *Geography*. Tempera on vellum, 1453. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Gr. Z 388 [= 333], fols. 50v–51r)

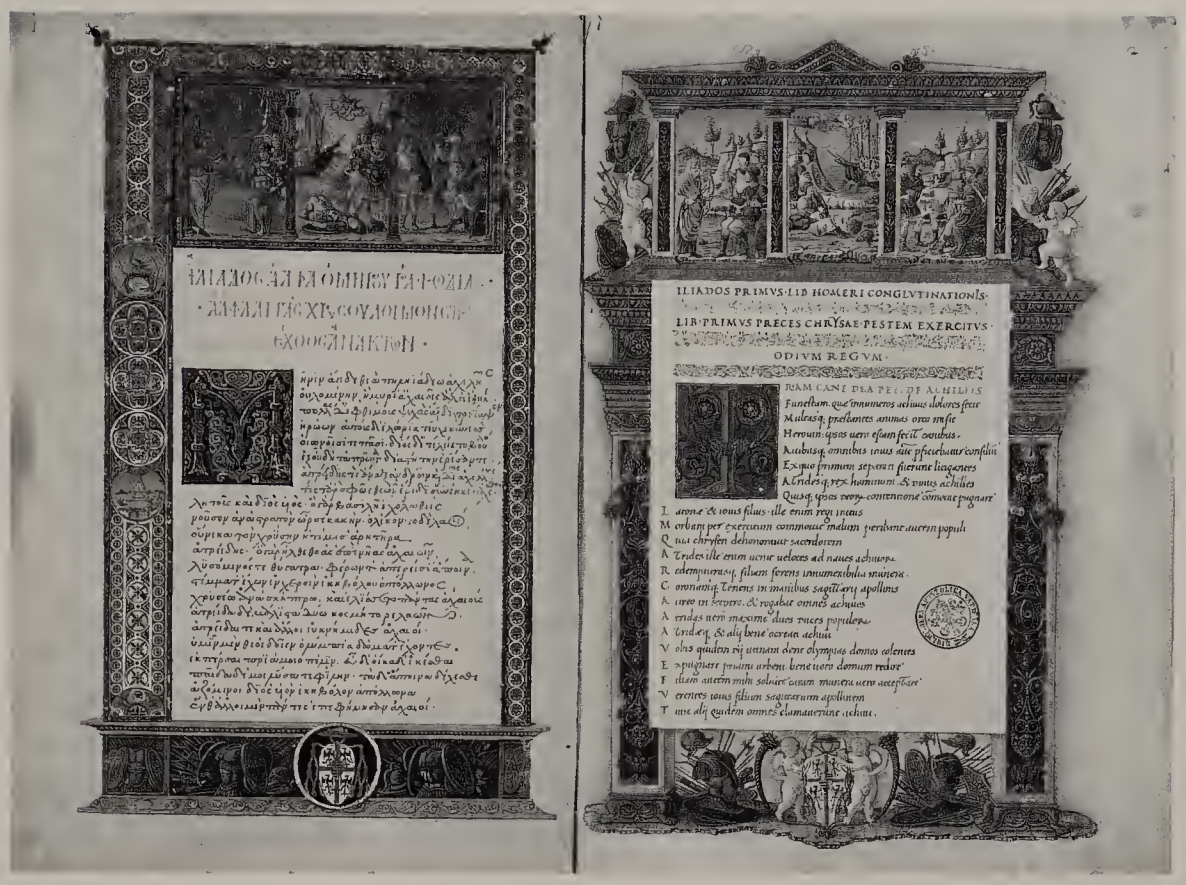


Fig. 16.7. Homer, *Iliad,* Book 1: Chryses, the priest of Apollo, before Agamemnon; plague striking the Greek army; and Bryseis led from Achilles' tent. Tempera on vellum, ca. 1477. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Vat. Gr. 1626, fols. 1v–2r)

Niccolò Perotti, as he stated in a letter, made the Latin translation at the cardinal's request in 1453;[43] hence the date of the completion of this large project. The wording of the epigram comes from the *Greek Anthology,* a major collection of ancient and medieval Greek poetry, redacted by the prolific Planoudes. Bessarion owned a manuscript of the text (Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, gr. 481), written in 1299–1301, as the colophon states, by Planoudes himself in Constantinople.[44] Given Bessarion's philological interests, the presence of the Planoudes text in his library, and the agreement of text and image, it can be concluded that the selection of the poem preceded the creation of the frontispiece. The latter is thus a visual interpretation of the former. But why did Bessarion also include a Latin translation of the epigram? After all, this was his book and Greek was his mother tongue. Might not the Latin have been for his fellow humanists to read and appreciate, as they admired the miniature and the maps that followed and by extension the learning and civilization of the Greek world and its chief representative in Italy?

In the miniature, and as represented in the maps that follow, the world is at peace, but the events of the year 1453 were anything but reassuring for Bessarion. He soon intensified his efforts to obtain manuscripts: "As long as the common and single hearth of the Greeks [Constantinople] remained standing, I did not concern myself [with gathering manuscripts] because I knew they were to be found there. But when, alas! it fell, I conceived a great desire to acquire all these works, not so much for myself, who possess enough for my own use, but for the sake of the Greeks who are left now as well as those who may have a better fortune in the future."[45] The presentation of his library to the Republic of Venice was a further means of preserving the heritage of Greek literature by someone who had witnessed what could happen to collections after their owner's passing. In a similar act, he donated his reliquary of the True Cross (see cat. 325) to the Scuola della Carità in Venice.

Twenty-four years after Rhosos produced the giant Greek Ptolemy, he copied a portion of a Greek and Latin *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (fig. 16.7) for a rather different cardinal. Following the excellent study of D. S. Chambers, much is known about the patron, Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483). At age seventeen he received his red hat, thanks to his father's intervention, and thereafter enjoyed an unremarkable although not uninteresting career. Shortly after his arrival in Rome in 1462, the new cardinal met Bessarion, who offered to lend him Greek manuscripts for copying.[46] Francesco's wish to possess Homer in a language he could not read may have been due to the older prelate's example and to the general prestige of Greek culture. Written a generation apart by the same scribe, the Bessarion Ptolemy and

Fig. 16.8. Santa Francesca Romana (Santa Maria Nuova) in the Roman Forum. 13th / 17th centuries. Photo: Robert Nelson

Fig. 16.9. Architectural frontispiece to the life of Julius Caesar in Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*. Tempera on vellum, ca. 1475–85. Biblothèque Nationale de France, Paris (cod. lat. 5814, fol. 1r)

the Gonzaga Homer suggest changing attitudes to Byzantium in Italy.

Of the two cardinals, Bessarion was surely the greater intellect, and the combination of text and image in the Ptolemy manuscript is a tribute to the depth of his learning and engagement with a living cultural tradition. Not Greek and of modest abilities, Francesco, nonetheless, found better artisans. On his household staff were perhaps the finest scribe and the finest illuminator of the period. Bartolomeo Sanvito, the manuscript's Latin scribe, often collaborated with a distinctive, though elusive, illuminator, lately identified as Gasparo Padovana. Rhosos completed the Greek portion of the *Iliad* on May 31, 1477, and the *Odyssey* on September 15, 1477, but of the Latin sections, Sanvito had written only part of the *Iliad* and none of the *Odyssey* when the cardinal died, in 1483, and work stopped. Gasparo took possession of the Homer he had been illuminating, of which he had finished only the frontispieces for Book I of the *Iliad*. Perhaps because he also decorated manuscripts for other patrons during the period, including Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84), work on the other pages progressively diminished until only blank spaces for decoration were left, regrettable but also revealing of an illuminator's working method.[47]

Like a Loeb Classical edition of today, the Greek occupies the left and the Latin the right side of an open spread, respecting the medieval convention that the original language has priority. Each book of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* was to have frontispieces in both languages, making a total of ninety-six. For the Latin pages (fig. 16.7), Gasparo Padovana devised elaborate archaeological fantasies of ancient sculpture and architecture. From the Veneto, he had brought the local tradition of the architectural frontispiece, an interest in archaeological detail, and his version of the painting style of Mantegna, but, once in Rome, he learned from what surrounded him. As a member of the cardinal's staff, he would have visited Francesco's titular church, Santa Maria Nuova (Santa Francesca Romana), next to the Roman Forum (fig. 16.8), and perhaps also the cardinal's summer house north of the Forum near the Church of Sant'Agata dei Goti.[48] Not far away was the Column of Trajan, which Gasparo worked into frontispieces in whole or part.[49] For example, the initial decorated page in a beautiful copy of Suetonius in Paris (fig. 16.9) has winged figures of Victory writing on shields and Roman trophies that recall a particular detail of the Column of Trajan (fig. 16.10). With a similar archaeological precision, Gasparo employed coins from the reigns of Suetonius's twelve caesars to create frontispieces for their biographies.[50]

In these pieces and in the contemporary Gonzaga Homer, the work of Gasparo Padovana suggests a new and more archaeologically exacting historicism. Thus it ought not to be surprising that he undertook a different rendering for the Greek and Latin frontispieces to Book I of the *Iliad*. Whereas the classicizing Latin page (fig. 16.7) is made spatially illusionistic by means of delicate purple hatching around the edges of the architecture, the Greek page lacks those spatial sleights of hand and consequently appears flatter. Indeed, Gasparo based the Greek frontispieces on earlier tenth- or eleventh-century Byzantine ornament,[51] the oldest Greek designs available in Renaissance Rome—an accurate, historical knowledge of ancient Greek art was to be the achievement of a later age. Both the Greek and

Fig. 16.10. Nike inscribing a shield with victory, and trophies of war on the Column of Trajan. Marble, Rome, A.D. 106–113. Photo: Robert Nelson

the Latin frontispieces, therefore, confect different pasts. Such a historicizing spirit appeared neither in Bessarion's Greek Ptolemy, nor in the many Latin manuscripts made for him.

Byzantine manuscripts continued to be treasured by Renaissance collectors in the fifteenth and later centuries. For example, a year after Rhosos finished the Homer, in 1478, Cardinal Gonzaga had him make a copy of the Greek Gospels (fig. 16.11). The illuminator, someone other than Gasparo Padovana, based the frontispieces, but not the evangelist portraits, on an eleventh-century manuscript now in the Vatican Library (Ross. 135–138).[52] Later in the fifteenth century, Queen Charlotte of Cyprus gave Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92) a two-volume Greek New Testament (Vatican gr. 1158, 1208), produced, like another Gospel manuscript in the exhibition (cat. 163), about 1300 by the finest illuminators in Constantinople. To mark the gift, coats of arms of the queen and the pope were added to the beginnings of the books. The volumes were secured in an iron chest and separated from the ordinary Greek manuscripts of the Vatican library.[53]

An eleventh-century Byzantine lectionary (cat. 327) now in Florence has an added miniature (fig. 16.1) that shows the book being presented to Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) by the Greek-born Bishop Alexius Celadenus. The lower section of the miniature illustrates the history of this much traveled book, from Constantinople, the "New Rome," to Trebizond, and, by means of the ship in between, to the old Rome that Julius was renewing. Precisely how Alexius's manuscript traveled from Trebizond to Italy is not known, but most Greek manuscripts, like other commerce from the East, passed through Venice, which became the most important market for such books in the sixteenth century. It was to Venice that agents for Francis I went seeking Greek texts for the king's rapidly expanding library at Fontainebleau.[54] Books that could not be purchased for the library were copied, and, by that date, Bessarion's great collection could finally be consulted. Thus, the cardinal's unique text and illustrations for the Pseudo-Oppian were copied for the royal library about 1540 (cat. 326). Once in France, the copy was adapted in 1554 by Angelikos Vergikios, the Greek scribe at Fontainebleau. Like Rhosos long before, Ange Vergèce, as he came to be known in France, had come from Crete, but whereas Rhosos had immigrated to the West while Constantinople was still Greek, Vergèce worked a century later, when the living memory of the Byzantine Empire was extinct. Vergèce made deluxe Greek manuscripts for the court, not to preserve Byzantium, but because Greek culture remained fashionable. Thus his version of the Oppian transforms the Byzantine into the Renaissance.

Chronologically Vergèce's manuscript of 1554 falls between the two editions of Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* of 1550 and 1568. Doubtlessly, neither man knew the other, nor had they encountered the German humanist Hieronymus Wolf, an editor of Greek texts. Yet all three shared a similar attitude toward Byzantium, albeit articulated differently. In 1557 Wolf published the twelfth-century *History* of Niketas Choniates and for the first time applied the name Byzantine to the empire that had ruled in the eastern Mediterranean for a thousand years.[55] What emperors (cat. 1) had considered Roman, and Westerners, including Vasari, had called Greek, thereby became Byzantine to distinguish it from ancient Greece. The name stuck. Byzantium joined the realm of scholarship, thereby memorializing its demise. Yet once its protracted passing was complete, Byzantium could be renamed and remade by later generations.

Fig. 16.11. Opening of the Gospel of Saint Luke with a portrait of the evangelist and a decorated frontispiece and initial in the Greek Gospels. Tempera on vellum, 1478. British Library, London (Ms. Harley 5790, fols. 142v–143r). Reproduced by permission of the British Library

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314. Portrait of Manuel Chrysoloras

Circle of Paolo Uccello (?), ca. 1397–1475
Tuscan, early 15th century
Pen and dark brown ink, brush and light brown wash, on off-white laid paper prepared with a pale beige wash; glued onto secondary paper support
13.4 x 9.3 cm (5¼ x 3⅝ in.) maximum sheet
INSCRIBED: Probably by someone other than the artist, in pen and dark brown ink along the top, in Italian, *Maestro Manuello che insegno [la?] / gramatica greca i[n] firenze / 1426 [?]* (Master Manuel who taught Greek grammar in Florence 1426 [?])
PROVENANCE: Stamp Pierre-Jean Mariette, Paris (1694–1774; Lugt 1852, 2097); French collector, ca. 1780 (Comte Saint-Morys?), who annotated the backing: "2 Portraicts d'apres natural / a la plume lavet d'encre de la chine"; museum stamp (Lugt 1886). Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (9849 bis)

First published by Henri Omont in 1891, this small drawing is of great historical significance as it appears to be the only authoritative extant portrait of Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350–1415), the brilliant and learned Byzantine humanist and diplomat from Constantinople. Although the facial features are sensitively articulated with the spidery strokes of an extremely fine pen, this is nevertheless most likely a copy after a lost portrait done from life, rather than an original, to judge from the misproportioned thumbs on the hands and the stiff pose of the sitter. A copy is also indicated by the somewhat inert outlines in pen and ink lacking reinforcement lines, the overly flat application of wash, and the absence of clear signs of exploratory underdrawing.

A friend of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, Chrysoloras had been a student of the Byzantine scholar Demetrios Kydones (ca. 1324–ca. 1398), from whom he learned Latin literature as well as Roman Catholic theology, knowledge of which was invaluable in his diplomatic career in the West serving his emperor and in his success in the literary circles of Renaissance Italy. On March 28, 1396, he was invited to Florence to teach Greek philosophy, literature, and grammar by Coluccio Salutati, the great Florentine humanist and author. Chrysoloras stayed in Florence until March 10, 1400, and his four years of teaching there are considered to mark the beginning of the recovery of Greek letters in the Italian Renaissance. (See the essay by Robert S. Nelson in this publication.) Revered in Italy for his eloquence and widely praised for his restoration of the dignity and splendor of the classical languages, Chrysoloras became an extremely influential figure for Italian humanists, many of whom studied the Greek language with him and had particularly close personal relationships, as for example, Guarino da Verona, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Leonardo Bruni, Roberto de' Rossi, and Iacopo d'Angelo, as well as his host, Coluccio Salutati.[1] After various journeys in Italy and Europe, Chrysoloras seems to have returned to Constantinople in 1403, but visited Italy again in 1404 and 1405–6. As ambassador for Emperor Manuel II, he was in Paris, London, Spain, and Bologna from 1407 to 1410. In 1408, according to the colophon that he wrote, Chrysoloras presented a manuscript of the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite to the abbey of Saint-Denis in Paris as a gift from the emperor (Louvre, Paris, Ms. Ivoires 100). In April 1411, Chrysoloras was persuaded to go to Rome following the newly proclaimed antipope, John XXIII. He died in Constance on April 15, 1415, while attending the famous council between the Eastern and Western churches held in that city.

In this waist-length portrait the venerable old scholar of fragile physique reads from an open book that bears a much later inscription in which only the word "Mocho" seems clearly legible; the drawing surface in the area of the book has suffered damage. The book and inscription may allude in some manner to Chrysoloras's literary activity. He was author, for instance, of the *Erotemata*, an innovative textbook of Greek grammar, of translations of Homer and Plato, and of a comparison of ancient and modern Rome that was written in 1411, shortly after he arrived in Rome. In the portrait, he wears traditional Byzantine court dress (a fact that is seldom noted by art historians): a tall, closely fitted hat here seen with long tassels at the back that are tied onto his long braided hair and a thick, loosely fitted caftan (probably a *kabbadion)* with wide sleeves, both of which were common since the end of the Middle Byzantine era.[2] This accuracy of costume establishes beyond doubt the authenticity of the present portrait. It offers a great contrast to the fanciful, but more widely disseminated, woodcut portrait that was published in the Basel 1577 edition of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, which shows the Byzantine scholar in a Westernized, nearly frontal half-length pose, wearing northern European Renaissance dress.[3]

The Chrysoloras drawing is of the same type as a number of extant portrait drawings of distinguished men in bust or waist length by early-fifteenth-century Florentine artists and probably formed part of a now disassembled series of such portraits in an early Italian Renaissance model book. Although it is a received likeness of the Byzantine personage, it seems especially close in style and technique to a series of superbly drawn portraits of mostly literary figures, done in the 1420s, possibly by Paolo Uccello.[4] These were owned by the distinguished French collector Pierre-Jean Mariette (Ashmolean, Oxford, inv. 1; Louvre inv. R.F. 370; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, inv. 28, 29, 30, 31), who also owned this portrait of Chrysoloras.[5] Mariette pasted the Chrysoloras portrait side by side on the same mount with a profile portrait of Louis II of Anjou, king of Naples (d. 1417), which was done in a similar scale and drawing technique. It is by another hand (a Tuscan or South Italian artist), however, and was inscribed by a fifteenth-century collector with a completely muddled identification *("Re o luigi padre di quel / che e [re?] nel mille 428").* CCB

1. See in particular Cammelli 1941; Grabler 1954; Baxandall 1965; I. Thomson 1966; Baxandall 1971, pp. 78–96; "Chrysoloras, Manuel," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), p. 454; Smith 1992, pp. 133–215; Cortassa 2000.
2. For comparisons, see Ball 2001. As pointed out by Sarah Brooks, a Greek courtier's dress including the tall hat and caftan, much like that worn by Chrysoloras in this drawing, is illustrated in a fourteenth-century copy of the *History* of Niketas Choniates (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Hist. gr. 53, ca. 1300–1350). On folio 1v, the author Choniates (d. 1217) is shown seated composing his text, wearing the loose, belted caftan and a tall Palaiologan hat.
3. Illustrated and discussed in Müntz 1901, p. 281.
4. In the present author's opinion, the date that is inscribed on the Chrysoloras portrait on the upper right is probably to be read as 1426 (the third digit has a distinct tail on the bottom, and cannot be a zero, but this passage in the drawing is admittedly quite damaged and therefore prevents a definitive conclusion). It probably represents the date when the drawing was done. The digits of the date have also been variously interpreted by scholars as 1400, 1406, 1408, 1420, 1426, and 1428; however the presumed date is interpreted, it appears to fall after Chrysoloras's most prolonged stay in Florence.
5. Degenhart and Schmitt 1968–, vol. 1.1, pp. 379–82, nos. 296–301.

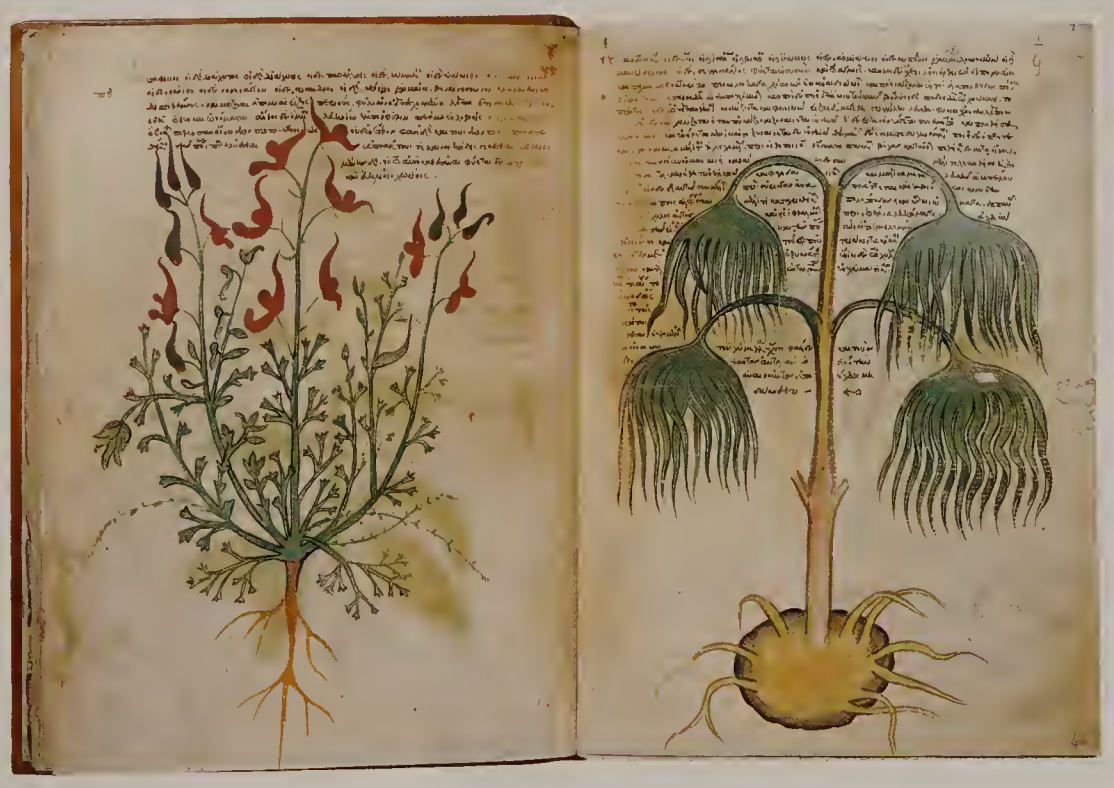
SELECTED REFERENCES: Omont 1891; Müntz 1901, pp. 281–82; Cammelli 1941, pl. 1; "Chrisolóra, Manuele," in *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Florence, 1950), p. 883; Baxandall 1965, pp. 194–95, fig. 34c; Paris 1967, p. 64 (under no. 56); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968–, vol. 1.1, p. 268, no. 167, vol. 1.3, pl. 195c; J. Barker 1969, pp. 544–45, no. 3, fig. 19; Belting 1970, pp. 92–93, fig. 50; Belting 1972b, pp. 63, 95 n. 4; Degenhart 1972, p. 209 n. 42; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 143–44, fig. 94a; Nottingham–London 1983, pp. 283–84, fig. VIb; Smith 1992, pp. 133–49, fig. 23.

315. *De materia medica* by Dioskorides

Constantinople, mid-14th century
Tempera on paper; 200 fols.
38.3 x 28 cm (15⅛ x 11 in.)
INSCRIBED: On fol. 41v, Δελφίνιον (delphinium); on fol. 42r, Δρακοντία (*Dracunculus vulgaris* or edder-wort)
PROVENANCE: Prodromos Monastery, Pera, Constantinople; Giovanni Rodio, Padua (seventeenth century); Seminario Vescovile, Padua.
CONDITION: Some pages are damaged by humidity; many leaves are missing; margins have been trimmed during rebinding.
Seminario Vescovile, Padua, Italy (cod. 194)

In the first century C.E., the Greek physician and pharmacologist Dioskorides compiled a medical and pharmaceutical treatise that would long be consulted. Each chapter illustrates and describes a plant and discusses the preparation and efficacies of drugs made from it.[1] The principal early copy of the text, now in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek med. gr. 1), was written in sixth-century Constantinople, where it remained until the sixteenth century. In the later Middle Ages, it belonged to the Prodromos Monastery in Pera, which is indicated on Cristoforo Buondelmonti's map of Constantinople (cat. 246). The monastery had a library and a hospital, where a pharmaceutical handbook would have been put to good use,[2] and copies of the manuscript were made. The version presently in Padua, to judge from its script and watermarks, was written in the mid-fourteenth century.[3]

Good illustrations were fundamental to the identification of plants. In the Padua Dioskorides the pictures were copied first, after which the text was written carefully around them. One of the ancient plants exhibited (fol. 41v), despite its later hybridization, will be familiar to gardeners today. The delphinium, found in sunny, rocky areas, is said to be a useful remedy for scorpion bites. Facing it (fol. 42r) is what Dioskorides identified as "drakontia," an aid for breathing difficulties, cough, and diarrhea. From the sixteenth century, Dioskorides' Greek text attracted renewed academic interest.[4] By the seventeenth century, the Padua manuscript belonged to a professor in that city, home of a major university and of the oldest botanical garden in Italy.[5] RSN



315, fols. 41v–42r

1. Riddle 1985.
2. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, p. 1643.
3. Mioni 1959.
4. Riddle 1980, pp. 9–11.
5. Mioni 1959, pp. 357–59; Minelli 1995.

References: Mioni 1959; Ravenna 1990, p. 240.

316. The *Dynameron* of Nicholas Myrepsos and Other Medical Texts

Copied by Kosmas Kamelos,
completed August 1339
Tempera on parchment; 664 fols.
26 x 18 cm (10¼ x 7 in.)
Inscribed: From left to right, fol. 10v, lower section, ὁ ἰητρός, ὁ ἀσθενής, ὁ σπεστιάλος (physician, the sick person, the pharmacist)
Provenance: Georgios Eparchos, gift of his son Antonios Eparchos to Francis I; Bibliothèque Royale, Fontainebleau; Bibliothèque Royale, Paris; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Condition: The condition of the manuscript is stable.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (cod. grec 2243)

Nicholas Myrepsos, a thirteenth-century physician, was the compiler of the *Dynameron,* a collection of pharmaceutical recipes. In 1339 Kosmas Kamelos, a priest and exarch of the metropolitan of Athens, copied this large manuscript for Demetrios Chloros, a physician. This and several other medical manuscripts from the first decades of the fourteenth century have been well studied by Brigitte Mondrain, who tentatively attributed them to the Peloponnesos. Such a provenance would account for the mixture of Greek and Latin traits, especially southern Italian, that have been observed by others. Mondrain (1999) noted that the frontispiece seen here on folio 10v copies a somewhat earlier Vatican manuscript (palat. gr. 199), which is twice its size. Accordingly, the artist of the present work, most likely the scribe, cropped and simplified this scene of salvation. In the larger section we see Christ, the first and most important healer, and the principal intercessors, Mary and John the Baptist. Below, a doctor, surrounded by the ill, studies a flask; a pharmacist brings medicines from a well-stocked shop; and an assistant prepares drugs.

In the sixteenth century, the manuscript belonged to Antonios Eparchos, a member of a family of physicians originally from the Peloponnesos and an astute purveyor of Greek manuscripts in Venice. Antonios gave this and a number of other manuscripts to Francis I, receiving in return a sum greater than might have been expected from a simple sale.[1] In those years, the French royal library was forming an impressive collection of Greek scientific texts. This manuscript, like cat. 326, was rebound during the reign of Henry II (1547–59). RSN

1. Mondrain 2000.

References: Paris 1992–93, pp. 454–55; Mondrain 1999; Mondrain 2000.

316, fol. 10v

317. Commentary on the Apocalypse by Frederichus de Veneciis (Federigo de Renoldo)

Candia (Iráklion [Crete]), 1415
Tempera, gold, and ink on goatskin parchment; 190 fols. (fols. 1 and 190 paper flyleaves)
28.8 x 22.5 cm (11⅜ x 8⅞ in.)
Colophon (on fol. 189r): Explicit literalis expositio super Apocalipsim beati Iohan(n)is apostoli et evangeliste compilata et ordinata per fratrem Frederichum de Veneciis sacro s(an)c(t)e theologie doctorem Ordinis predicatorum an(n)o D(omi)ni m.ccc.lxxxxiii, die xxiiii, mensis Iulii. Scriptum atque completum fuit hoc celeberimum opus Candide die x ~~Augusti~~ Octobriis ad laudem omnipotentis Dei, amen. Millesimo quadragentesimo quintodecimo. Glose iste omnes que sunt in isto libro sunt magistri Nicolai de Lira Ordinis fratrum minorum et aliorum comentatorum qui comentaverunt Apochalipsim.

In Italian, Ecrita per la sua infinita misericordia et gracia ne sara essere anche nuy scripti in lo libro de vita eterna et citadini de la cita sancta Ierusalem sopra dita. [The rest of the folio is missing.]

(Here ends the literal commentary on the Apocalypse of blessed John the Apostle and Evangelist, composed and arranged by brother Frederic of Venice, Doctor of Sacred Theology, of the Order of Preachers, in the year of the Lord 1393, on the 24th day of the month of July. This most distinguished work was copied to the end in Candia on the 10th day of ~~August~~ October for the glory of all-powerful God, amen. [In the year] one thousand four hundred and fifteen. All the glosses that are in the present book are by master Nicholas of Lira of the Order of Friars Minor and by other commentators who have commented upon the Apocalypse.

Written through His infinite mercy and grace, through which may we, as well, be named in the book of eternal life and citizens of the above Holy City of Jerusalem.)

Provenance: Abbot Matteo Luigi Canonici S.J. (d. 1805), Venice, no. 299; sold, 1834; the Rev. Walter Sneyd (d. 1888), London; sold, Sotheby's, London, December 16, 1903, no. 36; [Bernard Quaritch, London]; [Leo S. Olschki, Florence, by 1916, no. 35398];

317, fols. 2v–3r

Henry Walters, Baltimore, Maryland (d. 1931; no. H.VII.13).

CONDITION: The volume's first folios are slightly buckled, and the illumination pigments have partially flaked.

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (W. 335)

Federigo de Renoldo, or Frederichus de Veneciis, as he is named in the colophon, was a Dominican monk in Padua who translated and expounded the Book of Revelation in his native Venetian dialect. Two out of the nineteen known manuscript copies of his work were produced in Candia, the capital of Venetian Crete. One (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. ital. 86) was made in 1409 by the notary Giovanni Dono for a local Italian dignitary.[1] The script of the Walters manuscript seen here differs from Dono's and has a more formal character that suggests a cleric's rather than a clerk's hand. Indeed, a priest in Candia is known from a document dated 1329 to have copied an illuminated volume for the city's Roman Catholic archbishop.[2] In the case of the present manuscript the illuminator must have been distinct from the scribe, who drew modest frames round a few of the catchwords found in the middle of the lower margin of each quire's last page.

The painted decoration in this work consists of two miniatures and twenty-eight initials (normally five text lines in height), two of which contain figures: a sword-bearing dog-headed creature, or cynocephalus (fol. 2r), and a (half-obliterated) parrot (fol. 121v). The floral ornament is in the style current in Bologna, Padua, and Venice throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth century.[3] The iconography of John's vision of God with the seven candlesticks (fol. 2v) (Rev. 1:10–17) is unknown in Byzantine art but has a close precedent in a mural, dated about 1375–78, in the Padua baptistery.[4] The miniature of John seated in a cave with Prochorus, his disciple and secretary (fol. 3r), does, on the other hand, have iconographic parallels in Byzantine painting of the mid-fourteenth century and later.[5] Its style is particularly close to an early-fifteenth-century Nativity icon, probably Cretan, in the Rena Andreadis collection, Athens (cat. 100). There can be no doubt that a single person executed all the illuminations, since identical pigments are used throughout the volume. This anonymous artist's work is an eloquent example of the interplay between Byzantine and Italian painting in Venetian Candia. GRP

1. Luttrell 1964–65, pp. 63–64.
2. Morozzo della Rocca 1940, pp. 58–59; cf. McKee 2000, pp. 122–23.
3. Paris 1984a, pp. 79–91, nos. 64–76.
4. Bellinati 1989, pp. 69–70, fig. 48; Schiller 1990, text vol. p. 292, plate vol. pp. 18, 668: pl. 847.
5. Spatharakis 1988, pp. 51–52 with nn. 187–97.

REFERENCES: Willoughby 1940, p. 89 n. 7; Pallas 1968; Kaeppeli 1970–93, vol. 1, pp. 407–9; Emmerson and Lewis 1986, pp. 450–51, no. 133a; Vassilaki 1991b, vol. 1, pp. 65–77, pls. 15–24.

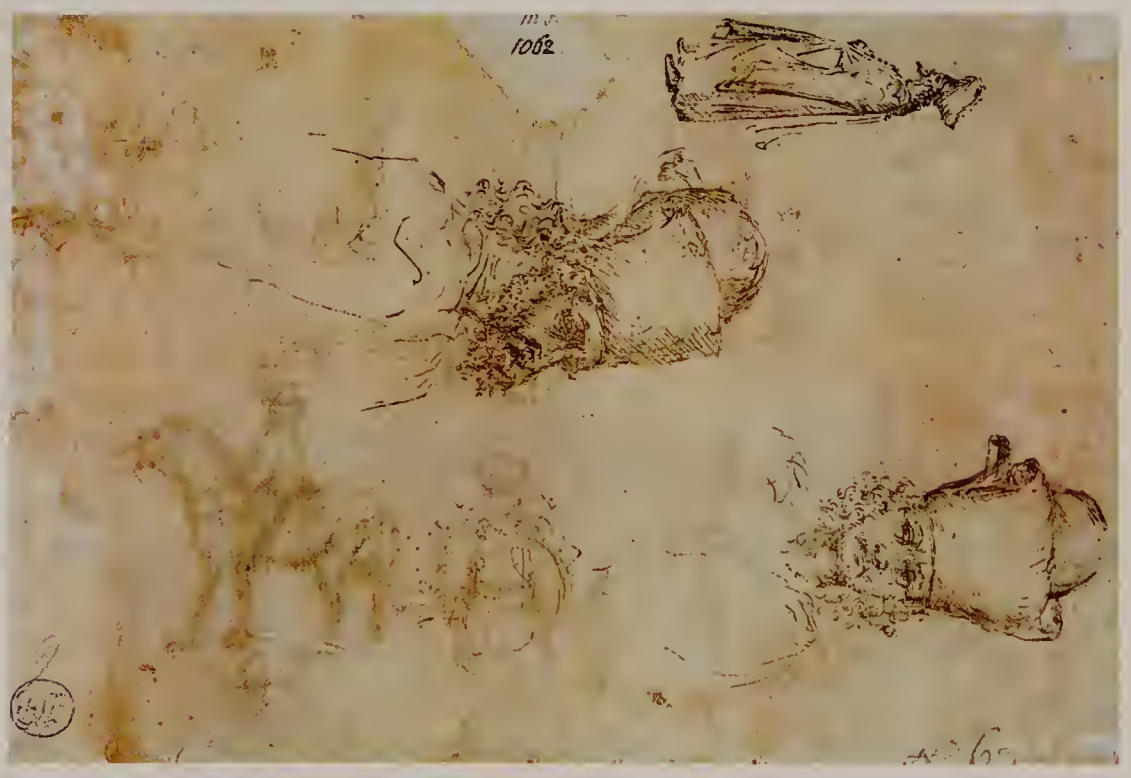
318A, B. Studies of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos and His Retinue

Pisanello (Antonio Pisano) (ca. 1395–ca. 1455)
Ferrara or Florence, 1438–39

318A. Pen and dark brown ink over stylus ruling and stylus underdrawing on off-white laid paper (recto); pen and dark brown ink (verso)
19.9 x 29 cm (7 13/16 x 11 7/16 in.) maximum sheet (upper left and lower right corners made up)

INSCRIBED: On recto, in pen and brown ink, in Italian, color notes for the ornamental designs, "b" or "bi" for *bianco* (white), "oro" or "or" (gold), "azuro" or "azur" for *azzurro* (blue), and "rosso" (red); toward the center of the sheet, a detailed description of the clothing and physical appearance of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos; on the right, a complete paragraph on ruled lines: *Lo chapelo de linperadore sie biancho dessoura [di sopra] / e rouersso [rovescio] rosso el profilo da torno nero la zupa [giubba] verde / de dalmascin e lagona de soura [sopra] de chermezin . . . de la / facia palida la barpa [barba] negra chapelj e cilglj [ciglie] el simile / hochi grizy [grigi] e tra jn verde e chine le spale picholo di / p[er]sona* (The hat of the emperor should be white on the outside, on the reverse red, the border around it black, the doublet of green damask and the gown on top of crimson, of pale face, the beard black, hair and eyebrows likewise, eyes gray tending to green and sloping shoulders, small in person); on the left, in slightly smaller letters, and immediately below, but in larger letters with a slightly wider spacing: *el rouesso del vestj rosso / el chapelo turchin fodrado de panete da varo / listivalj de chuoro zallo smorto / la guaina del larcho bizaca e grenellosa / eco si quella de turcasso e de la simitarra* (The reverse of the gown red / the deep blue hat lined with multicolored [?] cloth / the

318A, recto



318A, verso

boots of dull yellow leather / the sheath of the bow brown and grained / as is the quiver and the scimitar)
ANNOTATED: On verso, in pen and brown ink by a much later hand, N 63
PROVENANCE: Stamp of Joseph Daniel Böhm, Vienna (1794–1865; Lugt 1442); his sale, Vienna, December 4 (and days following), 1865, no. 1132 (?), as Spanish school, second half of the fifteenth century; Frédéric Reiset, Paris (1815–1891); his gift to the Louvre, August 9, 1866, with an attribution to Gentile Bellini.
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (MI 1062)

318B. Pen and dark brown ink on off-white laid paper (recto and verso)
18.9 x 26.5 cm (7 7/16 x 10 7/8 in.) maximum sheet
WATERMARK: Head of an ox surmounted by flower (close to Briquet 14811, which is on an example of paper from Vicenza from ca. 1423)
INSCRIBED: On recto, in pen and brown ink, toward center, *chaloire.*
PROVENANCE: Private collection, Rome, through 1939; purchased by the Chicago Art Institute from Wildenstein & Co., New York, 1961.
The Art Institute of Chicago, Margaret Day Blake Collection (1961.331)

These famous double-sided sheets, from the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and the Art Institute

318B, recto

of Chicago,[1] were originally successive pages in the same sketchbook by Pisanello before it was dismembered by an early collector.[2] Seen together, the Paris and Chicago pages offer a magnificent testimony. Their author, Pisanello, who is without doubt the greatest early Renaissance artist to have hailed from northern Italy, vividly alludes here to the splendors of the Muslim and Christian cultures that were represented in the exotic figure of the penultimate Byzantine emperor. It is a virtual certainty that Pisanello's sketches and notes constitute an eyewitness account (an extremely rare event for the time), which is evident in the freshness and quickness of the drawings. They record primarily the physical appearance and costumes of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos and, though only in a minor sense, those of his entourage (as is seen at the center of the recto on the Chicago page).

The artist did the complex sketches and accompanying notes on site, although probably at different moments (for different details of costume are reflected in the text and sketches), during an unknown period of time in the Byzantines' visit to Italy for the council that was held in Ferrara and Florence. (See also the

318B, verso

essay by Robert S. Nelson in this publication.) This council, attempting to unify the Western and Eastern churches, was called by Pope Eugenius IV in September of 1437. It ended on July 5, 1439, with a signed formal proclamation of union. The precise whereabouts of Pisanello during these two years is not at all documented, although he is presumed to have been in Verona (a city under the dominion of Venice) until a breakout of the plague in the autumn of 1438, when he may have fled to Mantua.[3] The Paris and Chicago sketchbook pages are considered to be the sole evidence for Pisanello's presumed presence in Ferrara and Florence. In contrast, the whereabouts in Italy of the emperor John VIII Palaiologos (and his entourage) are well documented, from his arrival in Venice on February 8, 1438, to his departure from Florence on August 26, 1439 (Gill 1961). Whether Pisanello undertook the eyewitness sketches of the emperor and his entourage while they were in Ferrara (from March 4, 1438) or in Florence (where the council was moved, on January 16, 1439, due to the plague) will be settled only if a telling document comes to light. It has been argued that the extraordinary portrait medal that Pisanello produced on the basis of the Paris and Chicago drawings (cat. 321) may have been done in August 1439 in Florence, during the emperor's month of leisure immediately following the closing of the council; the accounts of Paolo Giovio (1551) and Giorgio Vasari (1568) note that the medal was produced in Florence.[4] Yet the sketches on the Paris and Chicago pages were not necessarily undertaken with the medal in mind. For example, the color notes of the emperor's clothes that Pisanello inscribed on the drawing now in Paris would have been useful in producing a painting rather than in designing a medal. The Palaiologos medal, for which there were no precedents in the Renaissance for such a work and its design on paper, appears to have been Pisanello's first work as a medalist (although not all scholars agree on this point). The only motif that precisely relates to the design of the medal is the quick sketch of the emperor on horseback dressed in what is presumed to be hunting gear (a quiver with arrows may be visible), seen at the lower right of the Paris recto. A similar portrayal appears on the medal's reverse. The type of large-headed horse with slit nostrils and stumpy body proportions that Pisanello portrayed on the rectos of the Paris and Chicago sheets, as well as on the reverse of the Palaiologos medal, has been convincingly identified as being one of the Russian mounts that the emperor John VIII Palaiologos, an avid and somewhat transgressive hunter (according to the local Ferrarese gentry), bought from Nicolas Gedeles, a Russian delegate to the council, who arrived belatedly in Ferrara in August 1438.[5] Three other sheets of studies of this type of "Russian" horse have been similarly related to Pisanello's medal (Louvre inv. 2363, 2405, 2468).

Inscribed toward the center of the recto of the Paris page are Pisanello's detailed notes on the various types of costume. Although it is not quite what one might expect from a right-handed artist, Pisanello probably began writing an overall description of the emperor on the right-hand block of text (indicated by the capitalization of the initial letter), continued on the left (with a two-line description of another costume and matching hat that are surely the emperor's), and finished with three slightly separated lines of text concerning the leather accessories of the imperial weapons. (The leather-sheathed saber, bow, darts, bowcase, belt, and quiver of this gear are drawn in large size on the recto and verso of the Chicago sheet.) The precise identification of the remaining motifs has been much contested. Rosamond Mack has most recently, and quite rightly, identified the standing figure with short corkscrew curls seen from the back in the center of the Paris recto as also portraying the emperor, but in a different costume, wearing an Egyptian *ṭirāz* textile (a fabric woven in a state-run factory, here bearing dedicatory inscriptions). This figure also carries a weapon that appears to be a dagger, which is quickly sketched as hanging from his right side. The two incidental sketches of standing figures on the lower left may also represent the emperor.

Toward the upper margin of the Paris recto, the artist elegantly outlined a wide frieze with an inscription in thuluth calligraphy that is perfectly legible (although Pisanello did not know Arabic, he was a superbly accurate observer). Medieval and Renaissance artists usually ornamented paintings with pseudo-Arabic inscriptions that were merely decorative.[6] Pisanello, in contrast, took considerable pains to figure out the precise spacing of the letters in the thuluth script, scratching first the forms in a preliminary way by indenting the paper with the stylus. The thuluth inscription has been variously translated, but is here substantially revised with respect to previous scholarship: "Glory to our lord the sultan, the ruler, al-Mu'ayyad Abu al-Nasr Shaykh, may his victory [be glorious]," a reference to the Mamlūk sultan who reigned in Egypt from 1412 until 1421.[7] Below is a much narrower band of eight-petal rosettes and a pattern of decorated squares. The type of inscription in thuluth calligraphy, together with the ornamental vocabulary of narrow and wide bands, rosettes, and decorated squares, closely corresponds to designs of Mamlūk textiles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (figs. 318.1, 2);[8] the resemblance to Mamlūk metalwork is much less close, contrary to what is often stated in the Pisanello literature. In a Mamlūk textile, the inscription would have been repeated side by side, over and over again, along the ornamental border; Pisanello therefore drew only one repeat of it as a shortcut, a practice typical of textile designs in early-fifteenth-century Italian pattern drawings. Pisanello was clearly copying an actual piece of cloth, for even the size of the letters in the thuluth calligraphy seems to be the same as that in an actual fabric. Pisanello's color notes on the textile design (see inscription above) are evidence that the drawing reproduces an actual Mamlūk textile and helps substantiate the assumption that

Fig. 318.1. Fragment of a Mamlūk jacket, with inscription in thuluth calligraphy naming Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Abu al-Nasr Shaykh. Silk *ṭirāz*, Egyptian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1931 (31.14a,b)

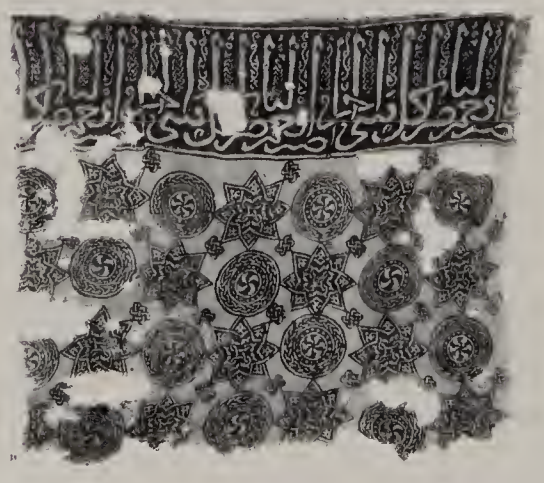


Fig. 318.2. Fragment of a Mamlūk textile, with inscription and a rosette medallion repeat pattern. Silk *ṭirāz*, Egyptian. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (8204)

Pisanello was drawing the relevant parts of a gown received as a gift by John VIII Palaiologos or his father, the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, from the Egyptian sultan al-Mu'ayyad Abu al-Nasr Shaykh. Gifts between such rulers were common; a gift, or *kaniskion,* is mentioned, although it is not described, in an extant letter by one of the successors of al-Mu'ayyad Abu al-Nasr Shaykh (d. 1421) addressed to John VIII Palaiologos.[9] The gown of *ṭirāz* fabric that was presented by the Egyptian sultan would be the one worn by the emperor in the figure sketch in the lower center of the Paris recto.

The two main studies of male figures in bust length on the other side of the Paris sheet, seen in frontal and three-quarter views, probably represent the same person (a third, barely visible, bust-length figure is sketched on the lower right). The man's middle-aged countenance; the short, forked, scraggly beard; and the almost shoulder-length corkscrew curls of hair all suggest a probable identification of the figure as Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Moreover, the very tall pillbox type of hat with a prominent peeling brim, a Byzantine hat type, is secular, rather than ecclesiastic.[10] Inexplicably, it was argued by James Fasanelli and Marcell Restle that these male figure studies on the Paris verso portray Joseph II, the venerable but frail patriarch of Constantinople, who accompanied the emperor to the council and who flatly refused to genuflect and kiss the foot of the Roman pontiff. At the time of the council he was about eighty years old, and in such poor health that he was unable to attend a number of important events; he died in Florence on June 10, 1439, before the council concluded (Gill 1964). The Paris verso, however, clearly represents a much younger man. Likenesses of the patriarch Joseph show him with very long hair and beard (for example, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Par. gr. 1783, fol. 98v), whereas a short, forked beard was a kingly attribute (as, for example, in the portrait of Ivan Alexander, king of Bulgaria, cat. 27). Several portrayals of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos document his relatively short, forked beard (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Par. gr. 1783, and Ms. Par. Suppl. gr. 1188, fol. 4v).

The weapons and leather casings represented in the three large-scale designs on the Chicago sheet appear to be of Mamlūk or Ottoman manufacture and were probably part of the emperor's hunting gear.[11] A saber (a *"simitarra,"* according to Pisanello's inscribed text on the Louvre page) in a scabbard is seen along the top on the recto, while a bowcase with two darts and a bow (which the artist called a *"guaina del larco"* in the Louvre inscription) and a quiver packed tightly with arrows (a *"turcasso"*) are both seen upright on the verso. The design of the saber in Pisanello's drawing is very similar to extant Mamlūk and Ottoman swords of the early fifteenth century, in particular to one of the finest such specimens, attributed to the sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46; 1451–81), now in the Topkapı Saray Museum.[12] The style of the three designs of weapons and casings on the Chicago sheet led Michael Vickers to speculate that these objects were presumably acquired in the East and were possibly even diplomatic gifts sent by the "Emir of Karaman," with whom Emperor John VIII attempted to keep peace.[13] As David Alexander has recently emphasized, it was part of a long-standing tradition for rulers of the Islamic world to present ceremonial arms and armor as gifts to loyal supporters, generals, and foreign rulers.[14] Mack has suggested that John VIII may have worn his oriental accessories prominently during the nonofficial moments of the council (along with the Egyptian *ṭirāz* garment inscribed with a dedication, seen on the Paris sheet), as a kind of propaganda, to demonstrate in a visible way to his prospective Western allies that his authority over Byzantium was recognized by the contemporary Mamlūk and Turkoman rulers—even if in actuality his empire was on the brink of collapse owing to the Ottoman invasion.[15]

In contrast to the designs of weapons and accessories, the figural drawings on the recto of the Chicago sheet are sketched very rapidly, with little detail, and in a considerably smaller scale. On the extreme left is a man on horseback whose identity is much disputed. Though he is of somewhat ungainly physique, he is splendidly attired in exotic costume. He also wears the same type of hat (a very tall pillbox shape with a prominent peeling brim) that is seen in the bust-length figure sketches on the Paris verso, which most probably represent the emperor John VIII Palaiologos. He carries a sword in a scabbard, and a sheathed bow hangs from his left side. These weapons appear to be more or less the same motifs that are present as large-scale designs along the top of the recto and on the verso of the Chicago sheet. This figure may well be another likeness of the emperor John VIII on horseback, but seen from the left side. The proportions of the body are similar to those in the undisputed equestrian portrait of the emperor on the Paris recto (which shows him from the right side, wearing his hat *alla grecanica,* with the pointy visor); the figure also calls to mind Pisanello's portrait notes—"sloping shoulders, small in person"—written above the Paris portrait sketch. Somewhat unconvincingly, Fasanelli identified the elaborately costumed figure on horseback in the Chicago recto as a "mounted archer or squire-dwarf" from the emperor's retinue.[16] More improbably still, Adolfo Venturi and some early critics maintained that this figure was a likeness of Joseph II, the ailing octagenarian patriarch of Constantinople (see discussion above, on the Paris sheet).

Toward the center of the Chicago recto is a standing male figure seen from the back in what is apparently Greek ecclesiastical costume—a shovel-type hat and a voluminous, long cloak. It is the only figure labeled on this sheet, above, with a word that has been variously interpreted as *chalone* (cardinal's hat) or, much more convincingly, as *chaloire* (a word considered to be a phonetic adaptation of the Greek *kalogeros*).[17] In medieval Greek, *kalogeros* always designated a monk, although it more literally meant "venerable person," as it does in modern Greek.[18] It should be emphasized that in portraying the Greek monk, Pisanello wrote the word to designate him as *chaloíre,* that is, with a very long emphatic diagonal dash over the "i" (it is not entirely to be ruled out that this long accent dash also falls on the "o"). In most circumstances Pisanello skipped accents on letters in writing in his native tongue (and this one is certainly not a horizontal dash of the type that would signify a contraction of an "n" or "m," as has sometimes been claimed). The accented "i" probably reflects exactly the way Pisanello heard the foreign word pronounced, with emphasis on both the "o" and the "i," indicating a dipthong (unlike the case in a French pronunciation). If spoken quickly Pisanello's phonetic transcription seems surprisingly close in sound to *kalógere,* the vocative of the word *kalógeros,* which is the voice of address that Pisanello would have heard used by the Greeks in conversation.[19]

Immediately to the right of this figure is a fragmentary larger-scale sketch of the male figure with tall hat, long braid, and ribbons seen from the back. It is difficult to identify this figure or the one on the extreme right, seen from the front, who is distinguished by his forked beard and costume with very long sleeves and tall, conical hat. These two figures recall those on the lower left of the Paris recto as well as the upper left on the verso of that sheet. Their costumes are without doubt secular, to judge from closely comparable examples found in Byzantine paintings.[20] Fasanelli's supposition that the figures represent Greek prelates can therefore be ruled out. It is possible that they also represent the emperor, as Michael Vickers maintained;

according to Vickers, the figure sketch on the extreme right of the Chicago recto represents the frontal view of the emperor's figure in *ṭirāz* garment, offering thus a counterpart to the rear-view sketch of the emperor seen in the center of the Paris recto. The visual evidence seems much too incomplete, however, for any such definitive conclusion; the emperor's enormous entourage (more than seven hundred persons) included his brother the despot Demetrios, various ecclesiastical dignitaries, and numerous secular attendants.[21] Fasanelli's overly specific reading of the evidence led him to suggest that the Paris and Chicago pages are to be understood as sketches recording a very precise event—the first dogmatic session of the council in Ferrara on October 8, 1438. For this first, most solemn, official meeting of the two churches, West and East, it does not seem likely that the emperor and his retinue would have worn garments and (hunting) accessories that so visibly alluded to the splendor of Islam. Moreover, none of the figures on either Paris or Chicago pages can be proved to represent Patriarch Joseph II of Constantinople himself, the most important Greek participant in the council beside the emperor.

CCB

1. With respect to the dimensions of the Louvre sheet, the Chicago page seems only slightly trimmed down; but judging from the extent to which the three monumental designs of weapons and casings appear cropped on the Chicago sheet, both of these pages must have originally been much larger in size.
2. Fasanelli 1965. The Chicago sheet was first summarily published in 1939 by Adolfo Venturi when it was still in a private collection in Rome. Venturi was also the first to connect the sheet to its much better known companion in the Musée du Louvre, rightly considering both works to be "on the spot" sketches recording the visit of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos and his entourage to Italy in 1438–39 for the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The sides of the Paris and Chicago pages that are now considered to be the reverses were originally probably the fronts and were drawn first by the artist. Corroboration is provided by various examples of bound and unbound sketchbook pages of this period in which the orientation of the motifs on the recto with respect to those on the verso is likewise turned at a ninety-degree angle.
3. See the documented chronology by Dominique Cordellier in Paris 1996, pp. 27–28.
4. Vasari 1966–, vol. 3, p. 11. Evidence discussed by Davide Gasparotto in Verona 1996, pp. 366–67, no. 77; but see also Syson 1998, pp. 389–90; Schmitt 1998, pp. 346–49; Cordellier 1998, pp. 759, 774 n. 59.
5. See especially Gill 1964, pp. 113–15; Juřen 1973, pp. 222–24; Vickers 1978.
6. A famous example is a work that was much admired by Pisanello, Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi, Florence), of 1423.
7. The text is slightly cropped on the left border of the sheet, and thus the words and punctuation for "be glorious" are implied, but are not present. Transcription and translation by Stefano Carboni, Curator of Islamic Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. For the most significant alternative interpretations, see Thérèse Bittar in Paris 1996, p. 195, no. 112; Dominique Cordellier in Verona 1996, p. 368, no. 78; Fasanelli 1965, p. 44 n. 10. For another object dedicated to this same ruler, see Carboni and Valencia 2003, p. 66, no. 12.
8. For other particularly relevant examples of such textiles (pointed out to me by Stefano Carboni), see Atıl 1981, pp. 229–30, 238–41, nos. 113–14, 121–24.
9. On the gift from the Egyptian sultan, see especially Vickers 1978, p. 420.
10. For example, see the murals in Tombs C and D at the Church of Christ in Chora and the Monastery of Christ in Chora (Kariye Camii), Constantinople, illustrated and discussed in Brooks 2002, pp. 294–300, pls. 4.8–4.17.
11. Vickers 1978, p. 420.
12. Illustrated and catalogued in Yücel 2001, pp. 125–28, nos. 84, 86, 87 (brought to my attention and discussed by Stuart Pyhrr, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Curator in Charge of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and by David G. Alexander).
13. Vickers 1978, p. 421 nn. 26, 27. The evidence for this is not concrete, however, and Gill (1964, pp. 11, 111; cited incorrectly in Vickers 1978) does not support this theory. I am indebted to Donald J. LaRocca, Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for his analysis of the archery equipment depicted in Pisanello's Chicago sheet.
14. See D. Alexander 1988, nos. 56–58; David Alexander in Florence 2002, pp. 41–47.
15. Mack 2001, pp. 153–54.
16. Fasanelli 1965, p. 43 n. 8.
17. Fasanelli considered this word to read *chalone*; see ibid., pp. 36–47. The interpretation of the word as *chaloire* is credited to Ulrich Middeldorf, as recorded in Fossi Todorow 1966, p. 81, but see lengthy arguments given by Robert Munman in Dunbar and Olszewski 1996, p. 101 n. 10, with which the present author disagrees, based on the paleographic evidence discussed above.
18. As clarified to me by Angela Constantinides Hero, Professor Emeritus, Queens College, City University of New York (July 30, 2003).
19. As clarified by Angela Constantinides Hero.
20. For an example of this Greek secular costume, see Tomb C at the Church of Christ in Chora, Monastery of Christ in Chora, Constantinople, illustrated and discussed in Brooks 2002, pp. 294–300, pls. 4.10–4.11.
21. Gill 1964.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Venturi 1939, p. 37 n. 1, figs. 30–31, 32–33; Fasanelli 1965, pls. 28–29, 30–31, 32–35; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 30–31, 38, 68 (under no. 22), 80 (no. 57), 81 (under no. 58), 88 (under no. 72), 154 (under no. 265), pls. 68, 69, 70, 71; Restle 1972, pp. 131–32, 134, 136 nn. 5 and 11, 137 n. 22; Juřen 1973, pp. 222–24; Vickers 1978, figs. 5–8; Ames-Lewis 1996; Robert Munman in Dunbar and Olszewski 1996, pp. 95–101, no. 19; Paris 1996, pp. 195–206, nos. 112–13 (with earlier bibl.); Verona 1996, pp. 368–71, no. 78; McCullagh and Giles 1997, pp. 192–93 (under no. 250); Cordellier 1998, pp. 759, 770 n. 2; Dillon Bussi 1998, p. 543; Schmitt 1998, pp. 342–44, 357, 367, figs. 13–14; Skerl Del Conte 1998, p. 50; Syson 1998, pp. 389–90, 403; Ames-Lewis 2000, pp. 77–79, 87, 178, 184 n. 10, fig. 52; Kubiski 2001; Mack 2001, pp. 153–54, fig. 161 (recto); London 2001–2, pp. 29–34, figs. 1.36–1.39; David Alexander in Florence 2002, pp. 41–47.

319. Portrait of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos

Pisanello (Antonio Pisano) (ca. 1395–ca. 1455)
Soft black chalk on beige laid paper
25.8 x 19 cm (10 3/16 x 7 1/2 in.) maximum sheet
WATERMARK: Moorish man with a headband in bust-length profile and a small circle close to his head (not in Briquet), similar to watermark types found on Italian papers of about 1417–26 from the Friuli and Veneto regions
PROVENANCE: Stamp Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan (1784–1863; Lugt 1223); acquired by the Louvre, 1856; museum stamp (Lugt 1886a); old inventory number, MI 205, NIII 35593.
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (2478)

The Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos (r. 1425–48) is portrayed here with his shoulder-length hair dressed in four or possibly five corkscrew curls and wearing his famously distinctive hat with a high, ribbed dome and sharply pointed peak. The Italian authors Paolo Giovio (in 1551) and Giorgio Vasari (in 1568) called it "that bizarre hat in the Greek style that emperors used to wear,"[1] but in Byzantium it was also worn by provincial imperial officials.[2] Inspired by the arrival in Venice of John VIII in 1438, Italian Renaissance artists widely adopted it in their paintings and sculptures as a motif identifying Greeks or other antique personages.[3] It is difficult to conclude definitively from the present drawing whether the emperor's hat is surmounted by the fabled red ruby that is mentioned in the primary sources (the drawing surface is quite rubbed and the paper buckled along the right edge), but it is likely that the hat exhibits only a plain finial, as in the two versions of the related portrait medal (see cat. 321 and the version of the portrait medal with Cardinal Bessarion's device on the reverse, Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, MR.R.330-Migeon Br. 451).

The likeness of the emperor here is probably not drawn directly from life, but is based on now-lost on-site sketches that Pisanello typically did in pen and ink for portraits (for related extant sketches, see cat. 318). John VIII is represented in a profile view, "all'antica," in a revival of the ancient manner that the artist made famous in his drawings and medals and that was inspired by the portraits of Roman emperors on antique coins and medals. Already in 1855, the Milanese art dealer and collector of Pisanello's drawings, Giuseppe Vallardi, had connected this justly celebrated portrait drawing with the likeness of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, as he is represented in the two versions of Pisanello's medal.[4] Although the present drawing has

had some detractors,[5] the majority of scholars have accepted the drawing as by Pisanello's hand, albeit with differences of opinion about the precise relationship of the drawing to the two versions of the medal. Most obviously, the profile of the emperor faces to the left in the drawing, while in the medal it faces to the right, and the scale of the figure is vastly larger—almost lifesize. It is therefore not possible to argue that the present drawing was directly preparatory for the medal.[6] Although the hat with its pointy visor is carefully described—very similarly—in both drawing and medal, the conception of the emperor's figure seems considerably more pictorial in the drawing, and the articulation of the facial features of the emperor is also much softer, and the beard less stiffly pointed. His neck is shown nude (rather than covered by a rigid, high collar), gently edged by an open, V-shaped slit; the bodice is vaguely articulated.

While Pisanello's medal and the "eyewitness" sketches of the Byzantine emperor and his entourage (cat. 318) can be dated to the general period during which the dignitaries attended the Council of Ferrara-Florence—that is, between March 4, 1438, and August 1439—the date of production of the medal can probably be narrowed down to August 1439.[7] The present drawing, however, may date from a few years later. As Dominique Cordellier convincingly suggested, this portrait drawing of John VIII was probably preparatory for a lost painting, which in the present author's opinion would better account for its pictorial qualities and large

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Fig. 319.1. Portrait of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos in profile. Tempera on vellum. Library of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Cod. 2123, fol. 30v)

size. This is one of the earliest extant monumental drawings in the medium of black chalk in Italy, and many of the innovative large-scale drawings in black chalk in the 1430s and 1440s were produced in connection with mural paintings. Although stylized in its details, the convincingly lifelike nature of this portrait (especially in contrast to Byzantine images of the ruler) derives from the artist's innovative use of the pictorial devices that were being pioneered in Italy in the 1430s and 1440s: modeling, perspective, and anatomical detail. Nevertheless, the condition of the John VIII portrait drawing is not as good as that of most of the other large-scale studies of heads in black chalk by Pisanello (for example, Louvre inv. 2330, 2333, 2335, 2338, 2479, 2480, 2482, 2483), which, besides seeming more naturalistic, exhibit distinctive strokes of hatching and a relatively sculptural articulation of form; in these, one can sense the material presence of the chalk on the paper. In contrast, in the John VIII portrait, the artist applied the soft black chalk medium very lightly on the paper, and with even blending. The surface is extremely rubbed and faded; the impressions of the chalk strokes on the paper seem visible—and just faintly so—only with magnification (one can therefore rule out the possibility that this drawing is an offset of a lost drawing by the artist). An exquisitely illuminated portrait of the emperor in profile facing to the right, but of closely comparable design, appears pasted onto a page of a psalter (begun around 1242), now in the library of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai (fig. 319.1). It was published by Marcell Restle as being of superior execution to the present drawing and worthy of the hand of Pisanello himself. CCB

1. Vasari 1966–, vol. 3, p. 11: "ho ancora una bellissima medaglia di Giovanni Paleologo, imperatore di Costantinopoli; con quel bizzarro cappello alla

grecanica, che solevano portare gl'imperatori: e fu fatta da esso Pisano in Fiorenza. . . ."

2. For example, see the mural in the tomb of Manuel Laskaris Chatzikes, ca. 1445, an imperial official from Mistra, illustrated and discussed in Brooks 2002, pp. 350–55, pls. 9.3–9.4.
3. Pontius Pilate, for instance, wears such a Greek peaked hat in Antonio Filarete's bronze doors at the Basilica of Saint Peter, Vatican City, and in Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation* (Galleria delle Marche, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino); the same is true of Emperor Constantine in Piero's mural cycle *The Legend of the Holy Cross* in the Church of San Francesco, Arezzo.
4. The resemblance, however, caused Vallardi some consternation for he was quite convinced (wrongly as it turns out) that this and the many other drawings by Pisanello in the album that he owned were instead by the hand of Leonardo da Vinci. See Giuseppe Vallardi, *Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci* (Milan, 1855), p. 17 (fol. 80).
5. Zoege von Manteuffel 1909, Fossi Todorow 1959 and 1966, and Restle 1972, who considered it a derivative design by a Pisanello follower, based on the famous medal.
6. Contrary to the opinions of Both de Tauzia 1882, Stevenson 1888, Venturi 1896, Hill 1905, Marle 1923–38, Soulier 1924, Babelon 1927, 1930, 1931, Degenhart 1940, 1945, 1953, 1972, Verona 1958, Sindona 1961, Fasanelli 1965, R. Weiss 1966, Ames-Lewis 1990, 1996, and others.
7. See evidence discussed by Davide Gasparotto in Verona 1996, pp. 366–67, no. 77.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Both de Tauzia 1882, pp. 225–30; Stevenson 1888, pp. 460–61; Venturi 1896, p. 96; Hill 1905, p. 111 n.; Zoege von Manteuffel 1909, p. 159; Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 8, p. 122; Soulier 1924, p. 168 n. 1; Babelon 1927, p. 43; Babelon 1931, p. 20; Degenhart 1940, pp. 20, 40, 44, 58, 61 n. 25, 70, fig. 98; Degenhart 1945, pp. 20, 38, 44, 58, 64–65 n. 25, 77, fig. 98; Degenhart 1953, pp. 182–85 n. 7; Verona 1958, pp. 103–4 (under no. 116); Fossi Todorow 1959, p. 14; Sindona 1961, pp. 72–73, fig. 94; Fasanelli 1965, pp. 42, 46–47 n. 38, fig. 2; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 164 (no. 301), 165 (under no. 303), pl. 123; R. Weiss 1966; Degenhart 1972, p. 209 n. 42; Restle 1972, pp. 132, 134–35, 136 n. 15, 137 nn. 18–19; Ames-Lewis 1990, pp. 661–63, figs. 809, 810; Ames-Lewis 1996; Paris 1996, pp. 203, 208–9, no. 118 (with earlier bibl.); Verona 1996, pp. 372–73, no. 79; Chrościcki 1998, pp. 207–10; Cordellier 1998, p. 777; La Chapelle 1998, p. 721; Schmitt 1998, pp. 342–45, 357, 367, fig. 12; Toniolo 1998, p. 639.

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320. Portrait Bust of John VIII Palaiologos

Attributed to Antonio Filarete (ca. 1400–1469) or Donatello (1386?–1466)
Florence, 1439
Bronze
49 x 37 x 26 cm (19¼ x 14⅝ x 10¼ in.)
PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1888 by the Museo di Propaganda in Rome.
Vatican Museums, Vatican City

The life-size bronze bust of John VIII Palaiologos (r. 1425–48) was made during the emperor's stay in Italy for the Council of Ferrara-Florence (March 4, 1438–August 27, 1439). The bust must have been made in Florence around the time of the signing of the decree of union of the two churches on June 6, 1439. The image is important as the earliest dated portrait bust of a living person.

Made in the lost-wax technique, the bust was attributed in 1907 to Filarete. He would have made it from life in Florence and then used it as a model for the effigy of the Byzantine emperor on the bronze doors of Saint Peter's in Rome that depicted his travels.[1] More recently, Jane Schuyler has attributed it on stylistic and technical grounds to Donatello, who was also working in Florence at the time of the council.[2] The bronze bust resembles the portraits of John VIII that Pisanello made in drawings and medallions (see cats. 318B, 319, 321) as well as a drawing inserted in the Greek manuscript codex at Sinai (fig. 319.1).[3] As in the medallions, the artist has focused on the exotic costume of the Byzantine emperor, especially his tall-crowned hat and skiadion (visor), although the hat of the bust is less pointed. The wedge-shaped beard, long nose, ears, long locks of hair, eyes, and eyebrows are rendered in naturalistic detail that conforms to surviving descriptions of the almost fifty-year-old emperor and that accentuates the lifelike impression of the work. MG

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1. Lazzaroni and Muñoz 1907, pp. 302–3.
2. Schuyler 1986, p. 28.
3. Fasanelli 1965, fig. 2; Fossi Todorow 1966, pls. 68–69; Verona 1996, no. 79, pp. 372–73; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 52–54.

REFERENCES: Lazzaroni and Muñoz 1907; Schuyler 1986.

321. Medal of John VIII Palaiologos

Pisanello (Antonio Pisano) (ca. 1394–ca. 1455)
Ferrara, ca. 1438–39
Cast bronze
Diameter 10.2 cm (4 in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, + IωANNHC • BACIΛEVC • KAI • AVTO / KPATωP • PωMAIωN • O • ΠAΛAIOΛOГOC (John, / king and emperor of the Romans, the Palaiologos); on the reverse, OPVS • PISANI • PICTORIS • (the work of Pisano the painter); at the bottom, the same inscription in Greek, EPГON • TOV • ΠICANOV • ZωГPAΦOV
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

321, obverse

321, reverse

By the early years of the fifteenth century the once-extensive and powerful Byzantine Empire had shrunk to no more than the city of Constantinople and a few scattered provinces. Although there was some serious squabbling over these territories within the Palaiologan family and among the more important Italian maritime powers, such as Venice and Genoa, the greatest threat to the final collapse of the empire had for a long time been the Ottoman Turks, who were now practically at the gates of the capital city. Successive emperors had either come to some uneasy accommodation with the Ottoman sultans or suffered losses of territory in war.

Political and doctrinal differences had led to a long-standing animosity and mutual suspicion between the Byzantine East and the Latin West, but from time to time, by means of the call for a crusade or a direct appeal from the Eastern emperor, attempts had been made to enlist military and financial aid from the West. Between 1400 and 1402, Manuel II Palaiologos traveled extensively throughout Europe seeking help, even going as far as England. In 1423 his son John undertook the same, ultimately fruitless, effort, journeying for a year in Italy and to the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund. Manuel died in the summer of 1425, leaving the throne to his son, who, as John VIII, was destined to be the penultimate Byzantine emperor.

In 1437 Pope Eugenius IV invited John to travel to Italy to explore the possibility of establishing a union of the two churches. Confronted at that time with factions that had forced him to convene the Council of Basel (1431–49) for the purpose of instituting reforms in the Catholic Church, the pope hoped to enhance his prestige and counter the activities of his opponents in his attempt to bring together East and West. For John, such an invitation was, of course, an opportunity to realize his own ends in search of aid for the empire. After many delays, the council convened in Ferrara on October 8, 1438. John VIII arrived with the patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II, who supported the union of the two churches, and an immense retinue of eight hundred, the cost of the entire company being borne by the pope. There was, in fact, little interest in the rest of Europe in supporting what was clearly perceived as a lost cause. As it happened, Ferrara soon experienced an outbreak of the plague, and, upon receiving an invitation from Florence, the council removed to that city in February 1439. There the various points of theology that had been in contention were resolved, and several acts of union were executed, providing the emperor with some confidence that help would be offered to him against the Turks. Returning to Constantinople early in February 1440, however, he found that, as he had been warned, his own subjects were passionately opposed to union. Serious rioting ensued, and the reconciliation of the two churches failed. By the end of his long reign, John VIII Palaiologos was a broken man. He died on October 31, 1448, and, because of the perceived betrayal of his own religion, was refused the funeral rites of the Orthodox Church.

If John gained little of value from his trip to Italy, that country benefited greatly. Among his delegation were scholars and men of letters, such as Bessarion, who would later become a Catholic cardinal. The Greeks were delighted to find themselves in an environment conducive to new ideas and reverent of the ancient past. Welcomed enthusiastically and encouraged to stay, the visitors thus accelerated the revival of Greek studies in Renaissance Europe. Among those present in Ferrara to witness the activities of the council was the famous and eagerly sought-after painter Pisanello, who was fascinated by the exotic appearance of many of the visitors, as can be seen in several of his drawings (cat. 318) and in details of his paintings. These are directly related to his medal of John VIII, which has generally been considered to be the first true portrait medal of the Renaissance, the progenitor of all subsequent medals and therefore of immense importance.[1]

There are various intriguing possibilities regarding the person who may have commissioned this medal, since someone other than Pisanello was probably responsible for its invention. One candidate might be the pope himself; another is Leonello d'Este (1407–1450), who during his brief rule in Ferrara was a dedicated humanist and supporter of scholarship. He certainly would have had an interest in commemorating the emperor's visit in a fashion similar to that chosen by the ancient Romans in their coinage. Even more important, the distinguished and influential polymath Leon Battista Alberti was also in Ferrara as a member of the papal Curia. It is tempting to think that the spiritual father of the medallic form as it came to life in the hands of Pisanello was actually Alberti, who may have recognized the opportunity presented by the presence of the Byzantine emperor in Ferrara to continue the tradition of representing a Roman emperor on a durable, numismatic object.

The medal presents no iconographic mysteries. On the obverse John, portrayed with mustache and sharply pointed beard, faces right. Long spiral curls emerge from beneath a hat with a tall, conical crown and a high, upturned brim, pointed at the front. The emperor wears a jacket open in front over a high-collared shirt. The reverse features some of John VIII's salient interests, riding and hunting. By showing him at prayer, it suggests the purpose of his visit to Ferrara. One cannot overestimate the influence exercised by this medal, not only on the proliferation of the form itself but also on other media. The portrait of the emperor was used frequently in sculpture, painting, and engraving (cat. 320). It was adapted to many purposes, in one instance, rather ironically,

serving as the likeness of the very Turkish sultan who conquered Constantinople, Mehmed II (cat. 253).[2] SKS

1. Although Pisanello's exact year of birth is not known, 1395 has usually been chosen based on related documentary evidence. It is now thought that 1394 is more accurate. Nonetheless, in conjunction with the general period of his birth, a number of exhibitions were held in 1996 and later, accompanied by important publications. See especially Paris 1996; Verona 1996 and a companion volume of essays, Aliberti Gaudioso 1996; Degenhart and Schmitt 1995; and London 2001–2. The question of which medal was Pisanello's first remains open, there being several possibilities based on a reading of the documents and subjective, stylistic analyses. It is possible, for example, that his medal of Filippo Maria Visconti dates anywhere between 1435 and 1440.
2. For a fairly complete listing of works of art using the medallic portrait of the emperor, see R. Weiss 1966.

322A, obverse

322A, reverse

322B, obverse

322B, reverse

322A, B. Two Medals of Mehmed II

322A. Costanzo da Ferrara (ca. 1450–ca. 1525)
Ca. 1478–80
Cast bronze
Diameter 12.3 cm (4⅞ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, SVITANVS • MOHAMETH • OTHOMANVS • TVRCORVM • IMPERATOR (Sultan Mehmed of the house of Osman, emperor of the Turks); on the reverse, HIC • BELLI • FVLMEN • POPVLOS • PROSTRAVIT • ET • VRBES • (This man, the thunderbolt of war, has laid low peoples and cities); in a *tabula ansata* in the exergue, the signature CONSTANTIVS • F[ecit] • (Costanzo made it)
PROVENANCE: Gustave Dreyfus (1837–1914); his estate; purchased by Duveen Brothers, Inc., London and New York, 1930; purchased by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 1945; gift to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1957.
CONDITION: The medal is pierced at top center; the unique and beautiful cast has some pitting, staining, and graininess on the reverse.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.737a)

322B. Gentile Bellini (Venice, ca. 1429–1507)
Istanbul or Venice, ca. 1480–81
Cast bronze
9.2 cm (3⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the obverse, MAGNI SVLTANIFMOHAMETI IMPERATORIS ([portrait of] the Great Sultan Mehmed Emperor); on the reverse, • GENTILIS BELLINVS VENETVS EQVES AVRATVS COMES • Q[ue] • PALATINVS • F[ecit] • (Gentile Bellini, Venetian, gilded knight and count palatine, made it)
PROVENANCE: Gustave Dreyfus (1837–1914); his estate; purchased by Duveen Brothers, Inc., London and New York, 1930; purchased by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 1945; gift to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1957.
CONDITION: The medal is pierced at top center. The rather rough sand-cast has uneven surfaces; the obverse portrait and drapery details are soft and somewhat indistinct, yet with clear and strong lettering.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.737)

On May 29, 1453, the twenty-one-year-old Ottoman sultan Mehmed II entered Constantinople and took possession of the last Byzantine jewel in the Ottoman Turkish crown, effectively putting to an end one thousand years of Byzantine history. In addition to being a ruthless and brilliant military leader, Mehmed II was also a determined ruler. As the Byzantine emperors had been before him, he was acutely conscious of the great Roman imperial heritage he was assuming, a heritage that included not only the local Byzantine and ancient Greek cultures but also the extraordinary accomplishments of the developing Italian Renaissance. As a conqueror Mehmed was also sensitive to the question of legitimacy and to the fact that he was replacing the deeply rooted state religion of Greek Orthodoxy with Islam. His was a new imperium built upon ancient foundations, and such an accomplishment needed to be marked by appropriate monuments. Thus, despite Muslim strictures against imagery, he appreciated the effectiveness of, among other things, portraiture, which would support the crucial role he was playing in history.

In 1461 Mehmed requested from Sigismondo Malatesta (1417–1468), lord of Rimini, the services of the painter, architect, and medalist Matteo de' Pasti (ca. 1420–1467), who never reached the newly named Istanbul, having been arrested as a possible spy by Venetian officials in Crete. Subsequently, Mehmed on several occasions sent word to Italy requesting painters as well as sculptors and bronze casters, without specifying anyone in particular. One of the artists who went to Istanbul was Gentile Bellini, who embarked from Venice on September 1, 1479. While in Istanbul he was commissioned to paint imperial and other court portraits and an icon of the Virgin and Child and to decorate palace apartments.

Mehmed must have been aware of a new form of portraiture that had been developed in Italy, the medal, which was based partially on ancient Roman coins. The medal had definite imperial connotations and was especially effective as a means of celebrating one's achievements. Among the seven or so different medals portraying the sultan, by far the finest and most impressive is the one by the Venetian painter Costanzo da Ferrara. The little that is known about Costanzo can be found in a

letter from the Ferrarese ambassador Batista Bendidio to the court of Ferdinand I of Naples dated August 24, 1485.[1] According to Bendidio, Mehmed had sent to the Neapolitan court for a painter to execute his portrait. Ferdinand had chosen Costanzo, who traveled to Istanbul, probably around 1477–78, and spent several years there, becoming a favorite of the sultan, who knighted him.[2]

Mehmed is portrayed on the obverse wearing a turban, an inner robe (dolaman), and an outer cloak (kaftan). The likeness captures perfectly the strong character of the conqueror of Constantinople, and the Roman-style lettering is beautifully rendered. On the reverse, the stocky figure of the sultan on horseback, holding a commander's baton or ruler's scepter and wearing a sword, dominates the landscape and illustrates the inscription surrounding the image. It is a simple composition that shows a clear dependence on the works of the first and greatest of Renaissance medalists, Pisanello (see cat. 321).

A precedent for Bellini's medal may have been Costanzo's large and handsome piece. Bellini's portrayal refers to Mehmed as emperor, while the three crowns on the reverse probably symbolize the three kingdoms constituting the sultan's empire, Greece, Asia, and Trebizond. The inscription, however, follows a common Italian medallic format and is devoted entirely to the signature and titles of the artist, who had been knighted by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III during a visit to Venice in 1469. This is the only medal by Bellini, who, although justly celebrated as a painter, produced here a relatively lifeless portrait and unexciting reverse.

SKS

1. For a summary of Costanzo's career and a full bibliography, see Salton 2002.
2. For a recent study of this medal and a full bibliography, see Julian Raby in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 87–89, 379; see also Raby 1987b.

References: Hill 1930, pp. 80, 113–14, nos. 321a, 432; Hill and Pollard 1967, pp. 24, 30, nos. 102, 144; Babinger 1978, pp. 378, 380–81, 388, 505–6; Raby 1987b; Draper 1992, pp. 95–101; Venice 1994b, p. 262, fig. 69; Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 87–89, 379, no. 21; Collinge 2002; Salton 2002; Spinale 2003.

323A, B. The Constantine and Herakleios Medals

323A. Medal of Emperor Constantine I the Great
France, ca. 1400
Obverse
Silver, two repoussé shells soldered together
Diameter 8.8 cm (3½ in.)
Inscribed: + CONSTANTINVS • INXRO • DEO • FIDELIS • IMPERATOR • ET • MODERATOR ROMANORVM • ET • SEMPER • AVGVSTVS (Constantine, faithful in Christ our God, emperor and ruler of the Romans and forever exalted); in the field beneath the horse, the number 234
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Frignon de Montagny Collection
Reverse
Cast bronze
Diameter 9.5 cm (3¾ in.)
Inscribed: ∴+MIHI : ABSIT : GLORIARI : NISI : IN : CRVCE : DOMINI : NOSTRI : IHV : XRI ∴ (God forbid that I should glory in anything save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ [Galatians 6:14]); in the field on either side of the Cross, the number 235
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alain Moatti, 1988 (1988.133)

323B. Medal of Emperor Herakleios
France, ca. 1400
Obverse
Cast bronze
Diameter 10 cm (3⅞ in.)
Inscribed: • HPAKΛEIOC • EN • X̄Ω̄• Tῼ Θῼ • ΠICTOC •• BACI • KAI • AVTO • Pῼ • NIKITHC • KAI • AΘΛOΘETHC • AEI • AVΓOVCTOC • (Herakleios, faithful in Christ our Lord, king and emperor of the Romans, victorious and triumphant, forever exalted).[1] Herakleios gazes up at a burst of light rays extending downward from the medal's upper edge. To the left, behind his head, is the word • AΠOΛINIC • (see explanation in text below), and in front of him, at the level of his mouth, is the legend, • ILLVMINA • VUL • TVM • TVVM • DEV(s) • (Cause Thy face to shine, O Lord . . . [continued on the crescent moon]). His bust rests upon the sickle of a waning moon, the upper and lower surfaces of which contain the inscription, SVPER TENEBRAS NOSTRAS MILLITABOR IN GENTIBVS (. . . upon our darkness, I shall make war upon the heathen)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
Reverse
Cast bronze
Diameter 9.8 cm (3⅞ in.)
Inscribed: • SVPER • ASPIDEM • ET • BAXILISCVM • AMBVLAVIT • • ET • CONCVLCAVIT • LEONEM • ET • DRACONEM • (He has trodden on the asp and the basilisk and trampled on the lion and the dragon). Beneath the four lamps hanging from a rod stretched across the top of the field is the inscription, ΔOΞA • EN • YωICTIC • Xῶ • TO Θῶ • OTI • ΔIEPPIΞE • CIΔI PAC • ΠIΛAC • KAI • EΛEVOC PωCE + AΓIAN • BACI • HPAKΛE • (Glory in the heavens to Christ the Lord, for Emperor Herakleios has broken through [the] iron gates and set free [the] Holy Cross)[2]
Private collection, New York

The emperors Constantine the Great (r. 306–37) and Herakleios (r. 610–41) are among the most vaunted heroes of Christian, and particularly Byzantine, history and are celebrated in the two remarkable and well-known medals included in this exhibition.

The obverse imagery of the Constantine medal is quite straightforward. The emperor appearing in triumph on horseback recalls two distinct traditions: the Roman equestrian monument and the common depiction of a mounted knight on medieval seals. The reverse, however, has never been completely or satisfactorily explained. In the center is the True Cross as part of the Tree of Life rising from the Fountain of Life. The major theme of the *Adoratio Crucis* of the Good Friday service is the celebration of the Cross as the tree of everlasting life and salvation, and the climax of that short service is the great double hymn *Crux fidelis / Pange lingua,* which virtually describes the form of the cross on the medal. While these texts represent a portion of the literary tradition behind the medal's imagery, artistic precedent can be seen in early Christian and medieval mosaics, particularly the great apse mosaics of the Roman basilicas Saint Clement (ca. 1120–23) and Saint John Lateran (originally created ca. 234, restored 1291). Many of the elements found in these mosaics are repeated in the medal so closely that a direct influence could be postulated.

Through the arched opening in the basin of the fountain, the base of the Cross is represented in triumph over the serpent of evil. This victory is underscored by the appearance of the lion of Judah, a symbol of Christ. The infant Herakles strangling the serpents appears on the rim of the inner basin, and is another symbolic reference to the triumph of Christ over evil.

The compositions on either side of the fountain—a bench on which is seated two female figures, one old, one young—have been the most difficult to interpret. The young woman, her head turned away from the Cross, is partially naked and wears a loosely wrapped turban. The old woman, who is fully clothed and wears a cloth that covers her head and neck, looks up at and points with her right hand to the Cross. They clearly represent an opposing duality and have been defined variously as Sacred and Profane Love, Human and Celestial Love, the Old and New Testaments, Church and Synagogue, Nature and Grace, Sarah and Hagar (the wives of Abraham, representing

323A, obverse

322A, reverse

323B, obverse

323B, reverse

restrained by the shape of the medal, turns his head to the rear, while the groom looks back at the emperor in consternation, awaiting further orders. The inscription around the border is adapted from Psalm 90:13 (King James Version; Vulgate, 91:13). In his victory, Herakleios has trodden upon the symbols of evil. The Greek legend in the field is somewhat faulty, but also refers to the emperor's victory over the Persians.[5]

Stylistically and iconographically, the two medals can be considered a pair. Surely, in both medals there is a reference to the constant and ever-growing menace of a final Turkish conquest of the Byzantine Empire, which finally occurred half a century later when Constantinople fell to Mehmed II. The story of these medals is extremely complex, however, and much that concerns their history, authorship, and iconography remains obscure.

Fig. 323.1. Solidus of Constantine I the Great showing the head of Constantine (obverse). Gold, minted at Nicomedia (İzmit), 324–25. Private collection, New York

Fig. 323.2. Solidus of Herakleios showing busts of Herakleios I and his son Herakleios Constantine (reverse). Gold, Nicomedia mint, 629–31. Private collection, New York

Fig. 323.3. Virgin and Child beneath a canopy. Attributed to Michelet Saulmon, bronze, ca. 1415–16. Staaliche Museen Skulpturengalerie, Berlin (2181)

Christian and Judaic covenants and related to the reference in the inscription to Saint Paul's Letter to the Galatians), or Saint Helena (mother of Constantine who discovered the True Cross) and Venus. The answer lies, perhaps, in the details: the animal beneath the foot of the young woman; the clear and detailed references to falconry; the age, clothing, and demeanor of the two women. Whatever the explanation, the complex mystery of the Christian allegory combined with the extraordinary beauty of its representation is ample reason for the powerful influence this medal has always exerted.

If the Constantine medal represents the establishment of Christianity as the imperial state religion by the triumph of the Holy Cross, the Herakleios medal recalls the recovery of that same Cross from the hands of unbelievers. Herakleios (ca. 575–641) was unquestionably one of the greatest of the Byzantine emperors and a memorable hero of medieval Christianity. In the year 614 the Persians sacked Jerusalem and carried away the True Cross to Ctesiphon. After initial setbacks, Herakleios was able to gather a powerful army and, by 628, following a brilliant campaign, utterly defeat the Persians and in the process recover the True Cross. In 630 Herakleios journeyed to Jerusalem and on March 21 restored this most sacred of relics to its rightful place.

On the obverse, the emperor is apparently speaking words from the introit of the liturgy of the September 14 Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which is taken from Psalm 66:2 (King James Version; Vulgate, 67:1). The prayer is continued on the crescent moon beneath him, which may represent either the city of Byzantium, for which it was an ancient symbol, or the unbelieving Persians, upon whom Herakleios will wage war. In either case, it is spiritual darkness illuminated by the divine light. As it stands, the word ΑΠΟΛΙΝΙC behind Herakleios's head is a meaningless corruption of a Greek word. G. F. Hill proposed that it be read as ΑΠΟΛΕΙ ΠΕΙC, meaning "thou art waning," which would make sense in relation to the imagery.[3]

The reverse illustrates a scene from the *Golden Legend*, a text associated with the September 14 feast.[4] Herakleios, in full imperial splendor, has suddenly had his progress into Jerusalem checked by the fallen gate, which is not represented. The lead horse, unable to proceed and compositionally

Medals of the two emperors were first described among a group of eight similar objects in the inventories of the famous patron and collector Jean de France, duc de Berry (1340–1416).[6] The objects in this group were all round, made of gold, mounted in jeweled frames, and made to be worn around the neck suspended from a gold chain.[7] The Constantine medal was bought at Bourges on November 2, 1402, from a Florentine merchant, Antonio Mancini, who was living in Paris at the time. There is no indication in the inventories of the source of the Herakleios medal, but it has generally been assumed that the two, being very much alike, were purchased together.

Despite a clear Franco-Flemish style of about 1400, both medals were considered to be ancient, that is, contemporary with their subjects, until as late as the seventeenth century. As an indication of how styles of a particular historical period were once understood, it is interesting to compare the Constantine and Herakleios medals with authentic coins from the reigns of the two rulers (figs. 323.1, 2). Often overlooked in a consideration of the style and origin of the present medals are the two entries in the inventories that follow the primary descriptions. They inform us that the duke commissioned one copy each of the Constantine and Herakleios pendants to be made in gold, but not mounted or garnished with jewels. These were undoubtedly done by a court artist or goldsmith and are probably the source of all copies made subsequently.[8] We cannot be certain, therefore, of the style or of the origin of the objects purchased from the Italian merchant.

There is another possible source for the medals. For almost four hundred years attempts had been made, without any real success, to achieve a union of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches. The motivations governing such attempts were more often political and economic than spiritual, with the popes seeking to extend their power over all of Christendom and the Byzantine emperors looking to the West for help against Turkish domination. In 1400 Manuel II Palaiologos, having already corresponded in 1397 with the French king Charles VI, arrived in Paris seeking such aid. The effort was in vain, but he remained in the city until 1402. During his visit he participated in many of the activities of the French court, including attendance at the marriage of Marie, daughter of the duc de Berry. Since the inscriptions on the medals of Constantine and Herakleios include the full titles of the rulers according to the exact formulas of the Byzantine chancery in use in the later Middle Ages, it has been suggested that some member of Manuel's court may have advised whoever composed the inscriptions.[9] As our knowledge of the original medals derives only from copies, is it possible that the objects that were sold to the duc de Berry by an Italian merchant may have been of Byzantine origin, brought to Paris by someone in Manuel's retinue? This might explain why the medals were believed to be ancient.

Because of their Franco-Flemish style, the copies of the Constantine and Herakleios medals have frequently been attributed collectively to the Limbourg brothers, Paul, Herman, and Jean, who were among the most important and skilled of the artists employed by the duc de Berry and who painted, among other masterpieces, the *Très Riches Heures* (Musée Condé, Chantilly, ca. 1413–16). The Limbourgs incorporated figures from the two medals in a number of illuminations in both this manuscript and the *Très Belles Heures* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, ca. 1408).[10] These borrowings and a general correspondence in style might support the attribution to the Limbourg brothers of the medals as we know them.

Again, the inventories suggest an alternate possibility, a description in another entry of a mounted, round gold medallion. On one side is an image of the Virgin and Child under a canopy held by angels, and on the other is a portrait of the duc de Berry. According to the entry, the duke purchased the jewel from one of his court painters, Michelet Saulmon.[11] Although the portrait side of this pendant is lost, we do possess a copy of the Virgin and Child relief in a circular bronze plaquette in Berlin (fig. 323.3). Since the style of this work is very close to that of the reverse of the Constantine medal, particularly in the treatment of the figures of the Virgin and the two women, it is quite possible to attribute the two medals to Saulmon, who sold the second piece to the duke—and may well have made it.

SKS

1. Corrected and expanded, the inscription would read: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟC ΕΝ ΧΡΙCΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΠΙCΤΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΝΙΚΙΤΗC ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΟΘΕΤΗC ΑΕΙ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC.
2. Similarly, this inscription is expanded and corrected as follows: ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙCΤΟΙC ΧΡΙCΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ ΟΤΙ ΔΙΕΡΡΗΞΕ CΙΔΗΡΑC ΠΥΛΑC ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩCΕΝ + ΑΓΙΑΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ.
3. Hill 1910.
4. "When he [Herakleios] descended the Mount of Olives, riding upon his royal charger and arrayed in imperial splendor, and was about to enter by the gate through which Christ had gone to His Passion, suddenly the stones of the gate fell down and formed an unbroken wall against him. Then to the astonishment of all, an angel of the Lord appeared over the gate, holding a cross in his hands, and said, 'When the King of Heaven, coming up to His Passion, entered in by this gate, He came not in royal state, but riding upon a lowly ass; and thus He left an example of humility to his worshipers!' With these words the angel departed. Then the king burst into tears, took off his shoes, and stripped himself to his shirt, took up the Cross of the Lord and humbly carried it to the gate. Instantly the hardness of the stones felt the power of God go through them, and the gate lifted itself aloft, and left free passage to those who sought to enter." *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, edited and translated by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, 1941), pp. 543–45.
5. For a more complete explanation of not only this inscription but the iconography of both medals, see Stephen K. Scher in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 32–37, 375; Scher 1961.
6. Guiffrey 1894–96.
7. Scher 1961; Stephen K. Scher in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 32–37, 375.
8. A gold example of the Constantine medal was preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, until it was stolen in 1831 and probably melted down.
9. R. Weiss 1963.
10. In the *Très Riches Heures*, the figure of Constantine appears as one of the three Magi (fol. 51v). In addition, at the top of each of the calendar pages (fols. 1v–12v), the chariot of the sun is taken from the reverse of the Herakleios medal, and almost the entire reverse composition of that medal appears in the *Très Belles Heures* (fol. 156). It is also possible that the figure of Saint Catherine being tended by angels in prison (fol. 17v) is based on the young woman to the right of the fountain on the reverse of the Constantine medal.
11. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 2 (1416 inventory), item 234. One of the duke's seals, showing the duke in half-length above the battlements of a castle, does seem to bear some resemblance to the description of the obverse of this object.

324. Medal of Cardinal Johannes Bessarion

European, probably 17th century
Cast bronze
Diameter 9.5 cm (3¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: BESSARION • S[anctae] • R[omanae] • E[cclesiae] • CARD[inalis]
Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Goethe-Nationalmuseum, Weimar

The portrait of Cardinal Johannes Bessarion (1403–1472) on this medal, which is probably a seventeenth-century restitution,was based on painted images of the cardinal, especially in manuscripts. Both this medal and the other known example, a smaller version (5.8 cm) in the Museo Correr, Venice, with a reverse showing a roughly delineated group of trees and bushes, are crude casts.[1] Bessarion is shown facing right wearing a cardinal's robes and hat, and a monk's hood.

324, obverse

324, reverse

If there is one person who can be said to epitomize the doomed effort to unite the Greek and Latin churches, it is Cardinal Bessarion. Born in Trebizond, Bessarion was taken at a young age to Constantinople to be educated. He entered a monastic order in 1423, was ordained a priest in 1431, and soon made a name for himself as an orator. He studied under George Gemistos Plethon, becoming, as a result, an ardent Platonist. His talents did not go unnoticed, and he rose rapidly in the Greek Church to become archbishop of Nicaea (1437).

He accompanied the emperor John VIII Palaiologos to Italy to take part in the 1438–39 Council of Ferrara-Florence, where he became a leading proponent for union, an effort that inspired Pope Eugenius IV to elevate him to the rank of cardinal in the Latin Church. After a brief visit to Greece, he went back to Italy near the end of 1440, never to return to his native land.

For the rest of his life, Bessarion was active as a humanist, philanthropist, collector of manuscripts, patron of the arts, founder of his own "Academy" in his palace in Rome, diplomat, reformer of monasteries, and, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a protector of Greek refugees. Under Pope Pius II he traveled extensively throughout Germany, Austria, and Hungary, trying to promote a Crusade against the Turks. On his return from a similar effort in France in 1471–72, he died in Ravenna.

As papal legate to Venice, Bessarion established a close relationship with that city, and in 1468 he gave his collection of eight hundred manuscripts, of which five hundred were Greek, to the Venetian senate, thus forming the nucleus of the Biblioteca Marciana. Through his efforts, the translation, conservation, and study of treasures of Greek literature and philosophy were greatly advanced. Many of his leading countrymen considered him a traitor to both his religion and his native land, although his faith was deep and genuine, as was his attachment to his Greek heritage. SKS

1. Voltolina 1998, vol. 2, pp. 402–3, no. 1207.

References: Armand 1883–87, vol. 3, p. 158; G. Hill 1930, vol. 1, p. 310, no. 1218; Gill 1964, pp. 45–54; Venice 1994b, p. 280, fig. 93; Voltolina 1998, vol. 2, pp. 402–3, no. 1207; Klauss 2000, vol. 1, p. 203, no. 836; *Dictionary of Art* (London, 2002), vol. 3, p. 876.

325. Cover for the Staurotheke of Cardinal Bessarion

Byzantine, second half of the 14th century
Paint, enamel, silver, precious stones on wood
42 x 32 cm (16½ x 12⅝ in.)
Inscribed: Η CΤΑΥΡΩCΙC (The Crucifixion) and ΙC ΧC (J[esus] C[hrist])
Provenance: Donated to the Scuola of Santa Maria dei Battuti della Carità in Venice, 1472; sold to the imperial house of Austria; Schatzkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, after 1797; acquired by the Accademia, Venice, 1919.
Condition: The painting is in excellent condition; parts of the revetment are considerably worn.
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (S19)

This painting forms the sliding lid of a reliquary of the True Cross that was given by Cardinal Bessarion to the Scuola of Santa Maria dei Battuti della Carità, a religious institution in Venice, before his death in 1472.[1] Attributed by some to an Italo-Byzantine school in Venice,[2] the painting shows many affinities with the metropolitan art of Byzantium in the late fourteenth century.[3] The scene of the Crucifixion occurs in an elaborate setting that includes the walls of Jerusalem and the rock of Calvary. At the top, two weeping angels hover on either side of the towering figure of the crucified Christ, while below, flanking the cross, are two groups of people. On the left is the Virgin Mary, supported by mourning women, and on the right are the haloed figures of Saint John and the centurion, who stand in front of the sponge-bearer Stephaton and four other men, usually identified as Jews. At the foot of the cross three soldiers roll dice for Christ's seamless garment. Such complex narrative renditions of the scene are common in Byzantine and Italian art of the fourteenth and later centuries, but specific iconographic details point to Byzantium. The staurotheke lid is similar in many details to an icon from Patmos except for the placement of Saint John next to the Virgin.[4] Despite its miniature proportions, the quality of the painting is very high and has been related stylistically to the best examples of Byzantine art of the fourteenth century, for instance, the icon of Maria Palaiologina at Meteora (see cat. 24A).[5]

Bessarion may have commissioned the silver revetment of the painting that covers the sky and adorns the halos of Christ, the Virgin, Saint John, and the centurion.[6] MG

1. Gregory, uniate patriarch of Constantinople (1443–50), gave the staurotheke to Bessarion upon his death in Italy in 1459, as we learn from the detailed act of donation to the Scuola della Carità (1463). An inscription on the cross mentions Irene Palaiologina, niece of the emperor, and her pneumatikos, Gregory, but there is no agreement on the identity of this princess. Various identifications have been proposed linking the reliquary with the court of emperors Michael VIII (r. 1259–82), Michael IX (r. 1295–1320), John VIII (r. 1425–48), or Constantine XI (r. 1449–53).

Fig. 325.1. The staurotheke of Cardinal Bessarion, shown with the cover removed. Byzantine, second half of the 14th century. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (S19)

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fifteenth-century paintings in the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria, Vrontochion Monastery (the Afentiko Church), Mistra.

5. Xyngopoulos 1957b, pp. 75–78; Weitzmann et al. 1968, no. 76, p. xxxiv.
6. The original shiny appearance of the metal revetment would have given the painting a more luminous impression that approximated the gilt halos and other details added to many Italian paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; cf. Lucco 1992.

REFERENCES: Pasini 1886, Appendix 2, pp. D1–D3, pl. A; Millet 1916, p. 453; Fogolari 1922; Iorga 1930, p. 69, pls. 2–3; Schweinfurth 1930, p. 426; Bettini 1933, pp. 52–53, pl. 17; Moschini Marconi 1955–70, vol. 1, pp. 191–94, no. 216; Xyngopoulos 1957b, pp. 75–78; Frolow 1961, pp. 563–65; Athens 1964, no. 187; Lazarev 1966b, p. 50; M. Chatzidakis 1974c, p. 83; Venice 1974, no. 112; Renato Polacco, "La stauroteca del cardinal Bessarione," in Venice 1994b, pp. 369–78; Venice 1994b, no. 187.

326. *Kynegetica* of [Pseudo-]Oppian

Text, Venice, ca. 1540; binding, Paris, ca. 1550
Tempera on paper, 59 fols.; tooled leather binding
Text 32 x 22.5 cm (12⅝ x 8⅞ in.); binding 35 x 24 cm (13¾ x 9½ in.)
PROVENANCE: Gian Francesco d'Asola, Venice (?); Bibliothèque Royale, Fontainebleau; Bibliothèque Royale, Paris; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
CONDITION: The condition of the manuscript is stable.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (cod. grec 2736)

Cardinal Bessarion's extraordinary gift of Greek manuscripts to the Republic of Venice in 1468 was not the boon to scholarship that he had intended. Not until the 1530s and the efforts of the librarian, writer, and later cardinal Pietro Bembo did the collection of the Biblioteca Marciana become readily accessible. Nevertheless, Venice had already become the principal European center for Greek manuscripts, thanks to other collections, an active printing industry, and trade connections with the East. In creating the Greek library at Fontainebleau, Francis I turned to Venetian sources and enjoined his ambassadors in the republic to buy manuscripts or to commission copies.[1]

About 1540 Bartholomeo Zanetti, a printer and scribe,[2] copied this illustrated hunting treatise from the richly illustrated eleventh-century manuscript that Bessarion had once owned (Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, gr. 479). The extensive series of illustrations are faithful to the model and demonstrate continuity with Byzantine traditions.[3] The manuscript was in the Fontainebleau library by 1550, when its scribe, Ange Vergèce (Angelos Vergikios of Crete), included it in an inventory.[4] Emigrating to Venice about 1530, Vergèce had become

2. Most recently, Renato Polacco in Venice 1994b, pp. 369–78, argued that the staurotheke was painted in mid-fifteenth-century Venice by an expatriate Byzantine artist.
3. Fogolari 1922, p. 148, proposes a date around 1355, when Irene, wife of Emperor Matthew Kantakouzenos, ascended the throne. See M. Chatzidakis 1974c, p. 83; Xyngopoulos 1957b, pp. 75–78.
4. M. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 6, pp. 52–54, pl. 6. Another similar icon from Mount Athos is now in the State Tret'iakov Gallery in Moscow; see Iráklion 1993, p. 418, no. 67. Chatzidakis also compares these works with the

326, cover

326, fol. 16r

attached to the French ambassador Georges de Selve, followed him to his new post in Rome, and, in 1539, became the Greek scribe for the burgeoning library at Fontainebleau. During the next thirty years, he copied well over a hundred manuscripts for the Valois court and foreign clients.[5] Later sources credit the illumination in Vergèce's manuscripts to his daughter, a matter in dispute.[6] During this period of the mid-sixteenth century, the library's Greek manuscripts were rebound by the finest craftsmen of the day, a sure sign of the prestige of Greek learning. The intricate strapwork of the cover of the Pseudo-Oppian recalls the binding of a manuscript of Polybius that Vergèce had completed in 1547.[7] Vergèce made his own copy of the *Kynegetica* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cod. gr. 2737) in 1554, and it too would be richly bound.

RSN

1. N. Wilson 1977, pp. 387–88, 394–97; Irigoin 1977; Förstel 1998.
2. Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1989, p. 41; Palau 1986, pp. 215–17.
3. See Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, gr. 479, fol. 19r: Weitzmann 1951, fig. 102.
4. Omont 1889, p. 138.
5. Hofer and Cottrell 1954; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1989, pp. 25–27; Hutter 1977–, vol. 3.1, pp. 292–93.
6. Hofer and Cottrell 1954, pp. 328, 331.
7. Paris 1999a, pp. 160–61, 163.

References: Kádár 1978, pp. 91–109; Förstel 1998, p. 78; Paris 1999a, p. 163.

327. Gospel Lectionary

Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century
Tempera on parchment; 120 fols.
33 x 27.1 cm (13 x 10⅝ in.)
Provenance: Constantinople, until ca. 1320–30; Cathedral of Theotokos Chrysokephalos, Trebizond, from 1330; gift of Bishop Alexius Celadenus to Pope Julius II; collection of the grand dukes of Tuscany, from the mid-sixteenth century; Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, from 1783.
Condition: The manuscript is in stable condition.
Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (Med. Palat. 244)

Entirely written in gold ink, this eleventh-century lectionary contains lessons for only twenty-two days of the year, all major feasts. Presumably made for an important foundation in Constantinople, the manuscript has four evangelist portraits and a miniature of Christ Reading in the Temple to illustrate September 1 (fol. 30v). Christ stands before a lectern, addresses a congregation, and thereby serves as a performative model for the deacon reading from the book.

The book's history illustrates the importance of such deluxe manuscripts in later centuries. According to an early-fourteenth-century note (fol. 114v), Michael Kallikrenites, a high palace official and trusted associate of the Palaiologan emperors Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328) and Andronikos III (r. 1328–41), sent the manuscript to Trebizond. As stated in a subsequent note of 1330 (fol. 119v), Barnabas, the metropolitan of Trebizond, dedicated the lectionary to the Cathedral of Theotokos Chrysokephalos, and the Trebizond official Theodore Chotza Lulu embellished the manuscript with gold and silver, a reference to an ornate cover, since lost. According to the Latin epistle and the presentation miniature added to the beginning, Alexius Celadenus (d. 1517), bishop of Molfetta on the Adriatic coast of Italy, gave the manuscript to Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13). In the lower section of the miniature on folio 1v (fig. 16.1) is illustrated the journey of the manuscript from Constantinople and Trebizond to Rome.

Born in the Peloponnesos, Alexius migrated to Italy, became associated with

327, fol. 30v

Cardinal Bessarion in Rome, and from about 1500 served as a papal secretary. One of his duties was to read the Greek lection at papal liturgies.[1] RSN

1. Monfasani 1995, pp. 95–110; Minnich 1988.

References: Athens 1964, p. 329; Morandini et al. 1986, pp. 94–95.

328. *De topographia Constantinopoleos* by Pierre Gilles

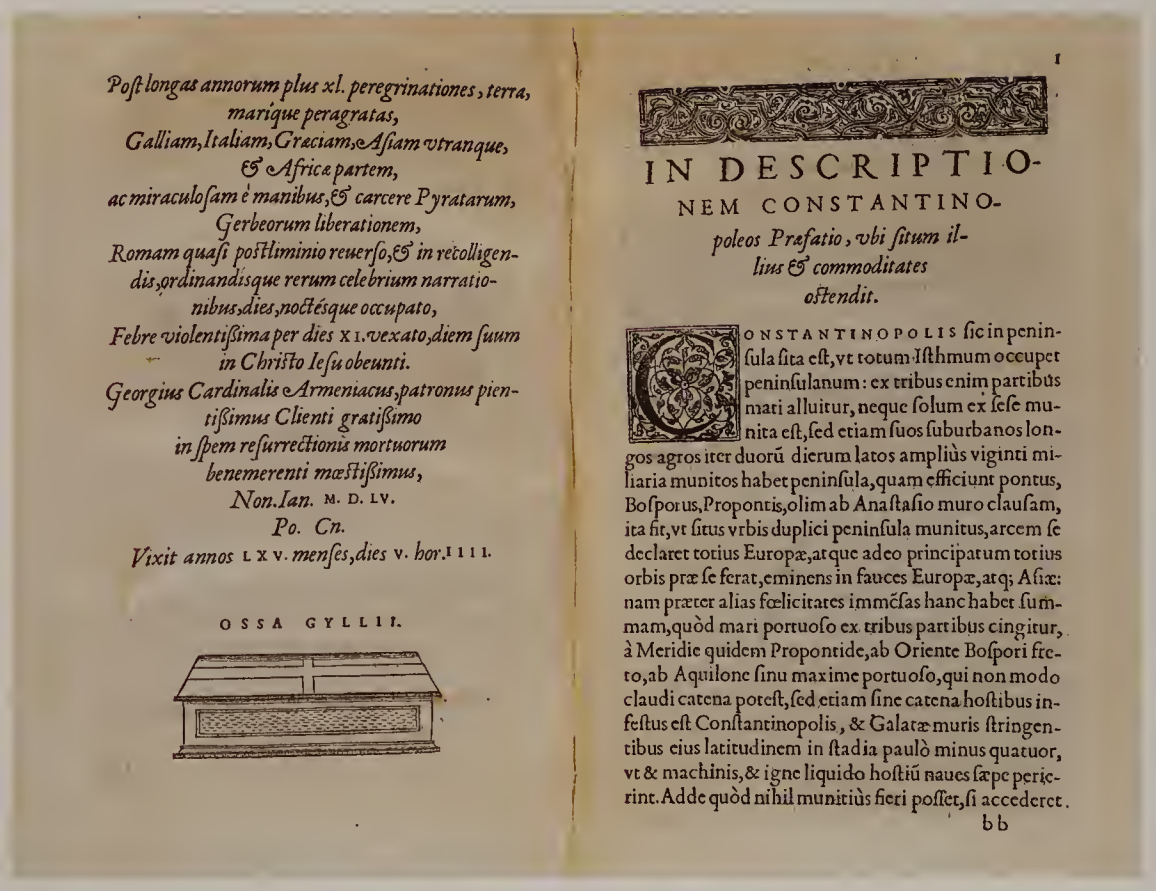
Lyon, 1561
Printed book
26 x 17 cm (10⅜ x 6¾ in.)
Condition: The book is in stable condition.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library, purchased with income from the Jacob S. Rogers Fund

Called the father of French zoology, Pierre Gilles (1490–1555) edited ancient texts and published a book about fish, which he dedicated to Francis I. The latter sent him to the East to collect Greek manuscripts, a passion of the French court (cats. 316, 326). Arriving in Constantinople in 1544, Gilles encountered the large and prosperous city of Süleyman the Magnificent (cat. 253). Its "inhabitants [were] daily demolishing, effacing, and utterly destroying the small remains of antiquity"; hence the need to study and record the city's topography and monuments.[1] After Gilles's death in 1555, his nephew used his journals to complete the book and reproduced the epitaph on Gilles's tomb opposite page 1.

In this, the first scholarly account of Constantinople,[2] Gilles systematically discusses the sections and hills of the city, mixing the methods of the naturalist and the classicist, as befits a Renaissance humanist. He measures distances between structures and records inscriptions, but passes quickly over artistic details, taking no account, for example, of the gilded mosaics of Hagia Sophia or the reliefs on the then extant column of the emperor Arkadios (r. 395–408).[3] He ignores completely the art and architecture from the period covered in this exhibition. Gilles's Constantinople is distant, for he views it through the framework of early texts, chiefly the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae,* a fifth-century Latin description of the city,[4] and he disparages its current inhabitants, whom he finds hostile and uninterested in monuments. Gilles's book serves notice that the break with the Byzantine Empire as a living entity is complete. Long influential, his topography was translated into English in 1729. RSN

1. Gilles 1988, p. 222.
2. Cyril Mango, in Ebersolt 1986, p. iii.
3. Gilles 1988, pp. 63, 199.
4. Ronald G. Musto in Gilles 1988, p. xxiii.

References: *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1982), vol. 16, cols. 45–46; Ebersolt 1986, pp. 72–83; Reulos and Bietenholz 1986; Gilles 1988, pp. xi–xxx; Paris 2001a, pp. 30–31.



Poſt longas annorum plus xl. peregrinationes, terra, marique peragratas,
Galliam, Italiam, Græciam, Aſiam vtranque,
& Africæ partem,
ac miraculoſam è manibus, & carcere Pyratarum,
Gerbeorum liberationem,
Romam quaſi poſtliminio reuerſo, & in recolligendis, ordinandisque rerum celebrium narrationibus, dies, noctésque occupato,
Febre violentiſſima per dies XI. *vexato, diem ſuum in Chriſto Ieſu obeunti.*
Georgius Cardinalis Armeniacus, patronus pientiſſimus Clienti gratiſſimo
in ſpem reſurrectionis mortuorum
benemerenti mœſtiſſimus,
Non. Ian. M. D. LV.
Po. Cn.
Vixit annos LXV. *menſes, dies* V. *hor.* IIII.

OSSA GYLLII.

1

IN DESCRIPTIONEM CONSTANTINOPOLEOS *Præfatio, vbi ſitum illius & commoditates oſtendit.*

CONSTANTINOPOLIS ſic in peninſula ſita eſt, vt totum Iſthmum occupet peninſulanum: ex tribus enim partibus mari alluitur, neque ſolum ex ſeſe munita eſt, ſed etiam ſuos ſuburbanos longos agros iter duorũ dierum latos ampliùs viginti miliaria munitos habet peninſula, quam efficiunt pontus, Boſporus, Propontis, olim ab Anaſtaſio muro clauſam, ita ſit, vt ſitus vrbis duplici peninſula munitus, arcem ſe declaret totius Europæ, atque adeo principatum totius orbis præ ſe ferat, eminens in fauces Europæ, atq; Aſiæ: nam præter alias fœlicitates immẽſas hanc habet ſummam, quòd mari portuoſo ex tribus partibus cingitur, à Meridie quidem Propontide, ab Oriente Boſpori freto, ab Aquilone ſinu maxime portuoſo, qui non modo claudi catena poteſt, ſed etiam ſine catena hoſtibus infeſtus eſt Conſtantinopolis, & Galatæ muris ſtringentibus eius latitudinem in ſtadia paulò minus quatuor, vt & machinis, & igne liquido hoſtiũ naues ſæpe pericrint. Adde quòd nihil munitiùs fieri poſſet, ſi accederet.

bb

328, Gilles's tomb epigraph and page 1

NOTRE-DAME DE GRACE
PATRONNE DU DIOCESE
DOUAI
VALENCIENNES
DUNKERQUE
AVESNES
MAUBEUGE

"À la façon grèce": The Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons

MARYAN W. AINSWORTH

When considering the question of the influence of Late Byzantine icons on northern Renaissance art, one may well ask: "What influence?"[1] Indeed, the conventional and obvious signs that we might expect are not readily apparent. Surviving examples of Byzantine art in northern Europe are relatively rare. Much was likely destroyed or carried off during the period of Iconoclasm in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, changes in taste and devotional practice, in particular those due to the advent of the Reformation, rendered some of these objects obsolete. Notable as well are paintings that have been so reworked and repainted that they are unrecognizable today as Byzantine icons. The Liège *Virgin and Child* (cat. 150) of the first half of the fourteenth century, for example, was substantially repainted in the early fifteenth century, even though it remained in its original, albeit reworked, Byzantine revetment carrying the Greek inscription Η ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ, or Hodegetria. In 1367 Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary and Poland, presented a gift of icons to the Hungarian chapel in Aachen; about 1870 these were completely repainted, making it difficult to discern their original character.[2] Perhaps the most common and widespread phenomenon is that painters of the Low Countries and French territories rarely copied Byzantine icons exactly. Instead, the images were adapted or interpreted in the prevailing style of the times. In some cases the assimilation of Byzantine models into the mainstream of northern European art was so thorough that the link to Eastern prototypes has virtually been lost.

The encounter of northern Renaissance artists with Byzantine icons must be placed within the historical context of the times. The Latin emperors of Constantinople, who ruled from 1204 to 1261 (just before the period of our exhibition), were a dynasty from Flanders, Constantinople having been captured in 1204 by crusaders, who expelled the Byzantine emperor and placed Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainaut, on the imperial throne. Baldwin was succeeded by Henry of Flanders (r. 1206–16), Peter of Courtenay (r. 1216–17), Yolande (r. 1217–19), Robert of Courtenay (r. 1221–28), and finally Baldwin II (r. 1228–61).

Various Crusade expeditions from 1096 to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 engaged the Valois dukes, Louis IX of France, and the dukes of Burgundy and their subjects with the East. Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy and brother of King Charles V of France, aimed to liberate the Balkan Christians from Turkish domination in the crusade of his time. His grandson Philip the Good was identified in the mid-fifteenth century by fellow crusaders and the pope as "Christendom's chief hope of retaking the Holy Land." Indeed, this view was fostered by the illuminated crusader histories that Philip commissioned as part of the justification for his plans.[3] Philip's perceived position as a potential leader of crusade efforts by the later 1430s attracted those seeking advice for projects and help.[4] In July of 1443 Emperor John VIII Palaiologos asked Philip for aid against the Grand Turk, Sultan Amurath II, who had threatened an attack on Constantinople. Philip responded with six ships outfitted for battle and an additional four leased from the Venetians.[5] The Order of the Golden Fleece, which was first planned in 1430 as a way of garnering support for a crusade in defense of the Holy Church, held a meeting in 1451 urging the fulfillment of the charter.

But Philip's focus on the East was diverted by problems at home, namely, the rebellion in Ghent in 1452–53 and the redirection of his forces there. During this time, Constantinople fell to the Turks. The famous Banquet of the Pheasant in 1454 in Lille was staged by Philip principally to garner support from noblemen, crusaders, and the general public for a new crusade.[6] The appeal was made clear by the decorations and entertainment for the event, which included an allegorical presentation of the protection by the duke (as a lion) of a female whose veil was embroidered with Greek letters. Furthermore, the reenactment of Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece conflated the ancient

Fig. 17.1. The Cambrai Madonna (*Notre-Dame de Grâce*; cat. 349), installed over the altar in the right transept of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Grâce, Cambrai, France. Photo: Bruce White

hero with the contemporary Christian knight, that is, Philip the Good. As Elizabeth Moodey points out, Philip probably did not intend to recapture Constantinople as an end in itself, but as a means to an end—that end being the recapture of Jerusalem. Jonathan Riley-Smith notes that "It was the goal of Jerusalem that made the crusade a pilgrimage."[7]

Otherwise occupied by his considerable ambitions for territorial expansion, Charles the Bold, Philip's successor, was not as keenly devoted as his father to the idea of a crusade. Nonetheless, he was aware of the ongoing perception in Europe of the hereditary leadership position of the dukes of Burgundy in taking up the cross. Planning and embarking on a crusade also offered a certain prestige and political advantage in terms of the relationship of Charles to both the German emperor and the French king.[8]

Intertwined with the history of the crusades was the ongoing relationship of the Greek and Latin Churches. The split between the Greek Orthodox and the Latin Catholic Churches that began in 1054 over doctrinal differences developed into a major schism in the thirteenth century. Thereafter, various councils were convened in order to address the issues that led to the schism. Of particular interest for our discussion is the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–45), which aimed to reunify the Byzantine Church in the East with the Roman Church in the West. Attending the meetings were such notable figures as Cardinal Bessarion, the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, and the patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II; the aim of the latter two was in part to seek aid from the West against the Turks. Philip the Good sent representatives who regularly relayed to the duke the progress of the council. Although major doctrinal issues were hotly debated, the common ground found was the unconditional devotion of both sides to the Virgin Mary, a factor that significantly influenced the production of images dedicated to her veneration in both East and West.

This historical background helps to explain not only how the inhabitants of the Low Countries in particular were familiar with the East—with Constantinople and with Jerusalem above all—but also how they received information about the culture and traditions of these regions through various forms of contact.

The different ways in which artists in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries encountered Byzantine art can be reconstructed through particular surviving examples, inventories of collections, and travel accounts. It is important to keep in mind that despite modern-day reevaluations of the origin, attribution, and date of a number of these objects, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they were believed not only to be originals from the East but also to have been miraculously created (acheiropoieta) or painted by Saint Luke himself (see cats. 203, 340).

Our general assumption is that the majority of imported icons came to northern Europe via Italy. Hans Belting notes that they "piled up" in Venice beginning in the thirteenth century and continuing on into the seventeenth, until Crete fell into the hands of the Turks.[9] Apulia and Pisa were also major recipients of art from the East. One way or another, some examples found their way north, many of them copies after Byzantine icons by Italian or Italo-Byzantine artists of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries.[10] Certainly, northern artists who sojourned to Italy would have benefited from their visits to sites with renowned miracle-working images from the East. Jan van Eyck (active by 1422–d. 1441) perhaps traveled at the request of Philip the Good as a delegate to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–40 (see cat. 353); Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–1464) visited Rome in the Jubilee Year of 1450 (cat. 351); and Jan Gossaert (1470/80–1532) accompanied Philip of Burgundy to meet with Pope Julius II in Rome in 1508 (cat. 348).

Little known, however, is information about the direct importation in the fifteenth century of Byzantine icons to Flanders from Crete. This followed a long-standing economic exchange between Flanders and Crete that originated at the end of the fourteenth century with a trade in precious metals and developed in the fifteenth century with the export of wine from Greece and spices from India (by way of Alexandria) that were sent from Crete to Flanders. In exchange, Flanders sent cloth goods to Crete.[11]

It was during this period that the production of single-panel Byzantine icons in Crete dramatically increased. Annemarie Weyl Carr points out in her essay in this publication that as Byzantium waned, the production of icons accelerated to a level even greater than that of the revival around 1300. Furthermore, Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides has uncovered important documents relating to the Venetian administration in Crete (now preserved in the State Archives of Venice) that reveal the mass production of Cretan icons for export to Europe, notably to Flanders.[12] Working as a middleman, a Venetian dealer commissioned a vast number of icons from a Cretan artist in 1497, half of which were already sold by May of 1498, resulting in the dealer's urgent request that the remainder be made with great dispatch. The explicit orders for these icons included the request for predetermined models, instructions regarding colors of the garments, and the style of the paintings—whether in *forma greca* or in *forma a la latina* (that is, Greek or Eastern style, or Latin, i.e., Western, style).[13] The mass production of certain iconographic types attests not only to the efficiency of the Cretan workshops but also to the demand from foreign markets. This may partly explain why there appears to have been a limited number of specific motifs that had a significant influence on fifteenth-century Flemish art. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides notes that this flourishing trade petered out in the sixteenth century; demand waned, and the merchants lost their previously established markets.[14] Increasingly impassioned arguments against images from reformist preachers, notably Martin Luther and his followers, and the beginning of the Reformation itself must have had an effect on diminishing market demand for Cretan icons in the early sixteenth century.

Apart from the commercial trade, Byzantine or pseudo-Byzantine icons found their way north from Rome and elsewhere

as gifts from kings, popes, important clergy, and the nobility.[15] Philippe de Croy, count of Chimay in Hainaut, a Burgundian courtier under Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, acquired a mosaic icon of the Christ Pantokrator from Pope Sixtus IV for services rendered on the pope's behalf to the Neapolitan court.[16] Upon his return, de Croy gave it in 1475 to the Collegiate Church of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Chimay (cat. 132).[17] Tradition has it that the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212–50) donated the Hodegetria icon that was believed to have been painted by Saint Luke (cat. 150) to the Cathedral of Saint-Lambert in Liège. Another legend identifies the donor of the icon as Baldwin, count of Hainaut and Flanders, who served as the first Latin emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire (r. 1204–5). Baldwin had participated in the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and, perhaps in thanks for a victorious outcome, reputedly gave numerous important gifts to the Cathedral of Liège.[18] As Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne has recently argued, the icon more likely arrived in Liège in the fifteenth century, for it is first mentioned in 1489, when the Virgin Hodegetria was carried in a procession along with the other major relics of Saint Lambert from the cathedral.[19]

Revered icons housed at stops along the pilgrimage routes drew thousands of devoted visitors because of their miracle-working reputations. *La Sainte Face,* or the Mandylion, was sent in 1249 by Jacques Pantaléon de Troyes (archdeacon of Laon, chaplain of Pope Innocent IV, and future Pope Urban IV) to his sister Sibylle, abbess of the Cistercian Convent of Montreuil-en-Thiérache near Laon (cat. 95), in substitution for the requested Sudarium of Veronica at the Vatican. The famous lost Byzantine or pseudo-Byzantine diptych offered by Pope Clement VI to the duke of Normandy in 1342 joined a number of important relics from Constantinople at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, providing a considerable attraction for eager pilgrims (see cat. 337).[20] In 1450 Canon Fursy de Bruille gave to the Cathedral of Cambrai *Notre-Dame de Grâce* (cat. 349), an icon he had received from Jean Allarmet, cardinal of Brogny and legate of the pope to the Council of Constance (1414–18). In that same year—the Jubilee of 1450—Jan de Leeuw obtained from Pope Nicholas V a plenary indulgence for the churches of Mechelen, to which he brought a copy of the famous icon from Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome (fig. 17.2).[21]

Inventories reveal additional information about now-lost Byzantine icons that were once in important collections, particularly those of the dukes of Burgundy, the French kings, and the nobility of their territories. The icons are identified by specific descriptions or simply by the designation "à la façon grèce" or "d'ancienne façon" (in Greek style or in ancient style).[22] Jean, duc de Berry, for example, owned a Man of Sorrows that came from Rome[23] as well as a Deesis icon triptych "made by Saint Luke," acquired from his nephew Charles of France.[24] The latter apparently entered the collection of Jean de Berry's brother, Philip the Bold, as a treasured possession.[25] Philip also had a square wooden panel of a half-length Virgin Hodegetria in a rich silver-gilt revetment.[26] His grandson, Philip the Good, owned a triptych of Christ, the Virgin, and John the Evangelist *à la façon grèce* (described differently from the one mentioned above owned by the duc de Berry and Philip the Bold), as well as a half-length icon of the Virgin and Child mounted on a square panel and raised "d'une manière de pierre sur le cendre," probably a low-relief sculpture in steatite.[27] The inventory of Margaret of Austria's possessions includes a panel of the "Virgin and Child at the Fountain" that seems to describe exactly Jan van Eyck's painting or a copy of it (cat. 353), listed as "fort anticque." One wonders whether the reference is simply to a "very ancient" painting or to an antique Byzantine type, for the motif of the Virgin and Child clearly is derived from Byzantine examples.[28]

Clues to the ownership of Byzantine icons, or exact copies of them, by the dukes of Burgundy and French royalty, their courtiers, and other nobility can be found in illuminated manuscripts. Although this phenomenon awaits further research, a number of examples already identified suggest a trend in collecting or at least in reproducing icons. A luxurious Book of Hours by the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary that belonged to Joanna the Mad, wife of Philip the Handsome, shows a faithful copy of one of the key icons in Rome believed to have been painted by Saint Luke, the

Fig. 17.2. Copy of the Aracoeli Virgin, *Our Lady of Miracles*. Italo-Byzantine, tempera and gold on panel, mid-15th century. Since 1531 in Sint Rombouts Kathedraal, Mechelen, Belgium. Photo: © IRPA-KIK, Brussels

Fig. 17.3. The Virgin Hodegetria, in the Hours of Joanna of Castile. Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, tempera on vellum, between 1496 and 1506. British Library, London (Add. Ms. 18852, fols. 176v–177r)

Fig. 17.4. The Virgin Hodegetria, in the Somaing Family Book of Hours. Tempera on vellum, late 15th century. Heribert Tenschert, Bibermühle, Ramsen, Switzerland (LM III, 28, fols. 39v–40r)

Hodegetria icon in Santa Maria del Popolo (fig. 17.3, 17.10). It is possible that the illumination reproduces a Byzantine icon in Joanna's collection, for her inventories list "a Greek panel of Our Lady with her Child in her arms."[29] The same Virgin Hodegetria model is found in the Van Hooff Hours (see cat. 342) and in a book of hours belonging to the Somaing family from Hennegau (fig. 17.4).[30] Likewise, the Hours of Anne of France (cat. 331) features two Byzantine-inspired icons, shown framed as paintings, of the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin in Prayer. The Sorrowful Virgin alone, another image "painted by Saint Luke," appears in manuscripts in trompe-l'oeil frames with pseudo-Nassarud writing in a clear reference to Eastern icons (cat. 338 and fig. 17.5b). A manuscript now in the Morgan Library, New York (fig. 17.5a), also shows a Mandylion as a curious cutout form, just like the one in Philip the Bold's *Grandes Heures* (fig. 17.6). These must have been copied from Byzantine icons with revetments, similar to the one in San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, Genoa (see fig. 8.5 in the essay by Jannic Durand in this publication).[31]

Printed images, both engravings and woodcuts, provide further evidence of Byzantine icons in the north. As vehicles for the widespread dissemination of certain Eastern images, these prints now testify to some of the most popular icons of the time. Israel van Meckenem's *Imago Pietatis* (cat. 329) was perhaps the first northern print produced as an exact likeness of a revered icon, in this case, the mosaic image in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome (cat. 131). Made to perpetuate the icon's cultic status, the engraving also carries an inscription guaranteeing it as a "true copy." Monastery workshops were not under the jurisdiction of the printer's guild, and a number of them—in Mechelen, Vilvoorde, Brussels, Bethanie, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-ten-Troost, Marienwater, and Maria-Sterre—freely produced religious prints (fig. 17.7).[32] Sometimes these indicate the presence at specific locations of icons that have since disappeared. In one example, the Antwerp printer Adriaan van Liesvelt, who specialized in religious pieces, created two woodcuts for a devotional text, *Oefeninge van sonderlinghen VII ween onser sueter vrouwen en moeder Gods Marien* (Exercises in the special 7 sorrows of our sweet lady Mary and mother of God), printed in Antwerp about 1494: *The Virgin Mary at Sixteen Years of Age* and *The Virgin Mary under the Cross* (figs. 17.8, 17.9).[33] The former reproduces a lost painting from the church at Abbenbroek, the latter a lost icon formerly in the church at Reimerswaal as well as ones still today in Sint Salvatorskerk in Bruges and Sint Rombouts Kathedraal in Mechelen (see fig. 17.2).[34] Each of these paintings is in turn a copy after a specific icon in Rome, the former from a painting in Santa Maria del Popolo and the latter three from a painting in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (figs. 17.10, 17.11). The presence of some of these images in particular churches in Flanders was due to Jan van Coudenberghe, secretary to Philip the Handsome and later to Margaret of Austria, who was also the pastor of Sint Salvatorskerk (from 1486), of Sint Petrus and Pauluskerk in Reimerswaal (from 1486–87), and dean of the chapter of Sint Gilliskerk at Abbenbroek. In 1492 van Coudenberghe established a Brotherhood of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. Representing the first and the last sorrowful events in Mary's life, these icons became associated with the devotion, thereby lending to it an enhanced spiritual value.

For some, familiarity with Byzantine icons came through firsthand experiences or secondhand accounts of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Anselm Adornes, a member of the prominent Genoese family resident in Flanders as early as 1260, was a noted Bruges citizen, having held several important positions including that of burgomaster in 1475. He was also counselor to Charles the Bold and James IV of Scotland and served both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold on certain diplomatic missions. Pierre Adornes, Anselm's father, received a papal bull in 1435 to build a family chapel dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, a project that was completed by Anselm. It was partly for this undertaking that Anselm journeyed to the East with his son John, who recorded an account of their travels in a diary of 1470–71[35] and noted a number of important icons

Fig. 17.5a,b. The Mandylion and the Sorrowful Virgin in a Book of Hours. Georges Trubert and workshop, tempera on vellum, ca. 1490. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. M. 1020, fols. 32r, 33r)

they saw along their way (which did not include a visit to Constantinople). In Genoa, John cites the Church of San Bartolomeo, "where the Holy Face is particularly venerated, which our Lord Jesus Christ impressed on a cloth and which was sent to the king of Edessa, Abgar" (see fig. 8.7 in the essay by Jannic Durand).[36] At the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, Anselm and John could well have seen any number of Byzantine icons. Their diary relates the unique experience of viewing the chasse containing the relics and remains of the head and the bones ("pell-mell and in disorder") of the blessed virgin and martyr Saint Catherine at the church dedicated to her.[37] The guardians of the chasse and the accompanying monks allowed the travelers to kiss the relics and to take away souvenirs—for each a piece of silk that had touched the saint's remains.[38] Extraordinary occurrences such as these helped to maintain the sense of the real presence of the saint, the miraculous events of her life, and the aura of her relics. Early on, tangible evidence of the saint and her life led to legends such as the one found in the inscription on the back of the mosaic icon of the Glykophilousa *Virgin and Child* (cat. 128), which testifies that it was this icon that converted Catherine during her instruction in religion by a holy hermit. The same legend was illustrated in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau by the Master of Mary of Burgundy, showing Catherine receiving the Hodegetria icon from the hermit (fig. 17.12; fol. 40r); borders of illuminations in this book are filled with depictions of pilgrims' badges garnered from their journeys to experience a direct encounter with the icon or relic (fol. 16v).[39] The miraculous or visionary power of images was perpetuated by paintings like the contemporary Flemish one that represents Saint Catherine worshiping before an icon of the Virgin and Child and, in an adjacent scene, witnessing their actual presence (fig. 17.13).

For members of certain religious associations, pilgrimages were de rigueur. Jan Provoost, the Bruges painter, joined the Fraternity of the Jerusalem Pilgrims in 1523. In order to be elevated to the position of governor of the fraternity in 1527, it was necessary for him to have undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[40] Although we do not know exactly when Provoost made his journey, the *Crucifixion* that he painted about 1501 or 1505 (fig. 17.14) shows such an accurate portrayal of Jerusalem in the left background that one feels Jan must have made drawings in situ while visiting. By contrast, the view of Constantinople in the right background—the Hippodrome can be identified in front of Hagia Sophia—does not show the same topographical accuracy and probably indicates that Provoost never reached that city, instead using a common model for the rendering. The representation of the two holy cities together in the background recognizes the aforementioned strategy of the crusades—recapturing Constantinople from the infidels was the initial step toward achieving the same end in Jerusalem. The depiction of the two holy cities also may have provided a reference to the original locations of major relics that came to the West. Local residents of Bruges, perhaps viewing the painting in the Jerusalem Chapel,[41] would in turn associate Jerusalem

Fig. 17.6. The Mandylion in the *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold. Tempera on vellum, before 1451. Royal Library of Belgium, Manuscripts Cabinet, Brussels (Ms. 11035–37, vol. II, fol. 8v). Photo: © Royal Library of Belgium

Fig. 17.7. Byzantine Madonna. Anonymous artist from the Carmelite convent of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-ten-Troost, Peutie, near Vilvoorde, Belgium. Colored woodcut, early 16th century. Royal Library of Belgium, Print Cabinet, Brussels (S.I.32188). Photo: © Royal Library of Belgium

and Constantinople with the most revered relics in Bruges, namely those of the Holy Blood and the True Cross.

Some pilgrimages were imagined and experienced vicariously through various illustrated texts. In Margaret of York's *Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome* (ca. 1470–80) the words and pictures provide specific information about the seven principal churches of Rome, each personified by the image of a particular saint.[42] Through "visits" to these churches while saying the appropriate prayers, the reader was rewarded with indulgences. Among the churches, of course, were the two that housed some of the most famous icons in Rome: Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, with the *Man of Sorrows,* and Saint Peter's, with the celebrated *Vera Icon.*[43]

The actual Byzantine icons, or exact copies of them, that reached northern Europe appear to fall largely into a limited group of certain types: the Virgin and Child (mainly the Hodegetria, Eleousa or Glykophilousa, and Kykkotissa versions) and the Sorrowful Virgin alone, all of which were believed to have been painted by Saint Luke himself, and the Christ as the Man of Sorrows, the Vera Icon, and the Christ Pantokrator (alone and as part of a Deesis group).[44] Reproduced in all media, including sculpture, stained glass, pilgrims' badges, paintings, prints, and manuscript illumination, such images could easily constitute an independent exhibition. A representative sample here of paintings, prints, and miniatures, however, will provide an overview of those with the most significant impact in the Low Countries and adjacent French territories.[45]

The presence and proliferation of copies of Byzantine icons in the north served a number of specific purposes. The most obvious is a religious one. As cult images, they drew the faithful to the fervent adoration of and direct communication with the holy figures they represented.[46] Icons that were known to have curative powers provided additional benefits to the devotee and were thus produced in copies in the hope of a "trickle-down effect" of these redemptive powers (cats. 349–51, 353, 355). Such copies were preferred to new, and different, representations of religious themes.[47]

New devotions sprang up during the latter part of the fifteenth and into the early sixteenth century, among them the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows (as noted above), the Virgin

Dit is die gelikeniſſe vãdẽ beelde onſer ſuer
vrouwẽ. inde onderen vã omtrẽt xvi. iarẽ
Dat beelde õſer vrouwẽ alſoe ſy
ſtõt onder cruce. dair die pugelẽ in ſinte gre
gorij tide voir ſongẽ: Regina celi letare. ℣c

Figs. 17.8 and 17.9. *The Virgin Mary at Sixteen Years of Age* and *The Virgin Mary under the Cross.* Colored woodcuts in *Oefeninge van sonderlinghen VII ween onser sueter vrouwen en moeder Gods Marien,* Adriaan van Liesvelt, ed. (Antwerp, ca. 1494). University of Liège Library, Liège, Belgium (XV C 185)

Fig. 17.10. The Virgin Hodegetria, in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Tempera and gold on panel, Rome (?), ca. 1300. Photo: Bruce White

Fig. 17.11. The Sorrowful Virgin, in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome. Tempera and gold on panel, 12th century. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY

Fig. 17.12. Saint Catherine Converted by an Icon of the Virgin and Child, in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Master of Mary of Burgundy, tempera on vellum, mid-1470s–early 1480s. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Ms. Douce 219, fol. 40r)

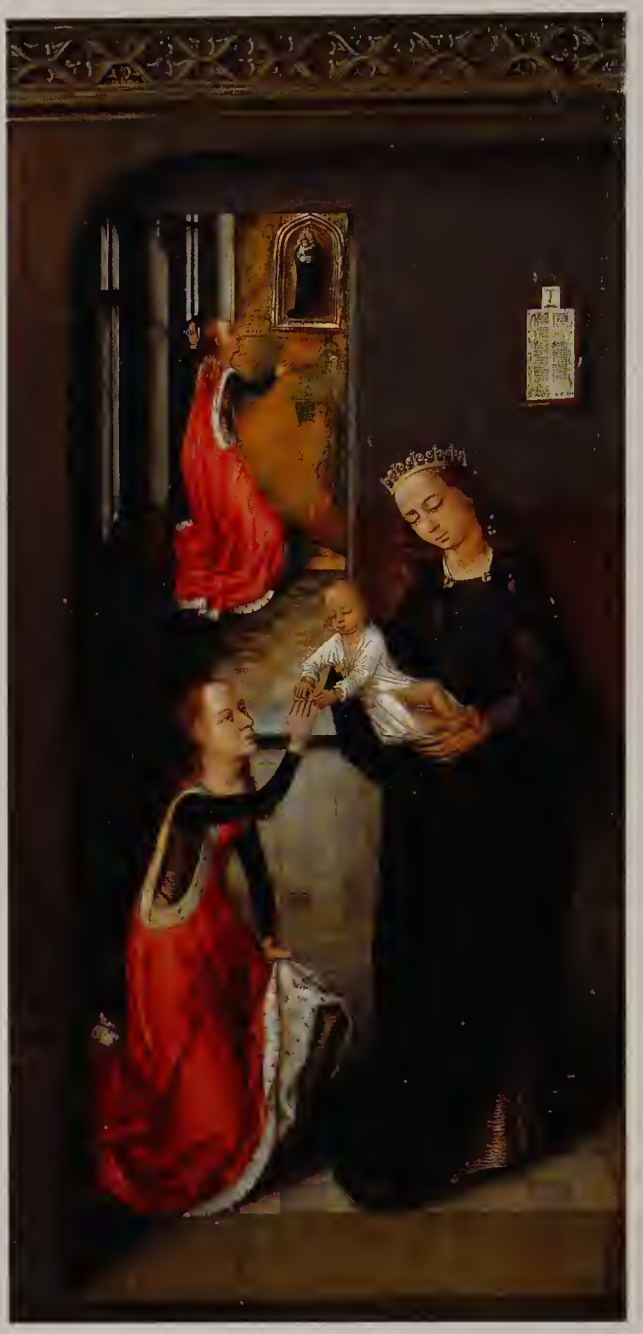


Fig. 17.13. Detail of *The Legend of Saint Catherine.* Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine, oil on panel, ca. 1480. Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels (12.102). Photo: © IRPA-KIK, Brussels

of the Immaculate Conception, the Virgin of the Rosary, and so forth. Because of the aura of Byzantine icons, or more specifically, the extraordinary power of images believed to have been made by Saint Luke (see below), these icons became readily associated with the new devotions (see, for example, cats. 338, 342, 352, 353, 355). Certain images to which indulgences were attached by Popes Innocent III, Innocent IV, John XXII, and Sixtus IV became all the more popular over time, so that the representation alone, even without the associated text, could prompt the appropriate prayer and guarantee of remission from penance, and, later on, remission of sin (for example, cats. 336, 346).[48] In other cases, mendicant orders, namely the Franciscans and Dominicans, were most likely responsible for linking particular Byzantine images with their own devotional literature in a subtle form of propaganda (see the essay by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff in this publication). The diptychs by Gerard David of the Virgin and Child along with Christ Taking Leave of His Mother that show Byzantine-inspired motifs and gold backgrounds, for instance, match key passages in the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, a main text of the Franciscans (cat. 344).

The popularity of Saint Luke himself increased throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, due in part to his renown as the artist who portrayed the Virgin and Child from life. Such an intimate association between the saint and these holy figures endowed the paintings with a spiritual essence and revived early claims put forth about icons. It is not surprising, therefore, that the panel painters appointed Luke as the patron saint of their guild; Rogier van der Weyden's panel depicting Luke drawing the Virgin and Child (cat. 340) was itself copied many times into the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, helping to ensure the cult status of the saint and, likewise, to legitimize—even acclaim—the occupation of painters.

Just as the Byzantine images of Saint Luke portraying the Virgin originated in a period of Iconoclasm and controversy over the justification for holy images (see cat. 203), so too did

those of more recent date. Gossaert's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* of ca. 1520 (cat. 348) reveals the Virgin and Child as a vision, not physically present, and includes an angel who guides the hand of the painter. The composition draws on legends about famous Byzantine icons at Santa Maria Maggiore and Santi Domenico e Sisto in Rome and perhaps on a text of about 1100 that describes an image of the Savior in the papal chapel of Leo III; these were all said to have been begun by Saint Luke but completed by the hand of an angel (see discussion in cat. 348). Thus Gossaert's painting argues against the concerns about idolatry expressed by reformist preachers, for the image is created miraculously under the spiritual guidance of a messenger of God. It is probably not a coincidence that Gossaert borrowed the poses of his Virgin and Christ Child from the well-known Byzantine icon types of the Eleousa or Glykophilousa.

If particular images were employed for the sake of religious arguments, they also came into play for certain political agendas of church and state. Elisabeth Dhanens has suggested a connection between the discussions at the Council of Ferrara-Florence that began in 1438 and the now-lost paintings of the Holy Face produced by Jan van Eyck in 1438 and 1440 (cat. 336).[49] Very intriguing is the speculation that van Eyck may have attended the meetings as part of the embassy that Philip the Good sent to the council in November of 1438. Convened to achieve union between the Latin and the Greek churches and to organize help for Constantinople against the Ottoman Turks, the council and its outcome held great interest for the duke. A copy of the decree of the Union on July 5–6, 1439, was presented to Philip, who later also received a manuscript of all the documents pertaining to the council. As Philip was Jan van Eyck's key patron and had a special devotion for the visage of Christ that can be seen in other commissions,[50] one wonders whether Jan's famous lost paintings can be linked to ducal commissions and to Philip's political intentions.[51] The exchange of presents under such circumstances was an established protocol, suggesting the possibility that van Eyck's *Holy Face* served as a gift to the pope, the emperor, or the patriarch.

An even more compelling case has been made by Jean Wilson concerning *Notre-Dame de Grâce,* also known as the Cambrai Madonna (cat. 349). She has suggested that the creation of fifteen copies of the work by Petrus Christus and Hayne of Brussels (cat. 350) was related to a fund-raising effort by Philip the Good to wage a war against the infidels.[52] The commission came just about a year after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the invasion of that city by the Ottoman Turks, which had prompted Philip to initiate plans for a crusade against Sultan Mehmed II. The intended recipients of the copies after the miracle-working Cambrai Madonna were most likely those who were in a position financially to support the war effort or those who had already done so.

As is evident from the foregoing discussion, the reasons for the production of copies of Byzantine icons by artists in northern Europe were varied; so too were their stylistic approaches to making the copies. Perhaps the most surprising feature to our modern eye is the fact that northern artists did not attempt to create an exact copy in terms of our criteria. Hayne of Brussels's replica of the Cambrai Madonna, for example, is an adaptation or interpretation of the original (compare cats. 349 and 350). Although it follows the form of the model in the poses of the figures and the general reference to the Byzantine style of dress, it exchanges the stylized patterning of the gold striations of the garments' folds for softer, flowing fabrics. In addition,

Fig. 17.14. *The Crucifixion.* Jan Provoost, oil on panel, ca. 1501 or 1505. Groeninge-museum, Bruges, Belgium (0.1661). Photo: © IRPA-KIK, Brussels

Fig. 17.15. *Diptych of the Virgin and Child with a Donor and a Bishop.* After Rogier van der Weyden, oil on panel, ca. 1480. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass., Bequest of George W. Harris in memory of John A. Harris (to Harvard College) (1906.6.A and B)

the bold and vigorous gesture in the original of the Christ Child grabbing his mother's maphorion and chin yields to the lighter touch of Hayne's child. Furthermore, the copy replaces the Virgin's concentrated, sorrowful stare with the demurely lowered gaze of a youthful woman. Most apparent, of course, is the difference in painting materials—a change from tempera to oil—that allows for the subtle rendering of the flesh tones in a newly enhanced lifelike mode achieved through the blended strokes of the oil medium. Hayne's execution of his "exact copy" is even more striking if we consider other copies that follow the same Italo-Byzantine prototype in all respects, including their style (fig. 350.1). These, however, have recently been shown through technical investigations to be considerably later than Hayne's work, dating into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the mid-fifteenth century, Hayne's mode of repetition of the Cambrai Madonna apparently made it easily recognizable to the contemporary viewer in such a way that it shared with the original its perceived spiritual benefits. By comparison, in Rogier van der Weyden's *Virgin and Child* (cat. 351), which is inspired by the same work, *Notre-Dame de Grâce,* one could say that the byzantinizing image has been totally assimilated into the style and manner of Flemish painting. The more intimate relationship and greater sentimental feeling expressed between Rogier's Virgin and Christ Child—or more precisely a mother and her infant son—supersedes that of the original Cambrai prototype in terms of its intention to elicit an empathic response from the viewer.

The two paintings by Hayne of Brussels and Rogier van der Weyden date from about the same time (ca. 1455 and ca. 1455–60, respectively), clearly demonstrating that two different approaches to copying the same model could exist simultaneously. Perhaps an even more dramatic example is found in the juxtaposition of the *Diptych of the Virgin and Child with a Donor and a Bishop* by a follower of Rogier van der Weyden with the *Virgin and Child* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula (figs. 17.15, 17.16; cat. 341), both dating from the last quarter of the fifteenth century and both derived from the principal motif in Rogier's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (ca. 1435–40; cat. 340). The diptych shows Martin Reynhout, a prominent Bruges citizen, presented by a bishop to the Virgin and Child. Reynhout's coat of arms can be identified in the left window at the back of the room, and his device swirls on a banderole emanating from his hands, indicating that the Virgin inhabits the donor's residence, a seemingly miraculous occurrence that is a typical convention of diptychs of this period.[53] By contrast, the Virgin and Child in the painting by the Saint Ursula Master have been extracted from their original context and from any reference to the contemporary world or its inhabitants. The figures have been placed within a golden niche that approximates the gold backgrounds of Byzantine icons. In essence, the Ursula Master has shifted the representational emphasis from a contemporary timely narrative to an eternal iconic one in order to produce a "living icon," *à la façon grèce.* One can only speculate about the intention here. Was this painting meant to indicate a miraculous image related perhaps to the relic of the Virgin's milk housed at Saint Donatian's church in Bruges, the city where the painting was produced? These two

Fig. 17.16. *Virgin and Child* (cat. 341). Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, oil on panel, last quarter of the 15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.16)

Fig. 17.17. *Deesis*. Jan Gossaert, oil on panel, ca. 1513. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Photo: © Museo Nacional del Prado

Fig. 17.18. Deesis, detail of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. Jan and Hubert van Eyck, oil on panel, 1432. Saint Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent, Belgium. Photo: © St Baafskathedraal Gent, © Paul M. R. Maeyaert

varied approaches—that is, one representation that shows the motif integrated into contemporary life, and a second that depicts it as a timeless icon—existed simultaneously. In this respect, we might recall the Cretan painters mentioned earlier who also worked at the end of the fifteenth century, both in *forma greca* and in *forma a la latina,* in a very efficient workshop production that took client and market demand into account.

These simultaneous but visually diverse treatments of religious imagery prompt the unresolved question of archaism at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. Erwin Panofsky cited this phenomenon, discussing it in terms of "the rise of a northern Humanism which, as had happened in Italy, was accompanied by the emergence of a novel sense of history with its concomitants of national and regional self-consciousness."[54] Others have stressed that it was the homage to famous artists, for example, to Jan van Eyck, that led admirers some generations later to reprise his paintings—a rather anachronistic and distinctly modern viewpoint, it would seem. Larry Silver comes closer to answering the question by acknowledging the efficacy of repeated forms due to "their success in a cultic or devotional function."[55] And Hans Belting notes that old images could be valued for different reasons: "not only to legitimate a particular relic but also to justify the sacred claims of the holy image itself. The old and famous model was to have binding authority."[56]

This is perhaps precisely what Gossaert had in mind when he painted the *Deesis* in about 1513. The Prado *Deesis* has often been discussed in terms of its relationship to Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece,* from which Gossaert directly copied the heads of the Virgin, Christ, and John the Baptist on paper, then glued this support to the panel before working it up in paint (figs. 17.17, 17.18).[57] As the heads were reproduced so precisely, it is all the more intriguing that Gossaert otherwise departed from van Eyck's model in significant ways: all three figures are half-length and joined together beneath a Gothic arcade in one space, rather than in three separate spaces; the Virgin turns toward Christ, her hands joined in prayer instead of reading a book; Christ is divested of his papal tiara and scepter, thereby not conflating his identity with God the Father and more closely establishing a relationship with the Vera Icon of another van Eyck representation (cat. 336); and John the Baptist, dressed more simply in a hairshirt and deprived of his book, emphatically points toward Christ with his right hand and raises his left to his heart. Gossaert's version, as a result, is far closer to traditional Byzantine icons (fig. 1.3) than is van Eyck's. His archaic mode was clearly deliberate. As with the same artist's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (cat. 348), the painting sends a pro-image message during a time of incipient dialogues and reformist concerns about idolatry.

For artists working in the Low Countries in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the apparent choice was either to quote Byzantine icons in Flemish style but with archaizing gold backgrounds or to convert religious images into a totally new and more modern context as if the holy figures were indeed present in the viewer's own contemporary time and place. The significant impact on northern art of the "old-style" byzantinizing representations is due to their aura, to their perceived mystical and spiritual value, and to their cult status as "relics," derived from the actual presence in the Low Countries of Byzantine icons or copies of them. The extent of the assimilation of such icons into the mainstream of northern representations has yet to be fully identified, acknowledged, and studied. It is hoped that the juxtapositions afforded by this exhibition will initiate the stimulating process of reevaluation.

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329. *Imago Pietatis*

Israel van Meckenem (Meckenem?, ca. 1440/45–Bocholt, 1503)
Engraving, ca. 1495–1500
16.8 x 11.2 cm (6⅝ x 4⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: Signed in lower margin at center, Israhel · V · M ·; below image, Hec ymago contrefacta ē ad instar et similitudinē illi 'pme ymagīs pie/tatis custodite in eccīa scē cruc' ī urbe romana qūam fecerat de/pingi sanctissim gregori p̄p magn p' habitā ac s'ostēsā desup visioēz (This image was made after the model and likeness of the first image of the Pietà, which is preserved in the Church of Santa Croce in the city of Rome, which the holy Pope Gregory the Great had painted according to a vision that he had had and that had been shown to him from above); at upper left and right, IC XC; at upper center, ΘΕΛΟΙΛΟΥΘΕCΔΟΞ (in imitation of the Greek, "Basileus tes doxes," King of Glory)
PROVENANCE: Von Nagler collection (Nagler's stamp on verso); purchased along with entire collection in 1835.
CONDITION: This print is in very good condition.
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, (943-1)

About 1385 a Byzantine mosaic icon of the Imago Pietatis, or Man of Sorrows (cat. 131), was brought to Rome probably from Sinai and installed in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.[1] It soon developed a following as a cult image, and copies were made and placed in other Roman churches. In a guidebook dated about 1470, the Englishman William Brewyn not only described the Santa Croce icon in detail but also noted that there was "another picture very much like this one" at the Church of Saints Sebastian and Fabian and reported further that there were "many such pictures at Rome, though none quite so large as this one."[2]

The Byzantine subject of the Man of Sorrows originated in the twelfth century and is known in a number of painted icons from that time and later (see fig. 344.1 for an early Italian version of a Byzantine icon of similar type, and cat. 98 for fifteenth-century examples attributed to the Cretan artist Nikolaos Tzafouris that show the influence of Western models).[3] Dating from the late thirteenth century, the Santa Croce icon became the key object for a campaign in the fifteenth century organized by the Carthusians to draw a greater number of pilgrims to their church.[4] To facilitate their objective they engaged Israel van Meckenem to produce an engraving of the icon in two versions, the one in Berlin discussed here in addition to a smaller, less decorative, and perhaps cheaper variant (fig. 329.1).[5] The spiritual value of this image was further guaranteed by the inscription at the base of the engraving, which claims that the sorrowful Christ was produced "ad instar et similitudinem," that is, as an exact likeness or portrait of the original, which itself was based on a mystical encounter.

The encounter in question was a vision of Pope Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604), a subject also depicted in several prints carrying van Meckenem's monogram, one of which exhibits the "Santa Croce Christ" type in the same pose as seen here. According to legend, when the pope was saying Mass, Christ miraculously appeared along with the instruments of the Passion. Although this event was variously portrayed, with different inscriptions indicating different locations where it took place (see cat. 332), by the time van Meckenem made his last print of the subject the Byzantine icon at Santa Croce had taken pride of place over other contenders. It became all the more popular due to its association with a major papal indulgence of fourteen thousand years and more[6] to those who worshiped before the image of the pope's vision. The Carthusians must have intended to draw pilgrims to their main Roman site during the Jubilee Year of 1500. Van Meckenem's manufacture of what Peter Parshall notes may have been the first genuinely reproductive prints in northern European art ensured the widespread dissemination of this image throughout the Low Countries, France, and Germany.[7]

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Fig. 329.1. *Imago Pietatis*. Israel van Meckenem, engraving, ca. 1495–1500. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (DG1926/1013)

1. Bertelli 1967, p. 46. See also Wolf 2002, pp. 163–66.
2. Brewyn 1980, as cited in F. Lewis 1992, p. 186. Although the Santa Croce icon itself is not large, its framing produces an imposing object to which Brewyn must have been referring.
3. New York 2002–3, no. 9, pp. 88–89.
4. On the relationship of the Carthusians to the icon of the Imago Pietatis in Santa Croce, see Bertelli 1967, p. 49. See also van Os et al. 1994, p. 110.
5. Hollstein 1954–, vol. 24, p. 76, no. 168, known in impressions in Cambridge, Paris, and Vienna. Although the Berlin version is the more frequently cited example because it is larger, its smaller counterpart is actually the closer of the two to the Byzantine icon in regard to its articulation of the chest of Christ and the somewhat more elevated position of the crossed hands. Van Meckenem also made a third variant in which the same figure of Christ stands in an open tomb surrounded by the instruments of the Passion (Hollstein 1954–, vol. 24, p. 79, no. 175) as well as a fourth with Christ before the Cross flanked by the Virgin and Saint John (ibid., pp. 139–40, nos. 353–54). These were only two of a larger group of less important and smaller engravings produced by van Meckenem. See Washington 1967–68, pp. 214–15.
6. One of van Meckenem's engravings (Hollstein 1954–, vol. 24, p. 139, no. 353) initially carried a text with the promise of twenty thousand years' indulgence. This was changed in the third state to an indulgence of forty-five thousand years!
7. Parshall 1993, pp. 556–60.

REFERENCES: Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 9, pp. 177–78, no. 167; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 24, p. 75, no. 167; Bertelli 1967; Belting 1990a, pp. 477–78; Parshall 1993; van Os et al. 1994, pp. 110–12; Wolf 2002, pp. 164–65.

330. *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*

Colyn de Coter (Brussels?, 1450/55–Brussels, 1539/40)
Oil on panel, ca. 1490
36 x 25 cm (14¼ x 9⅞ in.)
PROVENANCE: Collection of M. A. Duchange; sale, Fievez, Brussels, June 25, 1923, lot 26; collection of M. Meersch, Brussels; collection of E. H. Verloren

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van Themaat; sale, Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, December 1, 1925, lot 18; collection of La Borderie; sale, Fischer, Lucerne, July 19, 1927, lot 26; collection of Charles Oulment, Paris; sale, Sotheby's, London, 1968; private collection, France; acquired by the city of Bourg-en-Bresse (with the aid of F.R.A.M.), 1983.
CONDITION: This painting is in very good condition.
Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, France (983.54)

This powerfully expressive painting is a youthful work of Colyn de Coter, a noted Brussels artist.[1] It is often considered an archaic production because of its unusual iconic presentation. Two sorrowful angels pull back the cloak of a dejected-looking Christ in the same manner in which curtains in Byzantine examples were drawn back to reveal the monarchs to their subjects, or an important relic to the faithful for contemplation.[2] Although the grieving angels are usually linked to those found in the Master of Flémalle's *Lamentation Triptych* (Courtauld Institute of Art, London), they have an earlier precedent in Byzantine art. Smaller weeping angels can be found on either side above the figure of the Man of Sorrows in the right half of the National Gallery, London, diptych (fig. 344.1), a thirteenth-century Byzantine-style panel probably produced in North Umbria. Similar angels can also be seen in at least two Sinai icons of the Crucifixion attributed to artists of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (cats. 223, 224).[3]

While the figure of Christ in this panel follows the pose of the famous Santa Croce icon (cat. 131), its treatment moves toward the more demonstrably gruesome and tortured representation of the Man of Sorrows that became increasingly popular in paintings of the Low Countries around the end of the fifteenth century. Here Christ wears the Crown of Thorns—an addition to the Santa Croce image—but his wounds from the nails of the Cross and the lance thrust into his side are not streaming with blood as they are in most contemporary depictions. The more graphic portrayals of Christ's suffering—those by Simon Marmion (see cat. 331) or Dieric Bouts and his workshop—were often created as diptychs, with the Sorrowful Virgin as the pendant.[4] These diptychs responded to the meditative literature of the time that advocated the empathy of the viewer with the image, so that the indignities, even agonies, of Christ and the Virgin would be shared by the supplicant.

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1. The attribution was suggested by Friedländer in 1927, followed by Maquet-Tombu in 1937. More recently, Périer-D'Ieteren, in a 1985 monograph on Colyn de Coter, confirmed a date before 1493 based on the style and painting technique of the work.
2. See Eberlein 1983 and Alexei Lidov, "Miracle-Working Icons of the Mother of God," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 56. In some early Netherlandish and German painting and manuscript illumination, the two angels were adapted to carry the sword and the lilies as they pulled back the cloak of Christ, denoting the Christ of the Last Judgment (see Panhans-Bühler 1978, pp. 45–49).
3. See Cannon 1999, p. 107, and Weitzmann 1966, figs. 9, 27, showing a double-sided icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis.
4. For examples, see Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 3, pls. 76, 77, 92, 93.

REFERENCES: Maquet-Tombu 1937, p. 101; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 4, pl. 86, no. 92; Périer-D'Ieteren 1985, pp. 84–85; Paris 1985–86, p. 102; Poiret and Nivière 1990, p. 69; Lyon–Bourg–Roanne 1992, no. 44, p. 338; Nivière et al. 1994, no. 21, p. 16; Poiret 2000, pp. 56–57.

331. *Man of Sorrows* and *The Virgin Praying*

Jean Colombe (Bourges, fl. 1463–1498)
Miniatures in a book of hours (fols. 37v–38r), ca. 1473
Tempera on vellum
14.7 x 10.9 cm (5¾ x 4¼ in.)

PROVENANCE: Written and illuminated for Anne of France, daughter of Louis XI, king of France; a French collection (no. 25), ca. 1840; A. Firmin-Didot sale, Paris, 1882, lot 17, to Baron de Beurnonville; collection of Robert Hoe; his sale, New York, 1911 (I, no. 2137, facs.), to Miss Benson; J. P. Morgan (1867–1943), purchased through R. H. Dodd, 1923; gift of J. P. Morgan, 1924.
CONDITION: The illuminations on this opening are in an excellent state of preservation.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. M.677, fols. 37v–38r)

Man of Sorrows and *The Virgin Praying* are folios 37v and 38r of a book of hours written and illuminated for Anne of France (1461–1522), eldest daughter of Louis XI. The creator of the book's unusually rich cycle of miniatures was Jean Colombe, who was employed by Charlotte of Savoy between 1469 and 1479. The manuscript was most likely produced as a gift to Anne, perhaps just prior to her marriage to Pierre de Beaujeu (later duke of Bourbon) in 1474.

These miniatures accompany an accessory text known as the "Stabat Mater." An intensely emotional passage bearing a passionate entreaty for the Virgin to empathically share

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her sorrow over her son with the devotee,[1] it was probably composed by Franciscans during the thirteenth century.[2] This may explain the transmittance of Byzantine-influenced icons as the illustrations for the text (see the essay by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff in this publication). By the late fifteenth century, when these illuminations were produced, the "Stabat Mater" had been officially incorporated into the liturgy of the Mass and the Divine Office. The specific imagery of the Morgan miniatures invites the viewer to meditate on each bloody wound of Christ and to emulate the prayerful attitude of the Virgin as the model worshiper.

Related to each other as a diptych, the miniatures of Christ and the Virgin are intended as a point at which the worshiper may pause from reading to contemplate the images. Notable is the fact that the two illuminations are presented not only as a pair but also as framed paintings, raising the question of whether they are replicas of actual panels owned by the French royal family. If so, they take on the aura of the original icons themselves, with all of the miraculous powers associated with them.

Among the possible prototypes for such a pair is a late-fourteenth-century diptych in the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora (fig. 331.1).[3] There, but with the Virgin on the left and Christ on the right, are the sorrowing mother and her son with their heads inclined toward each other. Like our manuscript pair that is related to a text associated with the Passion of Christ, the Meteora diptych is inscribed on the reverse with instructions about its link with the Passion liturgy of Holy Week.[4]

The Imago Pietatis (or Man of Sorrows) depicted here takes the Santa Croce Christ type (cat. 131) seen in the adaptation by Colyn de Coter (cat. 330) one step further, showing us the pitifully beaten, scourged, crowned, and bleeding Son of God. The Virgin in prayer, facing her son, derives from another Byzantine icon, the Sorrowful Virgin beneath the Cross, who takes her place as part of the traditional Deesis group (see cat. 173 and fig. 1.3). This type was thought to have been one of the three portraits painted by Saint Luke, a legend of Byzantine origin that continued throughout late medieval and Renaissance times, as demonstrated by Jean Colombe's illumination of *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* of about 1480.[5]

Also about 1480, Simon Marmion, a painter and illuminator in Valenciennes who worked for Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, produced along with his workshop similar diptychs—only the position of Christ and the Virgin are reversed, the latter with her hands crossed over her heart rather than in a praying position (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg, inv. no. 513). In this diptych, and the workshop copies that were made after it

Fig. 331.1. Diptych of the Sorrowful Virgin and the Man of Sorrows. Tempera on panel, late 14th century. Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteora, Greece. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

(Groeningemuseum, Bruges, inv. 0.201-02), the figures were placed in front of a gold ground, an archaic touch perhaps meant to enhance the sense of these images as icons.

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1. Wieck 1997, p. 101.
2. Ibid.
3. Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 458–59, figs. 227–228.
4. Belting 1990a, p. 109.
5. Wieck 1997, no. 30, pp. 44–45.

REFERENCES: New York 1933–34, no. 119, pp. 56–57; Leroquais 1937, vol. 1, no. 63, pp. 196–99; C. Schaefer 1973; Meiss and Beatson 1977; C. Schaefer 1977; Plummer 1982, no. 70, pp. 53–54; Wieck 1997, no. 81, p. 105.

332. *The Mass of Saint Gregory*

Simon Marmion (Amiens, ca. 1425–Valenciennes, 1489)
Oil and wood, ca. 1460–65
45.1 x 29.4 cm (17¾ x 11⅝ in.)
INSCRIBED: At the bottom of the painting, in French
Ou tamps que Saint Gregore pappe celebra[n]t messe a Rom[m]e en l'eglise nom[m]ee pantheo[n]. s[ost]r[e] seigneur s'aparut a luy e[n] telle se[m]bla[n]ce. Do[n]t po[u]r la gra[n]de co[m]passion qu'il ot le voya[n]t ainsy. Otroya a to[u]s cheulx qui po[u]r la Revere[n]ce de luy diront deuotem[en]t e[n] genoulz v fois p[ate]r n[oste]r [et] ave m[ari]a XIIII m[il] a[n]s de vrais p[ar]do[n]s [et] d'aultr[e]s pappes [et] evasq[ue]s XII c[ent] a[n]s [et] XL VI fois xl jo[u]rs de I[n]dulge[n]ces . . . et ce p[ar]do[n]s a estably le IIII pappe Clemens (At the time that Saint Gregory the Pope was celebrating the Mass in Rome in the church called the Pantheon, Our Lord appeared to him in this likeness. From which, for the great compassion which he had in seeing him thus, he decreed to all those who for reverence of him would say devoutedly on knees five times the Paternoster and the Ave Maria, fourteen thousand years of true pardons and other popes and bishops twelve hundred years and forty-six times forty days of indulgences . . . and this pardon was established by Pope Clement the Fourth).
PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland; [Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, November 2–December 10, 1971, lot 24]; [Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, June 7–July 27, 1979, lot 13]; Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.
CONDITION: This painting is in excellent condition.
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto (79/121)

Christ as the Man of Sorrows miraculously appears just at the very moment that the kneeling Pope Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) raises the Host in blessing. Behind the pope, an acolyte, holding a burning taper in one hand and the lower edge of the pope's cope in the other, seems oblivious to the miraculous event. To the right of the altar, the instruments of the Passion are neatly arranged for optimum

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viewing. Some of these were known by the mid-thirteenth century as among the twenty-two relics received by Saint Louis, King Louis IX of France, from Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and housed in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[1] The list in an official letter of receipt dated June 1247 included pieces of the True Cross, the Crown of Thorns, the lance by which Christ's side was pierced, his purple mantle, the sponge used to wet Christ's lips with vinegar, and so forth.[2]

The Toronto painting does not follow the popular Flemish composition that originated in the workshop of Robert Campin[3] but is instead derived from book illuminations

Fig. 332.1. *The Mass of Saint Gregory*. Anonymous North Netherlandish artist, colored woodcut, ca. 1460. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg (H. 13 Kapsel 6)

accompanied by the promise of indulgences.[4] In particular, the figure of Christ, with his head lowered to one side and his hands crossed right over left before his sunken abdomen, is ultimately patterned after the Byzantine mosaic of the Imago Pietatis (or Man of Sorrows), which probably had been brought from Sinai to the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome by about 1385 (cat. 131).[5]

The aim of the representations of the Mass of Saint Gregory was partly to document a miraculous event. However, by referencing the legend of Pope Gregory the Great, they endorsed and authenticated the original icon, thus creating a relic out of the Santa Croce mosaic. Indeed, the motif of the Christ in the Santa Croce icon appears repeatedly in illuminations of the Mass of Saint Gregory produced in books of hours made in Ghent and Bruges in the late fifteenth century, as well as in a widely dispersed woodcut of about 1460 by an anonymous North Netherlandish artist (fig. 332.1).[6] The reinforcement of the veracity of the event, and thereby the elevated status of the Santa Croce icon, was underscored by such images as *Philip the Good Attending the Mass of Saint Gregory* (a miniature of ca. 1450–55 from the *Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold*),[7] which offers an eyewitness account by Philip, who kneels at his prie-dieu as a participant at the Mass in progress.

Although Simon Marmion certainly adapted his poignantly human Christ from the more stylized mosaic icon in Santa Croce (probably secondhand, through copies of it), confusion arises with the indulgence text at the base of the painting. In the Toronto picture, as in other French indulgence texts,[8] the Pantheon rather than Santa Croce is stated as the church in which the miraculous event occurred. Furthermore, a guidebook for a pilgrimage to Rome written for Margaret of York about 1475 names the Basilica of San Sebastiano as the site of Gregory's vision.[9] Clearly these texts were adapted for customized use, for reasons that are no longer entirely clear but that may have had to do with efforts to attract pilgrims to specific churches in Rome. The text on the Toronto panel is written in the Picard dialect, not Latin, indicating that the work could have been commissioned either in Amiens (where Marmion stayed from 1449 to 1454) or in Valenciennes (where he settled in 1454 and remained until his death in 1489).[10] Most likely the panel was painted during Marmion's Valenciennes period, for certain details of style and effects of color compare closely with his production of that time.[11]

The enormous popularity of the Mass of Saint Gregory and the proliferation of paintings and illuminations of it in the Netherlands in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries must be related in part to the influence of Pope Gregory in establishing a standard liturgy. Perhaps equally important were issues under discussion at the time, such as the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which is clearly expressed by the sacrificial Christ on the altar.[12]

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1. Paris 2001b, pp. 18–96.
2. Ibid., pp. 49–50.
3. See Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, pp. 65–75; D. Martens 2001.
4. Two manuscripts from Amiens from the 1450s when Marmion was in residence there show a similar composition but with a different pose for the figure of Christ. See Sterling 1981, p. 16; Albert Châtelet in Nys and Salamagne 1996, p. 163; Nash 1999, pls. 9, 10, p. 95.
5. On the relationship between the Santa Croce icon and the theme of the Mass of Saint Gregory, see Wolf 2002, pp. 163–66.
6. For example, those by the Master of the Older Prayerbook of Maximilian I and his workshop in the British Library, London (Add. Ms. 54782, fol. 18v), the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (cod. Vindob. 1907, fol. 55v), and the Cleveland Museum of Art (63.256, fol. 264v). These are illustrated in De Winter 1981, pp. 416–17, figs. 160–162. The text under the woodcut guarantees an indulgence of fourteen years from Pope Gregory to anyone who repeats three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys and repents for his sins (see van Os et al. 1994, pl. 34, pp. 112–13).
7. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 3-1954, fol. 253v, repr. in Cambridge 1993, p. 145. See also Buren 2002, pp. 1385–86, ill. 1. Philip the Good had inherited the *Grandes Heures* from his grandfather, Philip the Bold. About 1440, he had it disbound in order to add other sections and individual miniatures to the book. The portrait of Philip the Good at the Mass of Saint Gregory was one of the pasted-in miniatures and, interestingly enough, the only one showing the likeness of Philip the Good.
8. British Library, London, Add. Ms. 29433, fol. 107v, and Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, MS Ricc. 466, fol. 140r, as cited in F. Lewis 1992.
9. Sotheby's 1982, lot 59, p. 74; Walter Cahn, "Margaret of York's Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome," in Kren 1992, pp. 89–98.
10. Sterling 1981, p. 8.
11. For further discussion of Marmion's stylistic development as it concerns the Toronto painting, see Ainsworth in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, pp. 102–3, no. 8. An exact copy of the Toronto panel is in Burgos Cathedral, Capilla del Condestable, and a close variant is in a private collection in Paris (see Sterling 1981, p. 6, figs. 2–3).
12. See Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, p. 72.

REFERENCES: Agnew 1971, no. 24; Agnew 1979, no. 13; Art Gallery of Toronto, *Annual Report 1979/1980* (Toronto, 1980), pp. 2–3; Sterling 1981; Maryan W. Ainsworth, "New Observations on the Working Technique in Simon Marmion's Panel Paintings," in Kren 1992, pp. 248–49; Boston 1995, no. 26, pp. 37–38; Brinkmann 1997, p. 451; Albert Châtelet, "Simon Marmion, I: La Vie," in Nys and Salamagne 1996, pp. 151–67; Nash 1999, pp. 95, 142, 232, fig. 190, pl. 8; Maryan W. Ainsworth in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, pp. 102–3, no. 8.

333. Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon in Prayer

Willem Vrelant or workshop (Bruges, mid-15th century)
Detached miniature from a book of hours, ca. 1455–60, inserted into another book of hours, Rouen, 16th century
Tempera on vellum
22 x 16 cm (8⅝ x 6⅜ in.); miniature is inserted into a 16 x 12 cm (6¼ x 4¾ in.) hole cut into the page
INSCRIBED: At the bottom, glued onto the lower edge of the page, is a text probably written in the seventeenth century mistakenly identifying the donors as Charles the Bold and Maria Bourbon; at the bottom edge, falsely added: Fait par Jacques Undelot 1465
PROVENANCE: Philippe de Bethune; purchased in Paris by Therkel Klevefeldt, 1743; gift to the king of Denmark, 1743; Royal Library.
CONDITION: The miniature is in good condition. The coats of arms of the Burgundian (left) and Bourbon (right) families have been overpainted, perhaps based on similar forms beneath.
Manuscript Department, Royal Library, Copenhagen (Ms. GKS 1612, fol. 4)

At the end of the fifteenth century, Adrien de But, the chronicler of the Abbey of the Dunes near Bruges, copied a text in his "Supplementum Cronice Abbatum de Dunis."[1] It states that on October 3, 1262, the abbot of that great Cistercian monastery had an image on cloth of our Lord Jesus Christ brought to the abbey church on the occasion of its inauguration. The presence of the icon apparently was the source of great excitement and of numerous miracles. Although it cannot be proven indisputably, legend maintains that the icon on display was the Laon Mandylion (cat. 95).[2]

The Laon Mandylion, which bears the inscription "the face of the Lord on the handkerchief," was renowned as a miraculous painting and as the most important icon in northwestern France. The Abbey of Montreuil at Laon, where the venerated image was housed, was a major stop on the pilgrimage routes. That the Mandylion continued to be revered in the environs of Bruges long after its reported sojourn there is supported by references to it in manuscript illumination and panel painting alike (see cats. 334, 335). In a prayer book of about 1390–1400 produced in Bruges, the image serves as the illustration for the Holy Face prayer.[3] Moreover, the 1454 Missal of the Magdalena Hospice in Bruges shows two angels holding up the Mandylion in the margin of a large miniature depicting Saint Magdalene, the patron saint of the Bruges leprosy hospice.[4] According to legend, both Tiberius of Rome and Abgar of Edessa (cat. 265) were cured of ailments (sometimes

PAR IACQVES VINDELOT 1465
HEVRES DE CHARLES DE LA MAISON DE FRANCE DERNIER DVC DE
BOVRGOGNE QVI FVT TVÉ AV SIEGE DE NANCY LEQVEL EST ICY
REPRESENTÉ A GENOVS DEVANT LA FACE DE NOSTRE SEIGNEVR
AVEC MARIE DE BOVRBON SA SECONDE FEMME MERE DE MARIE
VNIQVE HERITIERE DE CHARLES MARIEE A L'EMPEREVR MAXIMILIAN
D'AVTRICHE CE DVC CHARLES AVOIT POVR CORPS DE SA DEVISE VN LION
RVGISSANT OV ESTOIT ESCRIT A LENTOVR (A QVI VOVDRA) POVR
MONTRER QVIL NE CRAIGNOIT RIEN DE DESFIOIT QVI QVE

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described as skin diseases) by viewing the Mandylion, so its connection with the leprosy hospice is an especially relevant one.

The dukes of Burgundy particularly venerated the Mandylion, or the Vera Icon, as it more popularly became known. A number of their devotional books show pilgrims' badges or loose miniatures of the image sewn into or otherwise inserted in their manuscripts.[5] Both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold had such images added to old manuscripts and commissioned new ones with the icon.[6]

Here, in the miniature attributed to Willem Vrelant that has been inserted into a later book, the large-scale cloth imprinted with Christ's head miraculously floats above the small-scale kneeling figures of Charles the Bold and his second wife, Isabella of Bourbon.[7] It is Charles's privilege to encounter the vision directly as he looks up in prayer, while his wife, Isabella, only experiences the image through her devotional reading. This representation reflects a position on the dialogues about images at the time. In his concern over abuses regarding indulgences received for the veneration of images, the influential theologian Jean Gerson, for one, accepted the role of pictorial art only as an occasion for imaginative devotion: "We ought thus to learn to transcend with our minds from these visible things to the invisible, from the corporeal to the spiritual. For this is the purpose of the image."[8] In this illustration, through fervent devotion the duke has achieved spiritual vision. MWA

1. My thanks to Noël Geirnaert, archivist of the Bruges Archives, for help in tracking down this document. The document is published in But 1864, pp. 21–88; see esp. pp. 46–47.
2. A. Grabar 1931, p. 9.
3. See Louvain 1993, pp. 4–7, no. 2, fig. 2.
4. For an illustration, see Louvain 2002, no. 80, pp. 302–3.
5. For examples, see Smeyers 1995, p. 213 n. 92.
6. Philip the Good had inserted an image of Saint Veronica into his grandfather Philip the Bold's *Grandes Heures*. The sudarium Veronica holds in that depiction shows a dark head of Christ in a cutout form imitating the Byzantine type framed in a revetment. Perhaps the duke owned such an image. See Buren 2002, p. 1398, fig. 9; see also the Prayerbook of Charles the Bold, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. 37 (89.ML.35), fols. 1v and 2r.
7. For further discussion of the probably seventeenth-century accompanying text, which is full of errors, and the repainted coats of arms, see Rome 2000, pp. 193–94.
8. Gerson 1514, leaf 712, as in Ringbom 1969, p. 165, n. 52.

References: Bruun 1890, p. 57; Bousmanne 1997, pp. 98–101; Rome 2000, pp. 193–94 (with comprehensive bibl.).

334. *The Holy Face* (Mandylion type)

Bruges School (Follower of Gerard David)
Oil on panel, ca. 1510–15
Overall 27.8 x 21 cm (11 x 8¼ in.); painted portion 24.4 x 17.8 cm (9⅝ x 7 in.)
Inscribed: Scratched into the paint on the reverse, ODB
Provenance: Principe Piccolomini, Siena (?); collection of G. M. Gardella, Milan; J. J. Klejman, New York; purchased by the Allen Memorial Art Museum.
Condition: This painting is in very good condition. The reverse shows the original faux-marble painting.
Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, Charles F. Olney Fund, 1959 (59.113)

The most popular images of the Holy Face in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the Low Countries were either those after Jan van Eyck's *Head of Christ* or Saint Veronica with the Veil (cats. 335, 336). The Oberlin panel is neither, as it represents the Mandylion type. However, instead of a head floating on a white cloth, as in the famous Laon Mandylion (cat. 95), it shows the isolated head of Christ with a gold nimbus on a gold ground, an archaic representation for an early-sixteenth-century Flemish painting. In this respect it recalls the famous late-twelfth-century Novgorod Mandylion (State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow),[1] the earliest example of this type that was also found later in the fifteenth century (see cat. 96, ca. 1447). The absent cloth in these works denies the image's manufacture by contact with the face of Christ and underscores all the more its miraculous appearance as an acheiropoietos (image not made by human hands).

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The Mandylion type—the isolated, floating head of Christ, with hair parted in the middle and falling in unruly masses at right and left, and with a pointed beard—was revived in the late fifteenth century due to the promise of indulgences attached to the image. These had begun in the thirteenth century under Pope Innocent III, who offered an indulgence of ten days to anyone who recited before the Holy Face the prayer "Ave facies praeclara" (Hail most beautiful face), which he had composed. In the fourteenth century John XXII promised ten thousand days to those reciting the hymn "Salve sancta facies" (All hail Holy Face). In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as Sixten Ringbom explains, the shift in the term "indulgence" from its meaning as the remission from penance to the actual remission of sin caused the inflation of indulgences and led to the subsequent complaints about this practice in general.[2] The large increase in the promised indulgences linked with the Holy Face secured the popularity of the image, and it was widely disseminated, especially in the form of inexpensive block prints that could be inserted into devotional books or tacked to the walls of private homes.[3]

The Oberlin *Holy Face* was perhaps produced to serve a client who daily recited the well-known prayers and hymns before this image. In keeping with the Flemish artist's aim of verisimilitude, the soft and subtle modeling of the face and the careful attention given to the rendering of the beard and tendrils of hair enhance the lifelike aspect of this Christ. The solemnity of his expression was intended to solicit an empathic response from the viewer as an aid to devotional practice. This was ensured by the manner in which Christ directly addresses the viewer, encouraging communication.

Readily identifiable here are characteristic features of the style and technique of Gerard David and his close followers, suggesting that this work was produced in Bruges about 1510–15.[4] Like the *Saint Veronica with the Veil* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula (cat. 335), the Oberlin *Holy Face* was possibly created for an Italian client, although the earliest provenance to the famous Piccolomini family in Siena cannot be verified.

MWA

1. On the Novgorod Mandylion, see Wolf 1998, p. 163.
2. Ringbom 1984, pp. 23–24.
3. See van der Stock 1998, pp. 174, 176, fig. 103. For an example of such prints in use, see the *Portrait of a Man* by Petrus Christus (National Gallery, London), in which the image accompanied by the Holy Face prayer is tacked to the rear wall of the altar's chamber.
4. For other versions that are attributed to Gerard David, see Van Miegroet 1989, no. 62, p. 317, and Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1969, fig. 10.

REFERENCES: Kenwood 1962, no. 33; Oberlin 1967, p. 56; Carandente 1968, no. 2, p. 10.

335. *Saint Veronica with the Veil*

Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula (Bruges, active late 15th–early 16th century)
Oil on panel, ca. 1500–1510
56 x 31 cm (22 x 12¼ in.)
PROVENANCE: Monastery (?) of Valdarno (Val d'Arno), Tuscany; Church of Santissima Annunziata, Florence; Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence; collection of Paul Durrieu, Paris (late nineteenth century); by descent to the former owner from whom the work passed to the Parisian dealer Moatti *(fils)*; Danny Katz, London.
CONDITION: The top two to three inches of the panel have been replaced. Earlier overpainting, including a nineteenth-century halo seen by Max Friedländer, has been removed. The panel is cut at the bottom.
Hester Diamond, New York (D-5)

Two early legends gave rise to the image of Christ's head appearing on a cloth held by Veronica: those of Tiberius and of Abgar (cat. 265). These in turn came to be associated, respectively, with relics of the Veronica cloth in Rome and with the Mandylion brought to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris in 1241. When Tiberius, the Roman emperor, was ill, he sent a man named Volusian to bring back Jesus, who he heard had cured the afflicted in Jerusalem. But Volusian was too late; Christ had already been crucified on the Cross. As luck would have it, however, Volusian met Veronica, who had in her possession a cloth that had been pressed to Christ's face, miraculously providing an imprint of it. The two traveled to Rome, and Tiberius was cured upon sight of the cloth. The relic of Christ's face on a cloth at Saint Peter's in Rome was identified as Veronica's true veil and from the thirteenth century was a revered attraction to the thousands of pilgrims who traveled to see it.

In the Byzantine literary tradition, the king of Edessa, Abgar, was cured of his maladies by the image of Christ on a cloth that was brought to Edessa by the king's messenger. The relic of this legend was taken to Constantinople from Edessa in 944, where it influenced numerous images in various artistic media. Apparently sold to Saint Louis, the relic was installed in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris in 1247 and later reputedly destroyed in the French Revolution.

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About 1200 the cult of Christ's face developed into the cult of Veronica.[1] It was as a "Veronica" that the Laon Mandylion (cat. 95) was offered to the abbess of Montreuil-les-Dames in 1249 by her brother Jacques Pantaléon de Troyes.[2] Subsequently, in a short office accompanying a miniature of the Holy Face in the Hours of Yolande of Soissons (ca. 1280–90; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), the text explains that the image of Christ was imprinted on a cloth belonging to a woman named Veronica.[3]

By 1289, Pope Nicholas IV (r. 1288–92) gave preference to the relic of the Holy Face when granting indulgences to those who visited Saint Peter's.[4] Even earlier, during the time of Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54), pilgrims would return from Rome with souvenirs, small medals imprinted with the Holy Face called "vernicles."[5] These were apparently available for sale only at Saint Peter's, and fostered a vigorous production on the part of the "pictures veronicarum," the artists who made these objects.[6] This practice continued through the ages, and a number of fifteenth-century inventories that include these vernicles provide evidence of the pilgrimages taken by those living in the Low Countries (see the essay by Maryan Ainsworth in this publication).

There is some dispute as to whether or not the Veronica veil was destroyed in the sack of Rome in 1527. As nineteenth- and twentieth-century accounts of such a relic note that the image was barely visible, our understanding of what it looked like must be based on medieval descriptions.[7] Although various representations from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century differ in detail, they all exhibit a frontal Christ without neck or shoulders, whose eyes directly address the viewer; a long, straight nose and mouth closed in a solemn expression; and hair and beard parted in the middle—all framed by a tripartite nimbus and presented on a cloth. This is the type shown on the veil of Saint Veronica in the painting by the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula. Its iconic essence is emphasized by the gold ground, an archaic feature for a painting of ca. 1500–1510. As such it makes a direct reference to the true icon of Byzantine origin, also known as the Vera Icon or "Veronica." Enhancing the painting's Eastern aura, Veronica is dressed in exotic costume richly embellished with the pearls and gems that so frequently adorn costumes in Byzantine representations.

Two labels and a red seal on the reverse of the panel indicate that at an early date it may have been in a convent or monastery in Italy, specifically the environs of Florence. In this regard it is notable that there are early references to Flemish pictures of the "Holy Face" in fifteenth-century Florentine collections. While Piero di Medici's inventory lists a dozen Greek pictures, his father, Lorenzo, owned Flemish "Madonnas," "Holy Faces," and double portraits of "Christ and the Virgin."[8] Furthermore, there is the account of one Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, who apparently was especially enamored of Flemish pictures. Writing from Florence to her son in Bruges about 1460, she considers selling some pictures but not her "Holy Face."[9] This would suggest that, contrary to popular belief, the traffic of these Holy Face icons was not all from Italy to the north, but vice versa as well.

MWA

1. See Rome 2000–2001, pp. 67–214; Wolf 1998, pp. 164, 171; Kuryluk 1991.
2. A. Grabar 1931, pp. 7–8.
3. Although known in many variations in the Middle Ages, the Veronica legend comes from two Latin narratives, the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* and the *Vindicta Salvatoris*. See Dobschütz 1899, pp. 205–17, 157–203, as in Gould 1978, pp. 82–83, 93–94, fig. 7. Unlike the Mandylion, the Veronica legend of late medieval and Renaissance times came from the story of Christ's Passion, in which Jesus wiped his face on Veronica's cloth on his way to Calvary, leaving an imprint of his features.
4. Frutaz 1954, p. 1299.
5. Waal 1893, pp. 257–58.
6. Ibid., p. 258; Frutaz 1954, p. 1302, as in Gould 1978, p. 85.
7. See Gould 1978, p. 86 n. 51.
8. Ringbom 1984, p. 34 nn. 13–14.
9. Ibid., p. 34 n. 15.

References: Paris 1904, pp. 54–55, no. 114; Bautier 1956, p. 11; Marlier 1964, p. 40, no. 58; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 6a, p. 61, no. 131; Levine 1989, pp. 193–94; Vos 1994, pp. 206–7.

336. *Vera Icon*

Master of Jean Chevrot (active Bruges, mid-15th century)
Miniature in a book of hours (fol. 13v), ca. 1450
Tempera on vellum
15.9 x 11 cm (6¼ x 4⅜ in.)
Inscribed: At upper left and right corners of the miniature, Ā ω̄ (Alpha and Omega, Beginning and End); below, in gothic script, slanting toward the face on both sides, Primus Novissimus (the First and the Last); below the horizontal arms of the nimbus, P F (Principium Finis); within the red frame reading from top left to the right, SALVE DECUS SECULI. SPECULU(M) SA(NC)TO/ RU(M). QUOD VIDE(RE) CUPIU(N)T. SP(E) C(ULUM) CELORUM. NOS AB O(M)NI MA/ CULA PURGA VICIORUM. ATQ(UE) NOS/ CONSORCIO. IUNGE B(EA)TORUM. SALVE N(OST)RA GLORIA + C (the second and opening of the third stanzas of the "Salve sancta facies" prayer: All hail, honor of worlds, mirror of saints, Whose vision to behold each heavenly spirit faints; Purge us free from every sinful stain, The company of the blessed host to gain. All hail, our glory, etc.); in the four corners of the frame starting at the upper left and reading clockwise, REX REG(NUM) D(OMI)N(U)S D(OMI)NANCIU(M) (King of Kings, Lord of Lords)
Provenance: Owned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by members of the van Esschede, Hart, and Moons families of the Overissel province of Holland (inscriptions on fol. 31); purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) from Alexandre Imbert, July 1910; J. P. Morgan (1867–1943).
Condition: The miniature is in excellent condition.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. M.421, fol. 13v)

:SALVE DECVS SECVLI·SPECVLV·SĀTO
RV·QVOD VIDĒ CVPIVT·SPĒ CELORVM·NOS AB O Ī MA
CVLA PVRGA VICIORVM·ATQ; NOS
CONSORCIO·IVNGE BTORVM·SALVE NRA GLORIA:C
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The most splendid miniature in this book of hours produced in Bruges ca. 1450 for Rome use[1] is the *Vera Icon* seen here (fol. 13v). It represents a portrait of the glorified and eternal Son of God. It is based, ultimately, on the sudarium relic or Vera Icon in Saint Peter's in Rome. The earliest known description of that bust-length Christ appears in Gervasius of Tidbury's *Otia Imperialia* (vol. III, 25) of 1210–15.[2] Soon thereafter we encounter the oldest representation of the image in a clearly byzantinizing style, by Matthew Paris, a monk of the Abbey of Saint Albans, in a manuscript of ca. 1240–60.[3] That Paris was thinking of the Roman sudarium or Vera Icon is evident from the related text.[4] The frontal, shoulder-length view of the figure, the passive expression of Christ, and the cruciform nimbus—all painted within a frame as a true portrait—are characteristic of this type of portrayal of Christ.

In the fourteenth century the esteem for this type grew because of its association with the so-called Lentulus letter. An apocryphal text first mentioned by Anselm of Canterbury in the early thirteenth century, the letter, purportedly to the Roman Senate from one Publius Lentulus, describes Christ's appearance (which is closely followed in this miniature). The popularity of the letter in the fourteenth century was due to the fact that it was quoted in well-known devotional texts, such as the *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony and the *Meditationes vitae Christi* by the Pseudo-Bonaventure. Moreover, Otto Pächt has pointed out the visual impact during the same time of the Byzantine Christ-type in a lost diptych given by Pope Clement VI in Avignon to the duke of Normandy (future king of France Jean le Bon) and painted, according to Pächt, by Jean Bandolf (a Bruges artist who went to work at the French court in 1368; see fig. 337.1).[5]

The Morgan miniature is closely modeled after Jan van Eyck's famous portraits of Christ, known only in copies perhaps after two originals that, based on the inscriptions on the frames of the replicas, were produced in 1438 and 1440 (fig. 336.1).[6] While it is not known for whom van Eyck's paintings were made, Elisabeth Dhanens has suggested an intriguing link with the Council of Ferrara-Florence of 1438–45.[7] Convened to achieve union between the Latin and the Greek churches and to organize help for Constantinople against the Ottoman Turks, the council and its outcome held great interest for Philip the Good. As Philip was a key patron of Jan van Eyck, and demonstrated in other commissions his special devotion for the visage of Christ,[8] one wonders whether Jan's famous lost paintings can be linked to a ducal commission for gifts to important participants at the Council of Ferrara-Florence.[9]

The oldest and most faithful copy of van Eyck's original as it is known in replicas in Bruges and Newcastle-upon-Tyne,[10] the Morgan miniature is similar to them in lighting, which comes from the left; the decorative details of the robe and the cruciform halo; and the texts, which are written in typically Eyckian manner (that is, in an archaic letter type).[11] This is a lifelike portrayal of Christ, viewed as a living icon as if through a window. Yet there can be no denying the archaizing presentation that clearly references Byzantine icons, and in this way differs markedly from van Eyck's portraits of his contemporaries.

The intimate relationship of the miniature with van Eyck's panel paintings comes from

its creator's firsthand knowledge of Eyckian designs and style. The Master of Jean Chevrot collaborated with Jan on one of the most important manuscripts of the fifteenth century, the Turin-Milan Hours.[12] His chief aim here, however, was not homage to his master (there is no reference to Jan's authorship of the design) but a portrayal that would enhance devotional practice. For this the connection with the text is a key feature. In the frame surrounding the image are the words from the second stanza of the "Salve sancta facies" (All hail Holy Face) prayer,[13] which was composed about 1330 and is usually ascribed to Pope John XXII (r. 1316–34). As Popes Innocent III and Innocent IV had done before him with other prayers, John XXII associated his prayer with the Vera Icon relic in Saint Peter's in Rome and granted ten thousand days of indulgence for the recitation of the prayer in front of the image.[14] The connection of the Eyckian *Vera Icon* with the venerated icon in Rome and the promise of indulgences guaranteed its widespread dissemination; its incorporation in this book of hours produced for Rome use is particularly apt. MWA

1. Some texts in books of hours contain variant readings that are peculiar to a specific ecclesiastical diocese or region. Those variants are invaluable for localizing the book, that is, for determining where it was written to be used. Thanks to Elizabeth Morrison, Department of Manuscripts, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, for information regarding this aspect of the manuscript.
2. See Dobschütz 1899, p. 92.
3. It is a miniature in *Chronica majora*, ca. 1236–59, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Ms. 16, fol. 49v. See S. Lewis 1986, pp. 126–30.
4. As in Smeyers 1995, p. 204: "Veronica . . . ad cuius petitionem ipsam fecit Christus impressionem" (Christ made an impression for Veronica at her own request).
5. Pächt 1961. See also Paris 2001b, pp. 204–5.
6. For a listing of the replicas, see Smeyers 1995, pp. 210–11 n. 81. See also Jones 1999, esp. pp. 96–107. I am grateful to Susan Jones for sharing this information with me.
7. Dhanens 1989, pp. 55–59.
8. For examples of Philip's interest in images of the Vera Icon, see Smeyers 1995, p. 213 and n. 92.
9. Attractive as such a theory may be, there is no proof that Jan van Eyck made a trip to Italy in 1438 as part of the duke's delegation to the council.
10. Smeyers 1995, p. 211.
11. On the texts and scripts of the Eyckian paintings, see Jones 1999, pp. 96–107.
12. Buren et al. 1994–96, vol. 2, pp. 332, 346–49.
13. Wieck 1997, pp. 101, 107.
14. Ringbom 1984, pp. 23–24.

Fig. 336.1. *Head of Christ*, after a Jan van Eyck painting of 1440. Oil on panel, first quarter of the 17th century. Groeningemuseum, Bruges, Belgium (0.206). Photo: © IRPA-KIK, Brussels

REFERENCES: Belting and Eichberger 1983, pp. 95ff.; Buren et al. 1994–96, vol. 2, pp. 332, 346–49; Smeyers 1995 (with references, p. 195 n. 2); Bousmanne 1997, pp. 98–101; Wieck 1997, no. 82, p. 107.

337. *Christ Blessing and the Virgin in Prayer*

Robert Campin (ca. 1375–Tournai, 1444)
Oil on panel, ca. 1425–30
28.6 x 45.1 cm (11¼ x 17¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Ypres (?); collection of Paignon Dijonval (1708–1792), Paris; passed to his grandson, Charles-Gilbert, Vicomte Morel de Vindé (1759–1842); sale, Charles Paillet and Nicolas Bérnard, Paris, December 17, 1821, lot 26 (as Hubert van Eyck); [Lambert Jean Nieuwenhuys, Brussels]; bought by Willem II, king of the Netherlands, April 20, 1823; [Brothers Bourgeois, Cologne]; R. Langton Douglas (1864–1951); purchased by John G. Johnson, 1910 (according to Friedländer).
CONDITION: The panel has been planed and cradled. It is cut at the top, and a one-centimeter piece of wood has been added to the lower edge. Remnants of a barbe are evident on the right and left sides and at the bottom edge. A significant loss, including the nose and the upper lip of Christ, has been restored.
Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection (332)

Christ Blessing and the Virgin in Prayer combines the dual images of Byzantine diptychs into one tightly cropped, dramatically close-up double portrait.[1] The existence of such diptychs is difficult to reconstruct from the scanty remains, and therefore some scholars have endeavored to explain the Philadelphia panel as a variant of the Deesis group (see fig. 1.3).[2] However, a literary tradition going back to the pre-Iconoclast period describes similar pendants. The *Vita* of Saint Stephen, deacon of Constantinople in 808, for example, notes that it was an act of miraculous healing by two icons (or one combined image) of Christ and his mother that led to Stephen's imprisonment.[3] Furthermore, a passage by Andrew of Crete (ca. 726) mentions that similar diptychs painted by Saint Luke were known in Rome and Jerusalem.[4]

Among a number of influential surviving pictures listed by Otto Pächt is a drawing of ca. 1200 inserted in a Gospel book (Princeton University, Garret Ms. 7) that appears to record a monumental painting showing the Christ Pantokrator and the Virgin, not side by side but in a random placement on the vellum page.[5] In addition, Pächt cites the diptych of Saint Stephen the Younger in the psalter from the Studion Monastery that presents a double icon with Christ and Mary.[6] Diptychs such as these, Pächt asserts, must have provided the model for what is perhaps the most intriguing image in connection with the Philadelphia panel to have come down to us, the Avignon Diptych,[7] which was featured in a lost fourteenth-century painting that formerly hung over the door of the sacristy in the choir of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. Now known only by François-Roger de Gaignières's seventeenth-century watercolor copy (fig. 337.1), the painting showed Pope Clement VI (r. 1342–52) offering a diptych of the bust-length Virgin and Christ to the duke of Normandy (the future king of France Jean le Bon) during his visit to the prince in Avignon in May of 1342. The gabled top to the frame of the diptych may indicate the work of an Italian artist working in Avignon after a Byzantine prototype, or, as Pächt argues, an original Byzantine icon. Apparently this diptych, which was kept at Sainte-Chapelle until its disappearance in the eighteenth century, was copied throughout the years, as a painting probably from the early sixteenth century attests (fig. 337.2).[8]

The Philadelphia panel shows in reverse the same key elements of the Avignon Diptych: the close relationship of the similarly attired Virgin and Christ; the frontal Christ and three-quarter view of the Virgin's head; the averted glance of Christ;[9] and comparable trompe-l'oeil halos (his cruciform, hers a simple rim embellished with regularly spaced circular ornamentation) behind each figure before the flat gold ground.[10] The halos in the Philadelphia picture are particularly rare for Netherlandish painting and must intentionally refer to Eastern examples.[11] These components—references to hieratic and archaic Byzantine prototypes—suggest the timeless quality of the images and their relationship to an ancient world. But like the copy attributed to Hayne of Brussels of the Cambrai Madonna (cats. 349, 350), the Philadelphia painting represents a transformation of its model. Relative to Byzantine examples, the facial features are not as stylized, nor are there gold striations for the folds of the garments. What especially brings the

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Virgin and Christ to a heightened sense of physical presence and establishes a relationship with the contemporary fifteenth-century viewer is the lifelike addition of the hands—those of Christ raised in blessing and resting on the frame edge, while the Virgin's are joined in supplication to Christ as the Intercessor for humankind. Indeed, the reflection of the window in the crystal cabochon at the neckline of Christ's robe may indicate what Carla Gottlieb suggests is a symbol of Redemption.[12]

Albert Châtelet supposes that the function of Campin's painting followed that of other icons of Christ, as a potential source of indulgences, established by Innocent IV (r. 1243–54) or John XXII (r. 1316–34), to those who would recite prayers to the Holy Face.[13] This newly established model of about 1425–30[14] continued to be produced in variants later in the century by Dieric Bouts and into the early sixteenth century by Quentin Massys.[15]

MWA

1. See condition notes above.
2. Panofsky 1953, vol. 1, p. 275; Frinta 1966, p. 108; Châtelet 1996, p. 122. Although to some extent related to the Deesis representations, such a comparison ignores the more direct derivation of the Philadelphia panel from Byzantine diptychs.
3. Migne, cited in Pächt 1961, vol. 1, p. 412 n. 54.
4. Ibid., p. 412 n. 55.
5. Ibid., p. 412, and New York 1997, no. 50, p. 96.
6. Pächt 1961, vol. 1, p. 414, fig. 2.
7. For the most recent discussion and pertinent bibliography of this painting, see Paris 2001a, pp. 204–5. Thomas

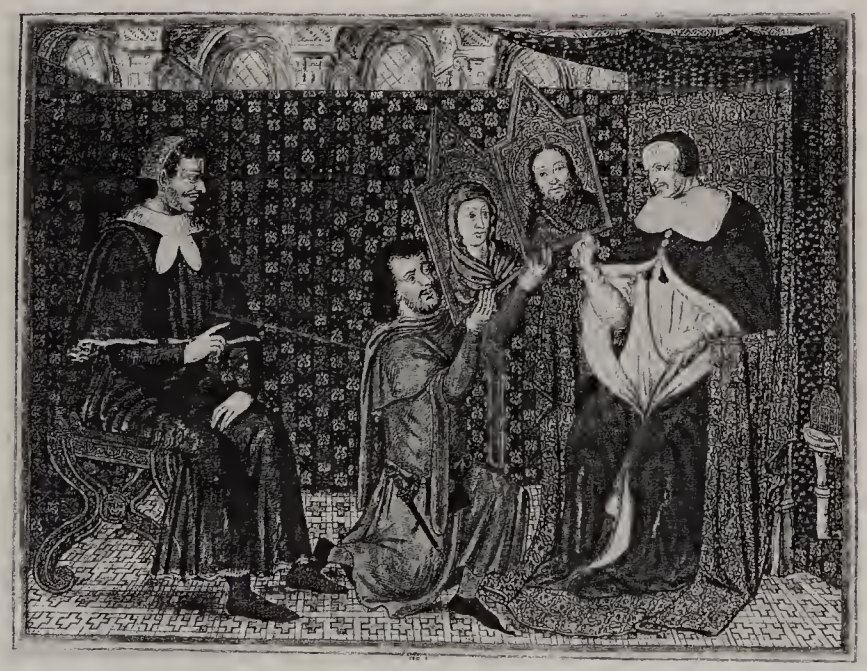

Fig. 337.1. *Pope Clement VI Offering a Diptych to the Duke of Normandy (Future King of France, Jean le Bon),* copy of a 14th-century painting formerly in Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. François-Roger de Gaignières, gouache on parchment, 17th century. Bibliothèque National de France, Paris (Est. Oa 11, fols. 85–88)

Fig. 337.2. Copy of the Avignon Diptych. Oil on panel, French, early 16th century. Private collection, France. Photo: © Christie's

1998, pp. 70–81, has provided other examples that unite the Christ Pantokrator with the Virgin Intercessor.

8. I am grateful to Mlle Elvire de Maintenant of Christie's, Paris, for calling this painting to my attention.
9. This is also true of the famous Laon Mandylion (cat. 95), which may have provided a model for Campin. Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1969, p. 115, endorses the Laon icon as the source for a number of Netherlandish artists, including Campin.
10. Thomas 1998, pp. 55–57, has made the intriguing suggestion that the unusual halo types in Campin's painting are modeled after the jeweled revetments of Byzantine icons. However, closer examples may be found in Middle and Late Byzantine art in mosaics, portable metal pieces, and cloisonné enamels. For the Virgin's ring of pearls at the edge of her halo, see New York 1997, nos. 107, 113, 331. For Christ's tripartite halo decorated with gemstones, see ibid., p. 439, nos. 37, 73. Kemperdick 1997, p. 19, less convincingly posits a connection with contemporary polychromed sculpture with raised pastiglia decoration in regard to the Frankfurt panels by Campin.
11. Close examination under the microscope (May 20, 2002) reveals that a compass was used to create incised lines in perfect circles for the halos. The point of the compass can be seen to the upper right of the Virgin's proper left eye, and at the eyebrow level between the eyes of Christ.
12. Gottlieb 1960, pp. 313–15.
13. Châtelet 1996, p. 122.
14. For various opinions on attribution, see most recently Châtelet 1996, pp. 120–23, 296–97; Thürlemann 2002, pp. 307–8, no. III.C.3. Peter Klein's dendrochronology of the panel has established an earliest possible felling date of the tree in 1408, with a probable felling date in 1414 (in Foister and Nash 1996, p. 84). Given this information and the stylistic and technical evidence of the painting, it was probably produced between 1425 and 1430.
15. For examples, see Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 3, pl. 74, no. 61a, vol. 7, pl. 12, nos. 5, 5a.

REFERENCES: Johnson Collection 1972, p. 21; Bauman 1986, pp. 49, 51; De Coo 1990, pp. 51–52; Asperen de Boer et al. 1992, pp. 127–28; Shirley Neilson Blum in Bauman and Liedtke 1992, pp. 34–36, no. 2; Châtelet 1996, no. 8, pp. 120–23, 296–97 (with bibl.); Peter Klein, "Dendrochronological Findings in Panels of the Campin Group," in Foister and Nash 1996, pp. 79, 84; Kemperdick 1997, pp. 42–44, 56, 65–66, 149; Thomas 1998, pp. 51–87; Eidelberg 1998; Thürlemann 2002, pp. 307–9, no. III.C.3.

338. *Sorrowful Madonna*

Georges Trubert (Provence, active last third of the 15th century)
Miniature in a book of hours (fol. 159), ca. 1480–85
Tempera on vellum
11.5 x 8.6 cm (4½ x 3⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Arabic, in the upper-right portion of the frame, La ghāliba illa 'Llāh (Allah is the greatest conqueror). Other inscriptions are meaningless.
PROVENANCE: [Sotheby's, London, April 14, 1924, lot 166]; Chester Beatty, Ms. 85; [Sotheby's, London, June 24, 1969, lot 71]; M. Brymer; [Sotheby's, London, July 10, 1972, lot 48]; [Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1979, lot 62]; Carlo de Poortere, Courtrai, Belgium; [Heribert Tenschert Antiquariat, Rotthalmünster, Germany].
CONDITION: The manuscript is in excellent condition overall.
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Ms. 48; 93.ML.6)

According to Byzantine tradition, one of the three portraits of the Virgin that Saint Luke painted after Pentecost was that of the Sorrowful Madonna, an image purportedly captured as the mother grieved over her son at the foot of the Cross.[1] This icon type is known both individually and as part of the Deesis group in which the Virgin inclines her head toward Christ (see fig. 1.3). Although the Virgin Eleousa and Virgin Hodegetria were perhaps the more popular of the legendary likenesses produced by Saint Luke, there was as well a strong following for the grieving mother, or Mater Dolorosa. This is particularly in evidence in French and Flemish manuscript illumination of the fifteenth century, where numerous depictions of Saint Luke show him in the process of painting or having completed a panel of the Sorrowful Madonna.[2]

Otto Pächt identified the source of the type presented in the Getty miniature as a Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine diptych, such as the Avignon Diptych (see fig. 337.2) in which the Virgin is paired with a frontal Christ.[3] However, François Avril has proposed a more direct precedent,[4] possibly a Franco-Flemish model of about 1400, itself inspired by Italo-Byzantine examples. It is thought that the prototype was brought from the Holy Land and given by the king of Cyprus to Pope Urban V in Avignon in 1363.[5] Closely related to the Getty miniature is a portrayal of the Sorrowful Virgin in King René of Anjou's Book of Hours (ca. 1459–60), which includes a prominent wart on the Virgin's left cheek,[6] suggesting perhaps that it may be a replica of a devotional panel owned by René of Anjou or on view at a locale where he worshiped.[7] (Exact copies of it also appear in other books of hours from Anjou, Provence, or Lorraine.)[8]

The Getty image and an illumination of about 1490 that was inserted, together with a reproduction of a Byzantine-type Vera Icon, into a book of hours probably produced in Angers about 1450 (see fig. 17.5) precisely follow the model of the Virgin down to the wart on her left cheek; both are attributed to Georges Trubert, who served King René of Anjou in Provence during the last decade of the ruler's life. In addition, these two works make particular reference to the Eastern source of the original icon by placing it, respectively, within a trompe-l'oeil altar reliquary or a jeweled frame, each carrying pseudo-kufic or Nassarud inscriptions.[9] Though the reference to Eastern origins may be clear, including the heraldic devices of a pen-box bearer at the base of the shrine in the Getty miniature that derive

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from the emblems of a Mamlūk sultan or emir, the inscriptions are not. Only one, at the upper right of the arc of the frame in the Getty example, can be read; it says, "Allah is the greatest conqueror." The motto of the Nassarud dynasty, the inscription is used frequently as architectural decoration, in particular at the Alhambra in Granada (1230–1492). Clearly incompatible with the sentiments expressed by the Sorrowful Virgin, this inscription must have been copied in ignorance from Eastern objects that had found their way to the West.[10]

If the Nassarud inscriptions were misunderstood by the artist, however, the iconic type of the Virgin was not—it was chosen specifically for its meaningful illustration of the "O intemerata" text that appears on a trompe-l'oeil parchment tacked below the image. This phrase marks the beginning of the prayer that asks both the Virgin and Saint John, present at the Crucifixion, to serve as "guardians and pious intercessors before God."[11] Thus the icon of the Sorrowful Virgin, believed at the time to have been painted by Saint Luke and, therefore, to possess the aura and cult status of a true portrait, would serve as an ideal enhancement to meditation.

Susie Nash has discussed the relationship between the French and Flemish illumination centers, providing likely scenarios for the transmittal of patterns and images for artistic production in both geographical areas. Others have suggested specific ways in which the courts of the Burgundian dukes and the French kings, as well as their artists, had contact.[12] Whatever the precise conveyors of influence, the Sorrowful Virgin, either alone or often paired with the figure of Christ, was of key importance in facilitating religious practices, especially those associated with the Modern Devotion in the Low Countries. Following the example of Robert Campin (cat. 337), workshops, especially those of Dieric Bouts and his son Albrecht, were kept busy with the demand for images of the Mater Dolorosa.[13]

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1. On the traditions and legends of the icon, see Ouspensky 1992, pp. 51–64.
2. To cite just a few, see those by Jean Fouquet (M. 834, fol. 15r) and Jean Colombe (M. 677, fols. 29v, 38r) in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (repr. in Wieck 1997, pp. 44–45, 105). See also an illumination in a book of hours from a private collection in Toul (Pächt 1973–77, p. 69, fig. 81). An example by Jean le Tavernier is illustrated in Os et al. 1994, p. 46, fig. 13.
3. Pächt 1961.
4. See Paris 1993–94, p. 234.
5. Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1979, p. 73, lot 62.
6. Bibliothèque National de France, Paris, BN Lat. 17332, fol. 15v, in Reynaud 1977, fig. 55. Pächt 1961, vol. 1, p. 417, noted that René d'Anjou had such a wart, which is recorded in two of his portraits, and suggested that the one on the Virgin's cheek here mimics his own mark. Mellinkoff 1993, p. 169, regards this as a reversal of the usually negative connotation of the blemish into a positive attribute.
7. For the practice of copying by illuminators of panel paintings in the collections of their patrons, see Susie Nash, "A Fifteenth Century French Manuscript and an Unknown Painting by Robert Campin," in Foister and Nash 1996, pp. 105–16.
8. Paris 1993–94, p. 234. See illustrations in Reynaud 1977, figs. 56–57.
9. In the Morgan example, the pseudo-kufic script is the cursive style popular under the Ayyūbids (late twelfth–mid-fourteenth century). Such inscriptions come from longer texts, usually eulogies to the sultan, and were popular on textiles, glass, and metalwork. The artist of the miniature was probably looking at real inscriptions but had no knowledge of the language. As a result, there are no identifiable words here. I am most grateful to Stefano Carboni of the Islamic Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for discussing these inscriptions with me (March 19, 2003).
10. King René d'Anjou was a passionate collector of Moorish and Turkish objects, as evidenced by the inventories of his collections. See, for example, *Extraits des comptes at mémoriaux du Roi René pour servir à l'histoire des arts au XVe siècle*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1873). I thank Elizabeth Morrison, Department of Manuscripts, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, for this information.
11. On the special prayers to the Virgin, see Wieck 1997, pp. 86–87.
12. Pächt 1956; Harbison 1991, pp. 166–67.
13. See Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 3, pls. 74, 76–77, 92–93.

REFERENCES: Sotheby's 1969, lot 71; Sotheby's 1972, pp. 41–42, lot 48; Reynaud 1977, pp. 57–58; Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1979, pp. 73–75, lot 62; König 1993, pp. 430–50, no. 26; Paris 1993–94, p. 234, no. 126; Kren et al. 1997, pp. 86–87.

339. *Christ Giving His Blessing*

Hans Memling (Seligenstadt, ca. 1440–Bruges, 1494)
Oil on wood, 1481
Oak panel: 34.8 x 26.2 cm (13¾ x 10⅜ in.); original frame: 42.8 x 33.6 cm (16⅞ x 13¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: On top of original frame, 1481
PROVENANCE: Marquesa de Argüeso, Madrid; [Knoedler and Co., New York]; purchased by William A. Coolidge, Topsfield, Massachusetts, 1955; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1986.
CONDITION: The panel is in very good condition. The painting is abraded in the lower part of the hair, and there are some losses in the forehead. The frame is worn but original and shows no traces of hinges on either side.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (176.1986)

Monumental Deesis groups with a central Christ Pantokrator were known to residents of the Low Countries who traveled on pilgrimages to the Holy Land through Venice, where the mosaics of the Basilica of San Marco boasted the most famous example in the West. Certainly the best-known Deesis group in Flanders appears at the center of Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* (Saint Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent), whose fame was to be extended by Jan Gossaert's early-sixteenth-century copy of it (see fig. 17.17). The combination of Christ Blessing and the Virgin at Prayer, a variant of the traditional Deesis group, was also adopted by Flemish artists (see the example by Robert Campin, cat. 337). These two types—the Deesis group, and Christ Blessing and the Virgin at Prayer—were united in a single Byzantine-like frieze in Rogier van der Weyden's *Braque Triptych* (fig. 339.1) of 1450–52.[1] A further adaptation of Rogier's famous triptych featured the Christ Pantokrator alone. The single figure was no doubt disseminated by workshop drawings and copies (one well-known example is Martin Schongauer's drawing after the Christ figure in Rogier's *Braque Triptych*).[2] It was through this means, and probably as a member of Rogier's workshop, that Hans Memling assimilated the pattern of Rogier's Christ, making it his own for two poignant interpretations—one of 1478 (now in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California) and the panel under discussion of 1481 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[3]

Memling's two versions, however, further reduce the prototype, deleting the attribute of Christ's power, the orb, and placing the left hand on the edge of the frame, so that it appears to enter into the viewer's own space. This pose mimics that found in Byzantine mosaics of the Christ Pantokrator where left hand rests on the top edge of a book of the Holy Scriptures.[4] Even more closely associated with Memling's *Christ* are Late Byzantine panel paintings showing the Pantokrator *en face*, entirely filling the picture plane and directly addressing the viewer with his mesmerizing glance (cats. 154, 217, 307).

In his adaptation of these Late Byzantine paintings, Memling focuses on the humanity of Christ, allowing the image to be encountered as a living icon through the window of the frame. Dispensing with the hieratic, strictly iconic presentation of Campin's and Rogier's examples (cat. 337 and fig. 339.1), Memling enhanced the physical aspect of Christ through his unequaled abilities as a portraitist. The subtlety of expression and success at verisimilitude facilitate the viewer's empathic response to the image, the chief aim of the Modern Devotion. In this way Memling effectively adapted the Byzantine prototype to the religious needs of his day. MWA

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1. See Vos 1999, no. 19, pp. 268–73; Lorentz and Comblen-Sonkes 2001, vol. 1, pp. 133–84, no. 193.
2. Colmar 1991, no. D1, pp. 132–33. It was also known in prints, considerably elaborated with decorative details, as in two engravings by the Master E.S., one of which was reworked by Israel van Meckenem (Philadelphia 1967, nos. 78–79).
3. For further discussion and bibliography, see Vos 1994, no. 27, pp. 142–43, no. 61, pp. 232–33. Memling may well have made a full copy of Rogier's *Bracque Triptych* as a lost copy of the right wing suggests (see ibid., no. A4, p. 340). There is also a drawing of the Mary Magdalene in the Louvre (see Koreny 2002, pp. 90–92).
4. Examples are found at Hagia Sophia (the *Constantine Monomachos and the Empress Zoe* panel) and at San Marco in Venice (*Christ Enthroned* in the Chapel of San Clemente). Among the icons of the Pantokrator that were brought to the Low Countries in the fifteenth century is the famous mosaic given by Pope Sixtus IV to Philippe de Croy, who in turn bequeathed it in 1476 to the Collegiate Church of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Chimay (cat. 132).

Fig. 339.1. Center panel of the *Braque Triptych*. Rogier van der Weyden, oil on panel, ca. 1450–52. Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 2063). Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

References: Kronig 1910, p. 28; Friedländer 1937, p. 229; Faggin 1973, no. 51; Białostocki 1976; B. Lane 1980, no. 39; Vos 1994, no. 61, pp. 232–33.

340. *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*

Rogier van der Weyden (Tournai, 1399/1400–Brussels, 1464)
Oil on panel, ca. 1435–40
137.7 x 110.8 cm (54¼ x 43⅝ in.)
Provenance: Chapel of Saint Catherine in the Cathedral of Saint Gudule, Brussels (?) or Saint Luke Guild house (?); Brussels, 1520 (seen by Albrecht Dürer?); Philip II (inventory of 1574 in the Escorial); Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza, before 1853; confiscated by Queen Isabella II, 1853; transferred to the Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid; returned to Don Sebastián, 1859 (?); sale, Collection of Don Pedro de Borbón, American Art Sales Association, New York, April 5–6 and April 8, 1889, lot 67; purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Higginson; donated to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1893.[1]
Condition: The panel has been cradled and there are unpainted edges on all four sides. There has been severe flaking and abrasion; significant paint losses in Mary's dress, the front of Saint Luke's gown, and the fingers of Saint Luke's right hand; and much overall retouching (for a more detailed report, see Eisler 1961a; Ron Spronk and Rhona MacBeth, "Rogier's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin* in the Laboratory," in Purtle 1997). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (93.153)

The legend of Saint Luke as the official portraitist of the Virgin originates in Byzantium in the sixth century, although the genesis of the story is somewhat obscure.[2] Hans Belting notes that while Theodorus Lector's church history, in which he tells of three churches dedicated to the Virgin that were founded by Empress Pulcheria in about 450, can be considered reliable, the account of a gift to Pulcheria from her sister-in-law Eudocia in Jerusalem of an image of the Virgin painted by Saint Luke was probably a later addition. Rather, the legend of Saint Luke may have been initiated in one of Pulcheria's three churches that owned a venerated Hodegetria icon, which also served as a relic, as did the Virgin's mantle and girdle that were worshiped in Pulcheria's two other churches.[3] By the eighth century the legend was more firmly established, as is testified by the fact that Greek theologians were able to refer the Iconoclasts to an image in Rome that,

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verifiably, was painted by Saint Luke.[4] By the end of the eleventh century the saint was connected with the renowned Hodegetria icon in Constantinople (which is perhaps depicted in cat. 77).[5]

The depiction of Saint Luke in the act of painting the portrait of the Virgin and Child appears to have been codified by the thirteenth century; thereafter, several extant Byzantine miniatures in illuminated books, such as the one from the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai (cat. 203), show Luke with paintbrush in hand and pigments and brushes at his side as he adds the final touches to a picture of the Hodegetria Virgin.[6] As it is Luke's Gospel that describes the life of Jesus in the greatest detail, it was reasonably assumed that Luke in particular could lend veracity to paintings of the Virgin and Child, who, it was believed, actually sat for the portrait.[7] As Vassiliki Foskolou points out in this catalogue (cat. 203), the emergence of this theme in Byzantine art was likely associated with socioeconomic changes in the Palaiologan period that allowed artists to advance and to assert their artistic personalities. In the West, at about the same time, similar changes were taking place that fostered the growth of painters' guilds and the adoption of Saint Luke as their patron saint.

In fifteenth-century Italy the iconography of Saint Luke as a painter was not developed as it was in the north but remained rather as an anecdotal feature along with other conventional types of the Evangelist.[8] The embrace of Saint Luke and his icons in northern Europe was likely influenced by Jacobus da Voragine's *Golden Legend*, which relates the tale of an icon of the Virgin and Child painted by the saint and carried in a solemn procession by order of Pope Gregory the Great; this icon was credited with eliminating the plague in Rome.[9] The text notes that this image was still at that time in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome; this is probably the Byzantine icon known as the "Salus Populi Romani" (Salvation of the Roman People; fig. 342.1)."

In the Late Byzantine world, the Hodegetria icon from the Hodegon Monastery was the most revered of those believed to have been painted by Saint Luke, yet other icons increasingly earned that distinction because of their renown as miracle-working images. In a parallel development in the Low Countries that may well have been influenced by the importation of Byzantine icons to the West, in particular from Crete (see the essay by Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication, cat. 215, and fig. 341.1), certain types of the Virgin and Child were newly acknowledged as having been painted by Saint Luke himself. Among these was the Virgin nursing the Child. This was above all fostered by Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*, one of the earliest known depictions of this theme in panel painting in the Low Countries. Although the Galaktotrophousa Virgin (also known as the *Virgo lactans*) is not often seen in Byzantine art, it apparently developed as a type for personal icons in the late twelfth century, and, according to Anthony Cutler,[10] was cultivated in Constantinople. The popularity of the Galaktotrophousa in the West, as in the case of so many Byzantine icons, related specifically to the miracle-working aspect of the image, in particular to legends about seriously ill people to whom the Virgin miraculously appeared and who were then cured with her milk.[11]

The cult of the Virgin's milk was among the most widespread in late medieval Europe,[12] fostered perhaps by the relic of the Virgin's milk that joined twenty-one others sent by Baldwin II of Flanders (emperor of Constantinople, 1228–61) to Louis IX of France between 1239 and 1242, which were housed in Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. The cult was emphasized in the writings and devotional practices of medieval mystics, among them Mechteld of Magdeburg and Hildegard of Bingen. The connection of Mary's milk with healing and her powers of intercession encouraged a veneration of her relics, including vials of her milk kept in shrines that attracted pilgrims. It is perhaps not insignificant that the miraculous image of Our Lady of Halle (near Rogier van der Weyden's hometown of Brussels), highly venerated since the early fourteenth century and especially favored by the dukes of Burgundy after the annexation of Hainault in 1427, is a *Virgo lactans*.[13]

Given the enormous popularity of the nursing Virgin in late medieval and Renaissance religious culture in northwestern Europe, it was an obvious choice for Rogier van der Weyden to have featured in his depiction of Saint Luke.[14] Although other artists at the time made paintings of Saint Luke as an artist,[15] they did not often show the nursing Virgin. Yet Rogier's was the most frequently copied work, both as a complete composition and as the single motif of the Virgin and Child.[16] Some of these copies place the nursing Virgin and Child before a gold ground, evoking the aura of Byzantine icons (see cat. 341) and, perhaps, the "trickle-down" effect of the miraculous properties of the original.

Often thought to represent a self-portrait of the artist as Saint Luke, Rogier's painting serves also as an advertisement in the most exalted sense of the painter's craft. Producing religious paintings was the mainstay of the profession, and there could be no better justification for the painter's principal activities than showing Saint Luke as the portraitist of the Virgin and Child. As the patron saint of the painters' guild, Luke exemplified this elevated status of the painter above other craftsmen.

Furthermore, Rogier's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* illustrates the phenomenon of a Byzantine image less appreciated in its own time than it was later on, when it achieved cult status in the West. It is a prime example of the West's embrace not only of this icon but also of an established mode of religious propaganda that eventually promoted the Galaktotrophousa as one of the most important and powerful icons of the Low Countries.

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1. As in Vos 1999, pp. 200, 203.
2. Belting 1994, p. 57.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 57 n. 29.
5. This notion perhaps was derived from manuscripts such as Taphou 14 in the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, which shows a Persian artist painting the Virgin and Child. See Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 392–93, no. 56.
6. Sinai cod. gr. 233, fol. 87v, in Belting 1994, p. 52, fig. 14; Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 390–91, no. 55, p. 372, fig. 210 (Lectionary Codex gr. 25, fol. 52v, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.).
7. For these legends, see Dobschütz 1899, pp. 267–80; D. Klein 1933, pp. 26–61; Henze 1948.
8. For a discussion of this development, see Dobschütz 1899, pp. 40–45, 267–80; Klein 1933, pp. 7–11; Belting 1994, pp. 47–77; and Till-Holger Borchert, "Rogier's *St. Luke:* The Case for Corporate Identification," in Purtle 1997, esp. pp. 63–68, 83 n. 37.
9. Jacobus da Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William G. Ryan (Princeton, 1993), vol. 1, p. 174.
10. Cutler 1987a.
11. Bétérous 1975.
12. See Bynum 1987, pp. 261–76; M. Warner 1983, pp. 192–205; and Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, "Picturing Devotion: Rogier's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*," in Purtle 1997, pp. 5–14.
13. Velden 2000, pp. 166–78.
14. For a discussion of the iconography of the *Virgo lactans* type, see Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, pp. 80–82. The circumstances of the commission and destination for the Boston painting are unknown.
15. Eric M. White, "Rogier van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, and the Making of the Netherlandish St. Luke Tradition," in Purtle 1997, pp. 39–48.
16. See Dijkstra 1990, pp. 123–30; Dijkstra 1991, pp. 68–69.

References: Eisler 1961a, no. 73 (with complete bibl. up to 1960); Purtle 1997 (with extensive bibl.); Vos 1999, pp. 200–206 (with extensive bibl. post-1960).

341. *Virgin and Child*

Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula (Bruges, active late 15th century)
Oil on wood, last quarter of the 15th century
56.2 x 34.3 cm (22⅛ x 13½ in.)
PROVENANCE: [Horace Buttery, London, 1898]; Stanley Mortimer II, New York, until 1909; [Kleinberger, New York, 1909]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York, 1909; his estate, New York, 1913–17; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1917.
CONDITION: This painting is in its original frame and is in excellent condition.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.16)

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There are approximately thirty extant variations of Rogier van der Weyden's extremely popular *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (cat. 340).[1] Some of these—including examples in Munich, Saint Petersburg, and Bruges—are exact replicas of the entire painting and date from about 1484 into the sixteenth century.[2] Quite a number of panels excerpt the motif of the Virgin and Child from the larger composition, focusing on the nursing Virgin (known as the *Virgo lactans* or Galaktotrophousa type) placed within a variety of settings.[3]

Although early Coptic roots have been suggested,[4] the theme of the Galaktotrophousa in Byzantine art developed in the period before Iconoclasm. By the second half of the thirteenth century there was a lively cross-fertilization of this type between East and West, exemplified by the icons from Sinai (cat. 215) and those in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (fig. 341.1).[5] While Byzantine artists showed a rather restrained expression of the theme, Western painters boldly embraced it. The suckling of Christ was first connected with the Incarnation by Saint John Chrysostom, and early on was associated with Christ's Passion by Saint Clement of Alexandria.[6] In the late medieval period the theme was enthusiastically taken up by female mystics, including Mechteld of Magdeburg and Hildegard of Bingen, as well as by the Dominicans and the Cistercians (in particular Bernard of Clairvaux, who is frequently represented with the Virgin and Child, showing the miracle of lactation).[7] The cult of the Virgin's milk developed into one of the most popular of late medieval Europe,[8] and relics in vials attracted thousands of pilgrims to churches in many major cities.[9]

Five of the extant half-length versions of Rogier van der Weyden's *Virgo lactans* correspond so closely in style and figural proportions that they were likely produced from the same shared cartoon. The patrons of replicas in Brussels and Cambridge (fig. 17.15) had ties with Bruges, leading Jeltje Dijkstra to believe that the center of production for these replicas was probably a workshop there.[10] Both the Brussels and Cambridge versions show interior settings displaying coats of arms, which indicate that the Virgin and Child are present in the patron's private residence, a reference typical of late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century painting.[11] The Metropolitan Museum painting distinguishes itself from all the related copies as it is the only one with a gold background presenting the Virgin and Child in a trompe-l'oeil niche.[12] This seemingly archaic treatment responds to devotional requirements for the authentic image that differ from the criteria of other contemporary representations of the same theme. The painter here returns the image to its status as an icon by linking it with the gold-ground paintings of Byzantine cult

Fig. 341.1. Virgin Galaktotrophousa. Tempera on panel, Italo-Byzantine, late 13th century. Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens. Photo: Velissarios Voutsas

images. In this connection it is significant that relics of the Virgin's hair and her milk were housed at the Church of Saint Donatian in Bruges.[13] Demolished at the end of the eighteenth century, this church was directly across the Burg Square from the city's most famous relic of Christ's blood (at the Basilica of the Holy Blood), which was brought back from the Crusades by Thierry of Alsace in about 1150. Viewed in dimmed light, presumably candlelight as it would have been in the late fifteenth century, the Metropolitan Museum painting takes on a mystic aura, emphasizing its timeless quality as a "living icon."

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1. These have been divided into a number of subgroups by Vos 1971, pp. 126–30.
2. Vos 1999, p. 204; Dijkstra 1990, pp. 110–33.
3. See the discussion in Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, pp. 168–69, 173 n. 16, as well as Vos 1971, p. 128. *The Tournai Madonna* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai) is close in composition to these half-length Virgin and Child paintings and indicates that Rogier himself also produced a half-length model. The copies discussed here, however, all appear to have been derived from the Boston painting. See Verougstraete and Van Schoute 2001.
4. For a discussion on this subject, I thank Elizabeth Bolman of Temple University, who is preparing a book on the subject of the *Virgo lactans*, or Galaktotrophousa type in Byzantine art.
5. Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, "Picturing Devotion: Rogier's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*," in Purtle 1997, pp. 5–14, and Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 141–44.
6. Ibid., p. 143.
7. M. Miles 1986 has suggested that the theme of the *Virgo lactans* was especially revived during times of famine and plague.
8. Bétérous 1975.
9. M. Warner 1983, p. 200.
10. Dijkstra 1990, pp. 123–30; Dijkstra 1991, pp. 68–69. See also the essay by Maryan Ainsworth in this publication, especially regarding the Hours of Joanna of Castile, called Joanna the Mad, produced in Bruges, in which there is a copy of this composition.
11. Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, p. 169.
12. Remnants of old hinges on the right and left sides of the original frame indicate that there were once wings attached to this center panel of the Virgin and Child.
13. Sanderus 1641–44, vol. 2, pp. 78ff., listed these relics among those at Saint Donatian (see also Toussaert 1963, p. 292).

REFERENCES: Levine 1989, pp. 12 n. 28, 76–77, 98–101, 143, 261–63, no. N4; Dijkstra 1990, pp. 129, 244 n. 401; Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, p. 171; New York 1998–99, no. 49, pp. 224–25 (with complete bibl.).

342. *Virgin Hodegetria (Virgin and Child)*

Master of the Salvator Mundi (Bruges, ca. 1500)
Miniature in the Van Hooff Prayer Book (fol. 44v)
Tempera on vellum, probably early 16th century
15 x 11.5 cm (5⅞ x 4½ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Dutch, in border around illumination, Dit is die geliken van de' beelde de Si'te lucas gemaect heft; on facing page, fol. 45r, Dit is die warachtige gelikenisse van den beelde van onser liever sueter vrouwe' ende haren gebenediden sone als si was out omtrent haren xv iaren ende doen si haren sone Sinte symeon presententeerde in den temple [Ende is ghemaect na den beelde] dat Sint lucas de euuangeliste geschildert ende gemaect hevet De welcke beelde staende is te Rome in de kercke gheheeten Sinte maria maior.[1] (This is the copy of the painting that Saint Luke made; This is the true likeness of the painting of our dear lady and her blessed son when she was about fifteen years old and she presented her son to Saint Simeon in the temple [and is made after the picture] that Saint Luke the Evangelist painted and made from the true painting which is in Rome in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore)

PROVENANCE: Van Hooff 1520 (?); acquired by the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, from a private collection, 1969.

CONDITION: Certain folios within the manuscript have been considerably abraded due to frequent handling. Folio 44v, the *Virgin and Child*, is in relatively good condition.

Bibliotheek van de Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam (Ms. XV.05502.-, fol. 44v)

The Virgin Hodegetria of the Chiesa del Carmine in Siena is a masterpiece among Byzantine icons created in the thirteenth century.[2] Perhaps even more than for its beauty, the icon was prized for its provenance. It purportedly came from the Holy Land, an assertion guaranteed by the hermits of the Order of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel. The icon inspired a number of close replicas, the most famous of which dates from the thirteenth century and is in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (fig. 17.10).[3] As with the Cambrai Madonna (cat. 349), the renown of the copy came to exceed that of the original, especially when in 1478 Pope Sixtus IV confirmed it to be an authentic image painted by Saint Luke to which indulgences were attached.[4] Thereafter, various copies were made by Italian artists, among them Melozzo da Forlì, commissioned by such notable families as the Sforza.[5]

The Santa Maria del Popolo painting must have been seen by northerners who made

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Fig. 342.1. Virgin Hodegetria (Salus Populi Romani). Tempera on panel, 6th century (?). Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY

pilgrimages to Rome.[6] In the fifteenth century it was among the five most frequently visited icons believed to have been painted by Saint Luke,[7] and its widespread fame spurred wealthy patrons to commission replicas.[8] Evidence of this is found in Flemish books of hours and prayer books that include the renowned icon: a miniature in the Van Hooff Prayer Book showing the Virgin and Child before a gold background and framed within a border bears the inscription, "This is the copy of the painting that Saint Luke made."

With miniatures attributed by Anne-Margreet As-Vijvers to the Master of the Van Hooff Prayer Book (or Cornelia van Wulfschkercke), the Master of the Salvator Mundi, and a third workshop hand, this manuscript was probably produced in Bruges at the beginning of the sixteenth century, perhaps for a patron by the name of Van Hooff (a "coat of arms" is found in the margins of fol. 154r).[9] The Master of the Salvator Mundi painted the book's two most important illuminations, the *Virgin and Child* under discussion here and the *Salvator Mundi* (fols. 44v and 13v), as well as two historiated initials (fols. 180v and 182v).[10] Referring to the Virgin's earliest sorrow, associated with her presentation of the Christ Child to Simeon in the temple, the Van Hooff *Virgin and Child* initiates the devotion to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. The text that faces the miniature on folio 45r describes it as being a true likeness, that is, a copy of a painting by Saint Luke in Rome in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore (fig. 342.1). It is in fact a copy of the icon, also thought to have been painted by Saint Luke, at Santa Maria del Popolo (fig. 17.10).[11] The misunderstanding about the location of the prototype can easily be understood as a consequence of the circulation of various models in prints, drawings, and paintings of the most famous icons of the day, disassociated from their proper site identifications or accompanying devotional texts.[12]

Another copy of the Santa Maria del Popolo icon appears in a luxurious manuscript produced by the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary for Joanna the Mad, daughter of Queen Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon and the wife of Philip the Handsome (fig. 17.3). Created between 1496 and 1506, the book is highly personalized in terms of text and image.[13] At the beginning of the Mass of the Virgin, the full-page *Virgin Hodegetria* (fol. 176v) appears within an elaborate architectural framework. The facing page features the opening verses of the mass, behind which is a meticulously rendered church interior perhaps meant to recall the icon's specific location.[14] A Greek icon of a Virgin and Child that is listed in the inventory of Joanna's possessions is quite possibly the one directly copied in the illumination.[15] This suggestion is supported by an exact copy elsewhere in the manuscript (fol. 287v) of another panel painting of icon status, the Virgin and Child from Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (the same motif as is found in cats. 340 and 341).[16]

The replicas of renowned icons in these devotional books bore witness to the originals and perhaps raised expectations for the same miraculous powers that the icons purportedly possessed. Joined with specific devotional texts, these images served to transport the devotee into a spiritual union with the Virgin and Child. MWA

1. Transcription by Anne Margreet As-Vijvers (2002, p. 107). I am most grateful to Ms. As-Vijvers for sharing a copy of her master's thesis on the Van Hooff Prayer Book with me and discussing various issues pertaining to it.
2. Illustrated in Belting 1994, pl. 6.
3. Ibid., p. 341.
4. Ibid., p. 342. The money raised from indulgences helped to fund the rebuilding of the titular church of the cardinal, a special interest of the Della Rovere family.
5. Ibid.
6. References to such pilgrimages are found in books of hours that show in the margins trompe-l'oeil pilgrimage badges that were collected at various sites. See Los Angeles–New York–London 1983–84,p. 61, fig. 7C, for an example of *Saint Luke in His Chamber* with an icon of the Virgin and Child prominently displayed above Luke's writing desk and the margins full of pilgrimage badges.
7. The pilgrimage of the priest Jan van Coudenberghe (who in 1492 initiated a Brotherhood of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin in the Netherlands) to Rome and the impact of his visits to the major sites are discussed in Graas 1990, pp. 13, 21–22. The other major sites were Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria Nuova, Sant'Agostino, and the cloister of Santa Maria in Aracoeli.
8. This was the case in Germany as well as in the Low Countries. Strieder 1959 points out that there were copies made by Hans Holbein the Elder (1493, in the chapel of Hindelang-Bad Oberdorf), Hans Raphon, and Jan Polack.
9. I am grateful to Bodo Brinkman for calling this manuscript to my attention and especially to Anne Margreet As-Vijvers for discussions concerning the book. See As-Vijvers 1993, pp. 59–62, for discussion of the heraldic evidence.
10. See ibid., p. 74.
11. Ibid., p. 107.
12. Ibid., pp. 107–11. See Graas 1990, pp. 13–26, for a full discussion of the relationship of the Santa Maria del Popolo image to a similar one (now lost) in the church at Abbenbroek, Belguim.
13. See Elizabeth Morrison's entry in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, pp. 385–87, no. 114.
14. In this case, the details of the architecture—a double-storied, arched arcade with columns on the upper level showing a "twisted-rope" motif—is more reminiscent of Santa Maria Maggiore than Santa Maria del Popolo. See Luciani 1996, p. 61.
15. As in Morrison in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, pp. 386–87, n. 9: "otro retablo griego de nuestra señora con su hijo en los braços" (another Greek painting of Our Lady with her child in her arms) (Ferrandis 1943, p. 231).
16. For the theory that Joanna also owned a painting of the Virgin and Child by a follower of Rogier van der Weyden, see Nash 1995, p. 437; Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, p. 170; Morrison in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, p. 385.

References: Stellingwerff 1975; Stellingwerff 1975–76; Stellingwerff 1988; Byvanck 1991; As-Vijvers 1993; As-Vijvers 2002.

343. *Virgin and Child with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos*

Jan van Eyck (Maaseik [?], active by 1422–Bruges, d. 1441) and workshop
Oil on wood, transferred to canvas, transferred to Masonite press wood with oak veneer and cradled, ca. 1441–43
Painted surface, 47.4 x 61.3 cm (18⅝ x 24⅛ in.)
Provenance: Jan Vos, Carthusian monastery at Genadedal near Bruges, mid-fifteenth century; Baron James de Rothschild, Paris, ca. 1850; Rothschild family, Paris; [M. Knoedler and Company]; Frick Collection, New York, 1954.
Condition: Despite its history of transfer, the painting is in very good condition.
The Frick Collection, New York (54.1.161)

The aura of Byzantine icons and their assimilation into the mainstream of Flemish painting is exemplified by the *Virgin and Child with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos*. Likely begun by Jan van Eyck at the very end of his career and completed by a workshop assistant,[1]

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this painting shows the assembled holy figures and the donor Jan Vos in a contemporary setting—a loggia of a grand mansion with a view to a meticulously rendered, naturalistic Flemish landscape beyond. Jan Vos was originally a member of the Teutonic Order, but he joined the Carthusians in 1431 in Nieuwlicht and about a decade later resettled at the monastery at Genadedal, near Bruges, assuming the position of prior there for eight years. His association with the Teutonic Order provides an explanation for the iconography of the Frick painting. Barbara was the order's patron saint of artillery, a connection that is underscored by the presence of the god of war, Mars, displayed in the interior of her attribute, the tower, just beyond the open arcade. Saint Elizabeth was particularly venerated by the German order, which dedicated its church to her.

According to documents published by H. J. J. Scholtens (1938), the Frick painting is one of three that Jan Vos gave to the Carthusian monastery at Genadedal. On September 3, 1443, Bishop Martinus of Mayo visited the monastery and consecrated these three paintings—a Virgin with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth; possibly a diptych representing a Virgin Nursing the Child (left) and a Resurrection (right); and a Virgin Carrying Her Child.[2] The bishop further stipulated that indulgences would be granted to those worshiping the saints in the Frick painting, but only if it remained on the altar of the church in Genadedal.[3] It has been proposed that when Jan Vos moved to Utrecht in 1450, he took this personally meaningful painting with him to place on the altar of the "Blessed Barbara, Virgin and Martyr"; indeed, the Frick painting—or an exact copy of it—is mentioned in a description of the altar of the Carthusian monastery at Nieuwlicht, not far from Utrecht.[4]

What is notable for the context of the current exhibition is that the Virgin and Child assume an adapted pose of the highly revered

Fig. 343.1. *Virgin and Child in a Porch.* Master of the André Madonna, oil on panel, ca. 1500. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (255)

Hodegetria type, a particularly appropriate choice for Jan Vos's painting. The famed Hodegetria of Constantinople was a palladium, or safeguard, of that city, and the example at Santa Maria Maggiore, known as the "Salus Populi Romani" (Salvation of the Roman People), similarly served as a defender of Rome. A comparable function was probably intended for the Liège Hodegetria that was carried in a procession after a period of civil war in the fifteenth century (see cat. 150). The established role, therefore, of this Virgin and Child as a protector in time of conflict would be relevant for a painting associated with the Teutonic Order.

Jan Vos commissioned from Petrus Christus a reduction of the Frick painting—the *Exeter Madonna*—that shows Vos with Saint Barbara and the Virgin and Child (but without Saint Elizabeth), probably for his private devotions.[5] Petrus Christus used the model again for a single image of the Virgin and Child (Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest).[6] Although the Budapest painting cannot be connected directly with the Carthusian monastery at Genadedal, a later painting attributed to the Master of the André Madonna most likely can (fig. 343.1). It shows the Hodegetria Virgin and Child with angels in a setting like that of Genadedal, clearly outside the city walls of Bruges, whose major churches of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw (Our Lady) and Sint-Jacobs (Saint James) can be seen at the right and left in the background. The Carthusian monk wandering by the back wall, reading a devotional book, again suggests Genadedal.

The repetition of the specific Hodegetria type in works by Jan van Eyck, Petrus Christus, and the Master of the André Madonna, most of which refer to the Genadedal monastery over a period of sixty years, indicates a particular veneration of this icon at that location. It is worth recalling that the Carthusian institutions were generously endowed by the dukes of Burgundy, in particular by Philip the Good, as they appreciated the Carthusians' strict observance of their rule. Perhaps among the many donations of the dukes to Genadedal were icons *à la façon grèce,* which were known in their inventories.[7] MWA

1. See New York 1994, pp. 72–78.
2. Document published in Hasselt 1886, p. 202, and Scholtens 1938, p. 51.
3. See Scholtens 1938, p. 51.
4. See Upton 1990, pp. 15–19, esp. p. 17 n. 31; Frick 1949–56, vol. 12, pls. 23b–c.
5. New York 1994, no. 7, pp. 102–6.
6. A close copy is in The Hague, Rijksdienst voor Bildende Kunst. See Asperen de Boer 1995.
7. See the essay by Maryan Ainsworth in this publication. I am grateful to Noël Geirnaert, archivist of the Bruges Archives, for information concerning the inventories of Genadedal, wherein no specific references to Greek icons have been found.

REFERENCES: Scholtens 1929; Scholtens 1938; Scholtens 1952; Upton 1990, pp. 11–18, 39, 47, 73; M. Martens 1992, pp. 331–49; New York 1994, no. 2, pp. 72–78 (with bibl.); Ainsworth 1998, pp. 260–62.

344. Two Diptychs with *Virgin and Child with Angels* and *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*

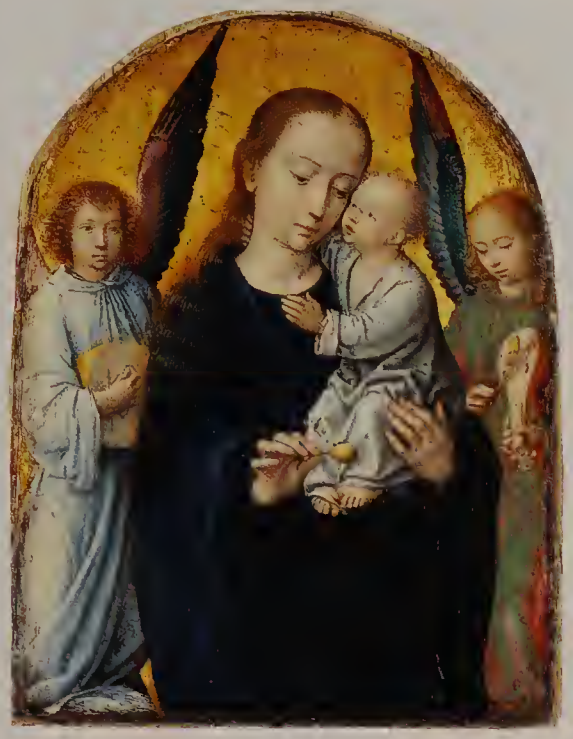
Gerard David (Oudewater, ca. 1455–Bruges, 1523)
Oil on wood. Basel panels: ca. 1490–95, Upton House and Metropolitan Museum panels: ca. 1500
Basel panels: 11.5 x 8 cm (4½ x 3⅛ in.), 11.5 x 7 cm (4½ x 2¾ in.); Upton House panel: 15.7 x 12 cm (6⅛ x 4¾ in.); Metropolitan Museum panel: 15.6 x 12.1 cm (6⅛ x 4¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Basel panels: Max van Gelder, Uccle; his bequest, 1958. Upton House panel: Spain (?); Gimpel and Wildenstein, Paris (?); Otto H. Kahn, 1911–31; Lord Bearstead, Upton; his bequest to National Trust, 1948. Metropolitan Museum panel: Spain; Otto H. Kahn, New York; [Duveen, New York]; Benjamin Altman, New York; his bequest, 1913.
CONDITION: Basel panels: In very fine condition. Upton House panel: Generally in good condition, although with retouched losses in the Child's face, the Virgin's robe, and the white garments of the angels. Metropolitan Museum of Art panel: Generally in good condition, with abrasion and small retouched losses locally throughout.
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel (G.1958.15–16)
Bearsted Collection, Upton House, Warwickshire, England (153)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.636)

Double-sided Byzantine icons with the Virgin and Child on the recto and Christ as the Man of Sorrows on the verso were known in the second half of the twelfth and into the thirteenth century. They were often carried in processions or used in a liturgical context.[1] Icon diptychs may have developed at the same time, although surviving examples, such as the half-length Virgin and the Man of Sorrows from the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora, date from the late fourteenth century (see fig. 331.1). There was apparently a parallel occurrence of such icon diptychs in Italy, as an Umbrian example from ca. 1250–60 shows (fig. 344.1, the *Virgin and Child* and *Man of Sorrows* recently reunited in the National Gallery, London). Although Joanna Cannon notes that this latter example could either have followed an existing prototype or have been fashioned as a pair by request of the patron, it is significant for our understanding of a series of diptychs created by Gerard David in Bruges at the end of the fifteenth century that the London pair was produced in the "heartland" of the Franciscan order.[2] The Franciscans served as conveyors of Byzantine art to the West (see the essay by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff in this publication).

In discussing the assimilation by northern painters of the Byzantine icon diptych, Anton Legner recognized that the prototypes were not directly copied but appeared in hybrid forms.[3] Not only were they imbued with the new naturalistic style of the north, they also responded to the devotional requirements of their religious context and the circumstances of the commission. The meaning of the new diptychs may have had roots in Byzantine theology as well. The theological discourse of the Iconoclastic period directly associated the Virgin with the Passion of the Lord, and the "birth and death of Christ were the two moments *par excellence* in which his full humanity was exemplified."[4] Two-sided icons or diptychs expressing such themes (introduced in the fifth century but reintroduced in Byzantine literature in the Iconoclastic and post-Iconoclastic periods) in particular were used in the liturgy of Good Friday and Holy Saturday.[5]

From about 1490 to 1510, Gerard David and his workshop specialized in the production of small devotional diptychs on gold ground of the Virgin and Child and Christ Taking Leave of His Mother.[6] The latter subject is relatively rare in Flemish panel painting and manuscript illumination and is not found in the Gospels.[7] Rather, it takes its inspiration from the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* by the Franciscan friar known as the Pseudo-Bonaventure. The joining of the two themes here, just as in the Byzantine forerunners, invites the observer to meditate on the poles of Christ's life on earth. Hinged together, these panels would have been open and closed like a book, a direct reminder of the devotional literature from which these images derived.

In David's diptychs in Munich (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 10.79–80) and Basel (shown here), the left wing offers a modern interpretation of the Virgin Eleousa, while in the Upton House example in this exhibition the artist adapted a Virgin Hodegetria that had been made popular in widely disseminated woodcuts (fig. 17.8). The right half of the Munich and Basel diptychs shows the poignant exchange between the blessing Christ and his mother, whose hands are joined in prayer.[8] A more narrative approach was taken by David in the later Metropolitan Museum painting, where he added the figures of Mary and Martha to those of Christ and the Virgin. In all three diptychs, the source for the subject of the right wing is chapter 72 of



344, Basel panel

344, Basel panel

344, Upton House panel

344, Metropolitan Museum panel

Taking Leave of His Mother into Flemish art but also instrumental in conveying Byzantine prototypes to the Low Countries for their adaptation for the icons discussed here (see the essay by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff in this publication). The mendicant orders firmly established themselves in Flanders, where the Franciscans were the first to found a monastery in Bruges, the location of David's atelier.[11] Small diptychs like the Munich, Basel, and Upton House/Metropolitan Museum examples responded to the devotional needs of this community and to its wealthy foreign visitors.[12] Though only a small number of these exquisite objects remain, evidence in certain cases of the transfer of the composition by pouncing indicates that they were produced in multiples and were probably widely distributed.[13] MWA

1. A double-sided Byzantine icon, showing the Virgin Hodegetria on one side and the Man of Sorrows on the reverse, is in the Byzantine Museum, Kastoria. See New York 1997, pp. 72 (colorpl.), 125–26.
2. See Cannon 1999, pp. 108, 111.
3. Legner 1978–80, vol. 3, pp. 217–35.
4. Maria Vassilaki and Niki Tsironis, "Representations of the Virgin," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 460–61.
5. Belting 1980–81; M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, pp. 64 (pl.), 461.
6. See Ainsworth 1998, pp. 272–76, for examples.
7. An example by Simon Marmion that treats this subject is found in a book of hours that has a "strongly Franciscan character." See the discussion in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, no. 130.
8. This pairing echoes the formal and strictly byzantinizing attitudes of such forerunners as Robert Campin's *Christ Blessing and the Virgin in Prayer* (cat. 337).
9. Ragusa and Green 1961, pp. 308–9.
10. van der Velden 2000, pp. 210–11.
11. The order of the Franciscans known as the Friars Minor was established as early as 1221 near Bruges. The friars built their cloister in the center of town in 1254

the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditations*. At the close of a supper at the house of the sisters Mary and Martha, Christ addresses his mother upon his departure: "Most beloved Mother . . . the time of redemption is coming. Now all things said of me will be fulfilled, and they will do to me what they wish."[9] The Virgin Mary, especially venerated by the Franciscans, is presented in both halves of the diptychs as an exemplar of compassion and empathy to the devotee, who participates vicariously in her joys and sorrows. The special status accorded to the Virgin and Child is perhaps signaled by the music-making angels; in contemporary practice, music was played before miraculous images.[10]

It may well be that the Franciscans were not only directly responsible for introducing the infrequently depicted theme of Christ

Fig. 344.1. *Virgin and Child* and *Man of Sorrows*. Tempera on panel, Umbria, ca. 1250–60. © National Gallery, London (NG6572, NG6573)

(later destroyed by the Iconoclasts in 1578, rebuilt in 1598–1611, and again destroyed in 1798). See M. Martens 1992, pp. 305–6.

12. Rich merchants from Florence and Castile had a Chapel of the Holy Cross in the church of the Franciscan cloister. The Castilian connection may account for the fact that the early provenance for the Upton House/Metropolitan Museum diptych is said to have been Spain. See M. Martens 1992, pp. 307–8.
13. See Woudhuysen-Keller 1988; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 275–76, 277, fig. 263.

REFERENCES: Bearsted 1964, no. 153, pp. 46–47 (with bibl.); Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 4.2, p. 102, no. 170; Mundy 1980, pp. 34, 52 n. 56; Ringbom 1984, pp. 174–75 n. 13; Silver 1984, p. 99; Woudhuysen-Keller 1988; Van Miegroet 1989, pp. 125, 130, 133, 282–83, no. 11; Sander 1997, p. 164; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 272–76; New York 1998–99, pp. 289–90; Valencia 1999, pp. 32, 173; Los Angeles–London 2003–4, no. 101.

345. *Virgin and Child*

Dieric Bouts (Haarlem, active by 1457–Louvain, d. 1475)
Oil on panel, ca. 1455–60
21.6 x 16.5 cm (8½ x 6½ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Italian, on reverse of panel, Luca d'Olanda
PROVENANCE: Luigi Bonomi, Milan (?); Signora Careda-Rovelli, Milan; Bonomi-Creda, Milan, by 1872–95; Theodore M. Davis, Newport, 1895.
CONDITION: This painting is in excellent state.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.95.280)

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Although new, more emotionally powerful images, such as those portraying the Virgin of Tenderness or Mercy, were developed in the eleventh or twelfth century, they were not necessarily in continuous use after that time.[1] Hans Belting reminds us that during the Byzantine period there were no titles for the various types of representations of the Virgin.[2] Rather, certain examples expressed characteristic traits, such as the Eleousa, or compassionate one, or the Glykophilousa, or tenderly kissing one. Such terms, later applied to certain icons, indicate neither their origin nor their period of production. Nonetheless, Constantinople is thought to have been the site of origin for two famous icons on the theme of the Virgin of Tenderness known only in replicas located elsewhere—in Cyprus, at the Kykkos Monastery, in 1080, and in Vladimir, at the residence of the grand princes of Russia, in 1136 (fig. 1.9). A third example, found in Pelagonia, apparently is a modified synthesis of the first two.[3]

The exact source of the present image is not known. Often described as a free variant of the famous Cambrai Madonna (cat. 349),[4] Dieric Bouts's representation may have been more directly inspired by copies derived from the Virgin of Vladimir (fig. 1.9), which shares with Bouts's Virgin not only a similar melancholic look as she holds the Child close to her but also a comparable embrace of the Christ Child, who has one hand around his mother's neck and the other reaching across her chest. Bouts's version, however, departs considerably from the aesthetic confines of a Byzantine icon in its attempt at verisimilitude. Through his mastery of technique in handling oil paint (not tempera as in traditional icon painting), the artist has achieved three-dimensional qualities and the illusion of soft flesh with invisible brushstrokes. This lifelike rendering of the figures enhances the emotional appeal of their tender embrace and lovingly engaged glances as they pause before a kiss.

Equally influential for Bouts's portrayal were the changes taking place in devotional literature and practice, especially the continuing exegesis on the Song of Songs.[5] The sensual relationship between the bride and bridegroom in the Song of Songs had already been interpreted in allegorical terms in early Christian times. In his commentary on this love poetry, the Greek church father Origen identified the bridegroom with Christ and the bride with the Church. Later on, about 1120, such theological explanations gave way to a greater focus on mystical interpretations and on individual experiences of those in monastic life. Rupert of Deutz (before 1070–1129), for example, explained the Song of Songs in terms of Marian piety, that is, that the Incarnation of Christ in the Virgin Mary represented the love union between God and humankind.[6] The commentaries of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) in his eighty-six sermons on the subject spread the popularity of the Song of Songs throughout the religious and secular

worlds alike, and other theologians and authors considerably elaborated upon his views in later centuries.[7] Meditation on the themes of the poem became an intense inner experience of private devotion. As a result of the evolution of the theme, Bouts's representation was necessarily conceived as an adaptation of Byzantine icons.

The small size of the panel and the close scrutiny that it invites indicate its use for private devotion. The numerous exact copies produced by Bouts and his workshop[8] as well as the later adaptation by Gerard David (cats. 344, 346) testify to the popularity of the image. The emotional appeal of the sensitive approach of these diminutive panels to the image of the Virgin and Child had a wide audience. Some were doubtless exported, or taken home to Italy by visitors to the north. The Metropolitan panel is inscribed on the reverse "Luca d'Olanda," clearly a misunderstanding of the authorship of the painting as by Lucas van Leyden, whose name was one often provided by Italian owners who at the time were familiar with only a handful of northern artists.

MWA

1. Belting 1994, p. 284.
2. Ibid., p. 281.
3. Ibid.
4. See, for example, Ainsworth 1993.
5. For an expanded discussion, see Falkenburg 1994, pp. 7–55.
6. Ibid., pp. 16–17.
7. Ibid.
8. Ainsworth 1993.

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REFERENCES: Mantz 1872, p. 459; Hulin de Loo 1924; Friedländer 1924–37, vol. 3, pp. 47, 107, no. 9A; Schöne 1938, pp. 5, 7, 26, 30, 77–78, 133, 139, pl. 7; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 44–45 (repr.); Panofsky 1953, vol. 1, pp. 317 n. 1, 492, vol. 2, pl. 268; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 3, pp. 29, 60, no. 9, pl. 17; Veronée-Verhaegen 1968, fig. 1; Vos 1971, pp. 146–47, 159, 161, fig. 82; Hans J. Van Miegroet in Bauman and Liedtke 1992, pp. 67–69, no. 13; New York 1993–95, pp. 1–19 (repr.).

346. *Virgin and Child*

Gerard David (Oudewater, ca. 1455–Bruges, 1523)
Oil on panel, ca. 1490
9 x 7 cm (3½ x 2¾ in.)
PROVENANCE: Acquired in 1975.
CONDITION: This panel is in very good condition. The fingers of Christ's right hand are abraded and can barely be discerned around Mary's neck at the left, partially covered by her hair.
Colección Serra de Alzaga, Valencia

This exquisite diminutive painting, replete with tender emotional appeal, was clearly intended for private meditation. It is still mounted in its original thin metal frame, equipped with a loop at the top for hanging on the wall, yet easily portable from place to place as a constant companion. Gerard David was noted for these images of the Virgin and Child, which he produced both as diptychs (see cat. 344) and as individual panels from about 1490 to 1510. He found inspiration for this work in the models painted by Dieric Bouts (see cat. 345), familiar to him from his early workshop experiences, probably in Brabant.[1] Ultimately derived from such Byzantine prototypes as the Virgin of Vladimir (see fig. 1.9), David's version, like that of Bouts, adapts the model to accentuate the human qualities of this mother and child, conveying through Mary's expression her prescience of the sorrowful events to come in her son's life, while the wide-eyed youngster eagerly takes in the world around him.

Unlike the *Virgin and Child* by Dieric Bouts, the figures of David's painting are set against a gold background, a trend outmoded by the late fifteenth century but deliberately chosen for this depiction. By means of this reference

Sequentem oꝛonem edidit dns sixtus papa quartus. et cōcessit omnib⁹ cā deuote dicentib⁹ coꝛā ymagie be ate marie ī sole xp⁹ānoꝛ īdulgēcac.
Ave sanctissima maria mater dei. regina celi. porta paradisi

Fig. 346.1. Virgin and Child, in the Hours of Margaretha van Bergen. Gerard David, ca. 1490–95. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM1131, fol. 93r). Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library

to Byzantine icons, David transported mother and child to the company of cult images, among them those endowed with the ability to perform miracles. The specific function of the Serra de Alzaga *Virgin and Child* may perhaps be explained by its connection with another painting by Gerard David, an illumination in the Book of Hours of Margaretha van Bergen (fig. 346.1).[2] Representing an almost identical Virgin and Child, the miniature is labeled *MARIA · MATER · D[EI]* at the bottom of the page. The text immediately under the Virgin and Child states that an indulgence of eleven thousand years is attached to this image of "Virgo in Sole" (the Virgin of the Sun), available to those who recite the prayer beginning "Ave sanctissima Maria mater dei regina celi porta paradis" (Hail most holy Mary Mother of God Queen of Heaven Gate of Paradise).[3] To the right of the Virgin and Child in the margin of the illumination is a figure of Pope Sixtus IV, who first offered indulgences in connection with "Virgo in Sole." As demand for this type increased, there was a proliferation of the image in paintings, prints, printed books, and sculptures. The repetition in the Serra de Alzaga painting of the specific motif of the Virgin and Child found in the book of hours guaranteed the transference of the spiritual value connected with the cult image from which it was derived.

MWA

1. See Ainsworth 1998, pp. 93–153.
2. For a full discussion of this book of hours, see Ainsworth and Kren in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, no. 103.
3. Ringbom 1962. See also cat. 352.

References: Bermejo Martínez 1975; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 274–75; Valencia 1999, no. 2, pp. 32–33; Los Angeles–London 2003–4, no. 102.

347. Virgin and Child in a Decorative Frame

Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary (Flanders, fl. 1490–1520) and Attavante Attavanti (Italy, 1452–ca. 1517)
Tempera on vellum
32.4 x 25.4 cm (12¾ x 10 in.)
Inscribed: At upper frame edge, DEI MATER ALMA (Nourishing Mother of God); below the Virgin and Child, FVNDA NOS IN PACE (Ground us in peace); at the base of the altarlike framework, FELIX COELI PORTA (Happy gate of heaven)
Provenance: Collection of Frédéric Spitzer; sale of his collection, Paris, April 17–June 16, 1893; Rosemberg collection, 1913 (according to Berenson).[1]
Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio, Frederic B. and Kate L. Shoemaker Fund (1939.501)

This tenderly embracing Virgin and Child ensconced in an elaborate Italianate framework is ultimately derived from a Byzantine prototype seen in examples such as the Virgin of Vladimir (fig. 1.9). Its more direct source, however, is the model made popular by Gerard David's workshop in about 1490–1500 (see cat. 346). Closely following David's illumination in the Book of Hours of Margaretha van Bergen (fig. 346.1), the Virgin and Child in the present miniature may be attributed to the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, an illuminator who worked in Ghent from about 1490 to 1520.[2] This master was adept at suppressing his own individual style when the exact duplication of a particular model was required. In the most important image in the Hours of Joanna of Castile (fig. 347.1), for example, the Master of the David Scenes assimilated the stylistic characteristics of Rogier van der Weyden to accurately duplicate the "living icon" of the Virgin and Child from Rogier's well-known work *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (cat. 340; see also cat. 341).[3] Both the David- and Rogier-inspired images are depicted as panel paintings in frames—a practice that was followed in a number of illuminated books.[4] This treatment sets them apart from the other illuminations, emphasizing both their importance and the true character of the original icon on which each is based.

Recognized as a venerated image, the miniature of the Virgin and Child was probably cut from a book of hours. Sometime later, perhaps in the nineteenth century,[5] it was joined with the highly elaborate early-sixteenth-century framework attributed to

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Fig. 347.1. Virgin and Child, in the Hours of Joanna of Castile. Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, tempera on vellum, 1496–1506. British Library, London (Add. Ms. 18852, fol. 287v)

the illuminator Attavante Attavanti.[6] Such a conflation of Northern and Italian styles, and, in particular, certain decorative components—the putti, Renaissance architectural structures, and portrait medallions—is also found in the borders surrounding the central images of other illuminations by the Master of the David Scenes.[7]

MWA

1. See Garzelli 1985, vol. 1, p. 232 n. 18.
2. This convincing attribution has been made by Elizabeth Morrison, assistant curator in the Manuscript Department of the J. Paul Getty Museum (correspondence, July 2, 2003). For comparisons, see Los Angeles–London 2003–4, pp. 383–91. Another example of this type of Virgin and Child is found in a book of hours of about 1520, probably from Ghent (see Kier and Zehnder 1995, pp. 535–36, no. 83).
3. For a discussion of the Hours of Joanna of Castile, called Joanna the Mad, see Elizabeth Morrison in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, no. 114, pp. 285–86.
4. See cats. 331, 336, 338, 352
5. Evanston 2001, p. 66, pl. 3, fig. 26.
6. This attribution is suggested in ibid., p. 299, no. 13.
7. See, for example, the Ince-Blundell Hours in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, p. 388, fig. 115a.

References: Spitzer 1893; Garzelli 1985, vol. 1, p. 232; Evanston 2001, pp. 66, 281 n. 67, 299 n. 13.

348. *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*

Jan Gossaert (Mabuse) (Maubeuge, 1470/80–Middelburg, 1532)
Oil on panel, ca. 1520
109.5 x 82 cm (43⅛ x 32¼ in.)
Inscribed: PN.PVESIM.RINVST.NOMEN. RVANEOM . . . (?) T.NOM . . . AON.HEC.D . . . SEIA . . . NOVMT.PF . . . PORTA . . . (?) (indecipherable)
Provenance: Archduke Leopold Willem (1696 inventory, no. 398); with other royal collections to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Condition: The panel is in very good condition with minor losses throughout. The left edge is original; the other three edges are slightly cut down.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (894)

Compared to Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (cat. 340), Jan Gossaert's version might at first appear to mimic its predecessor. Both show Saint Luke at the right making a preparatory metalpoint sketch on paper of the Virgin and Child at the left; each takes place in a chamber that appropriately reflects its own time—a Gothic interior in the former, and a space elaborately decorated with Italian Renaissance motifs in the latter. In a dramatic departure from Rogier's depiction, however, Gossaert represents the Virgin and Child not as human figures sitting for a portrait but as a vision that he sees in his mind's eye, captured with the aid of an angel who purposefully guides his drawing hand. These new features suggest that Gossaert's portrayal can be interpreted as a rebuttal to contemporaneous arguments of Iconoclasm. It is in this way that the Vienna painting directly parallels representations of Saint Luke in Byzantine art.

Intended to prove the legitimacy of icon veneration, the legend of Saint Luke, who purportedly painted the first icon of the Virgin, was invented during the period of Byzantine Iconoclasm (726–843). The legend derives from three texts of disputed authorship and date:

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On the Veneration of Holy Icons by Andrew of Crete (eighth century); the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilos* (ninth century); and the *Letter of Theophilos* (the latter attributed to John of Damascus and dating from the period of the Restoration of Icons between 861 and 866). By claiming that the portrait of the Virgin was made during the lifetime of the evangelist Luke, the promoters of this notion assured the apostolic origins and divine sanction of images. An illumination in a fourteenth- to fifteenth-century manuscript from Sinai (cat. 203) showing Saint Luke making a portrait of the Virgin and Child thus aimed to secure the legitimacy of artist and image. The theme simultaneously appeared in both Byzantine and Western traditions only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and at that time stimulated the emergence of cult icons worshiped as autograph works by the evangelist.[1]

As Clifton Olds and Jean Owens Schaefer have pointed out, an anti-Iconoclast movement also existed in the early sixteenth century and may well have had an impact on the specific form and content of Gossaert's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*.[2] Moreover, contemporary discussions may have prompted the artist to choose the Eleousa type for the Virgin and Child in his composition. The painting has variously been dated between 1518 and 1525. Its closest parallels in style and technique are the panels in the Toledo Museum of Art of Saints Peter and Paul with the Annunciation on the reverse, which are signed and dated 1522. Gossaert also made an engraving dated 1522 that portrays a similar Virgin and Child of the Eleousa type. During this time Gossaert was employed by Philip of Burgundy, whom he accompanied to Rome in 1508, where he was asked by his patron to make drawings of the important sculptures of antiquity. Jan stayed on under Philip when the latter was appointed bishop of Utrecht in 1517, becoming a participant in one of the most important humanist courts of Europe, which also happened to be a noted stronghold of Catholic doctrine.

One of Martin Luther's most militant followers, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, published his *Von Abtuhung der Bylder . . .* (Concerning the Abolishing of Pictures . . .) in 1522. A vociferous attack against religious imagery, it incited considerable iconoclastic sentiment that ultimately prompted the destruction of art.[3] Luther did not fully back Karlstadt's views, but widespread support elsewhere promoted significant concern among artists about their livelihood. In the introduction to his *Unterweisung der Messung* (Doctrine of Measurement, 1525), Dürer admitted that art was threatened by the accusation that it served idolatry.[4]

Gossaert had depicted the theme of Saint Luke Painting the Virgin a decade earlier, between 1515 and 1525 (Národní Galerie, Prague), in an adaptation of Rogier van der Weyden's famous panel showing the Virgin as a "living presence." The addition of the angel who guides the artist's hand in the present painting may have been inspired by a legend about famous icons at Santa Maria Maggiore and Santi Domenico e Sisto in Rome, which were thought to have been miraculously finished before Saint Luke himself added the colors to them, thus alluding to divine intervention in the completion of the icon.[5] A text written about 1100 describes a "miraculously painted image of the Savior on a panel which had been begun by St. Luke but was finished by the hand of an angel,"[6] housed in the papal chapel on Leo III's altar. Although representations of a visionary appearance of the Virgin and Child to the painter Saint Luke already existed in earlier prints,[7] the notion may have been reinforced during Gossaert's 1508 trip to Rome with Philip of Burgundy, as visits to these major sites most certainly would have been on their itinerary. He may also have seen on that occasion icons of the Eleousa type that served as the model for the pose of his Virgin and Child. The juxtaposition of Luke painting the Virgin and Child with Moses and his Old Testament law against the worship of idols (featured as a sculpture in a niche above and behind Saint Luke) forms an argument against the charges of Iconoclasm. Luke paints from a miraculous vision that he does not view directly (he looks only at his drawing) but sees inwardly, and which he executes under the spiritual guidance of a messenger of God.[8]

Gossaert's patrons, of course, were staunch Catholics and certainly aware of the raging controversies. Viewed in this light, the "iconographic peculiarities" of Gossaert's painting appear instead as a defense of religious imagery, emphasizing that Luke's image is completed by the grace of God. That Gossaert's patron, Philip of Burgundy, agreed with this view—or indeed sponsored it—is supported by another painting that is emblazoned on the reverse with Philip's coat of arms (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin). This is a copy after the figure of Saint Luke in Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* and probably served as the right wing of a diptych that presented the Virgin and Child on the left.[9] MWA

1. Athens 2000–2001a, p. 82.
2. Olds 1990; J. Schaefer 1992.
3. Olds 1990, p. 92; J. Schaefer 1992, p. 35.
4. Olds 1990, p. 92.
5. I. Lavin 1974, p. 590.
6. Belting 1994, p. 311.
7. Jacobus da Voragine, *Das Passionale* (Nuremberg, 1488; Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, incun. 1488.J6, recto CXCIII).
8. Olds 1990, p. 96.
9. Vogelaar 1987, no. 4, pp. 88–92.

REFERENCES: Herzog. 1968, pp. 106–8, 268–72, no. 28; Ringbom 1969, pp. 160ff.; I. Lavin 1974; Goffen 1975, pp. 505–9; Sterk 1980, pp. 139–41; K. Demus et al. 1981, pp. 194–95 (for literature before 1981); Amsterdam 1986, no. 3, pp. 121–22; Riviere 1987, p. 82; Olds 1990; J. Schaefer 1992; Mensger 2002, pp. 201–7; Munich–Cologne 2002, p. 14.

349. The Cambrai Madonna *(Notre-Dame de Grâce)*

Italo-Byzantine
Tempera on cedar panel (backed by a modern panel), ca. 1340
35.5 x 26.5 cm (14 x 10 3/8 in.)
INSCRIBED: MR DI IHS XRS (Mater Dei, Jesu Christus [Mother of God, Jesus Christ])
PROVENANCE: Jean Allarmet (cardinal of Brogny and vice chancellor of the church), Rome; bequeathed to his secretary, Fursy de Bruille, 1426; brought from Rome by Fursy de Bruille, 1440; bequeathed to the Cathedral of Cambrai, 1450, and installed in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, August 13, 1451.
CONDITION: The painting is in good state, with some retouches locally throughout.
Cathedrale de Cambrai, France

In 1440 Canon Fursy de Bruille returned from Rome to Cambrai with a painting of the Virgin and Child that he had received from Jean Allarmet, cardinal of Brogny and legate of the pope to the Council of Constance (1414–18).[1] Believed at the time to have been made by Saint Luke himself, the painting immediately became the object of fervent devotion. After the canon gave the work to the Cathedral of Cambrai, it was installed with great solemnity on the eve of the Feast of the Assumption in 1451 in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity. The cult of Notre-Dame de Grâce (Our Lady of Grace) was inaugurated in 1452, and a confraternity was established in 1453 for the care and veneration of the icon itself, which in 1455 was carried for the first time in a procession to celebrate the Feast of the Assumption. The Cambrai Madonna attracted thousands of pilgrims, most notably dukes Philip the Good in 1457 and Charles the Bold in 1460, as well as King Louis XI on repeated visits in 1468, 1477, and 1478.[2]

Notre-Dame de Grâce represents the Eleousa type, the Virgin of Tenderness. The two figures are posed in a loving embrace, their heads turned slightly toward the viewer. The Child

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appears to squirm, his legs lightly kicking, as he grasps his mother's maphorion with his left hand and her chin with his right hand. Although the blue, red, and orangy-pink colors of the draperies and the gold decorative effects and background recall earlier Eastern models, the more subtle modeling of the faces, the volumetric aspect of the draperies with soft folds, the Latin inscriptions, and the elaborate punchwork of the halos correspond to contemporary fourteenth-century Italian aesthetic modes. The border of the Virgin's maphorion shows indecipherable pseudo-Arabic script. In modern times the Cambrai Madonna has been considered an Italian copy after a Byzantine icon, probably Sienese and perhaps from the circle of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. However, certain unusual features of the painting's materials and technique indicate a departure from a strictly traditional Italian approach,[3] prompting the designation "Italo-Byzantine." While the direct model for the Cambrai Madonna is not known, Günter Passavant has noted a particular following of the type in Tuscany at the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–45), suggesting perhaps the presence of a Byzantine prototype there.[4] A model may also have existed in Rome at one of the churches displaying Byzantine icons, which Fursy de Bruille could have seen when he was serving as secretary to the French cardinal.[5] Mojmir Frinta wondered whether the model might have been a small portable mosaic from Constantinople or Thessalonike, one perhaps similar to cat. 128.[6]

A testament to the remarkable aura of the image is found in the number of copies of it that were requested almost immediately upon its installation in the Cathedral of Cambrai. In April 1454 Jean de Bourgogne, the count of Estampes, commissioned three copies from Petrus Christus for a payment of twenty pounds.[7] In June of 1455 the chapter of the cathedral ordered an additional twelve copies of the icon from Hayne of Brussels for the sum of twelve pounds (see cat. 350).[8] Various theories—pertaining to the materials used, the relative fame of the artist, or the quality of the completed work—have been proposed concerning the justification for the difference in payment to the two artists. As only two of the works most probably identifiable with these commissions are extant (see cat. 350), the mystery is unlikely to be solved with any satisfaction. What is of considerable interest here, however, is why the copies were made in the first place.

Produced after an authorized icon type and intended for dissemination, an exact copy was understood to be empowered with some of the same qualities of the original. That is to say, if the original was known for its restorative or healing powers (as was the case with the Cambrai Madonna), then the copy might well provide the same benefits in a kind of "trickle-down effect." Political agendas were also in play. Jean Wilson has made a convincing argument for the generation of copies of the Cambrai Madonna as an inducement to Philip the Good's courtiers and the nobility to provide funds to fight the infidels.[9] Jean de Bourgogne's commission to Petrus Christus came barely a year following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. In late May of 1453, the Ottoman Turks had invaded the city and killed the last of the Palaiologan emperors, Constantine XI, an event that prompted Philip to begin planning for a crusade against Sultan Mehmed II and his troops. Suffering his own conflicts at home, namely an uprising in Ghent, Philip was in need of funds for what would be a costly excursion and battles in the Eastern territories. The duke relied on his nephew, the count of Estampes, to help organize fund-raising events, such as the Feast of the Pheasant, at which participants were asked not only to contribute money but also to pledge their oath of loyalty to the cause.[10] Wilson suggests that the timing of the count's commission for the copies of the Cambrai Madonna and the powerful religious sentiment evoked by this object with relic status served the duke's purpose to raise financial and political support. It is not known who the recipients of the copies were, but it is likely that they represented either those who still needed to be convinced or those who were to be rewarded for the assistance they had already shown. With this backing in place, the duke could then apply further pressure through his brother, the bishop of Cambrai, as well as through the count of Estampes, the warden and councilor of the cathedral, to further encourage the church membership and visiting pilgrims to contribute generously. The Cambrai Madonna, regarded as a painting made by Saint Luke himself, continued to provide an incentive for these efforts; its presumed Eastern origin served as a constant reminder that the Constantinopolitan Church was in need of rescue from the infidels.

MWA

1. See Bègne 1910; Thelliez 1951; Machelart 2002, notes provided by Caroline Biencourt, former archivist of the Diocesan Archives of Cambrai. We are greatly indebted to Ms. Biencourt for her many kindnesses and for providing essential material for our research on the Cambrai Madonna.
2. Information from the Diocesan Archives of Cambrai.
3. Report of July 19, 1979, from the Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France in the Diocesan Archives of Cambrai. Among the anomalies in the painting technique is the absence of verdaccio in the flesh tones, which are painted with a pale yellow underpaint and a thin overlying layer of lead white.
4. Passavant 1987.
5. Santa Maria Maggiore has been suggested as the site of the prototype, but its most famous icon, known as the *Salus Populi Romani*, differs in pose from the Cambrai Madonna. An early article, nonetheless, supports this connection as well as the association with Saint Bernadette's vision of the Virgin and Child that corresponds to the icon painted by Saint Luke. See Anon. 1913.
6. Frinta 1987, esp. pp. 15–18.
7. Médiathèque Municipale, Cambrai, Ms. 1059: Déliberations du chapitre cathédrale de Cambrai, October 15, 1451–September 30, 1457, fol. 87r. For a transcription and translation of this document with pertinent bibliography, see New York 1994, pp. 195–97.
8. Dupont 1935, pp. 363, 366; Rolland 1947–48, p. 102 n. 14.
9. J. Wilson 1994.
10. On the Feast of the Pheasant, see Caron 2003.

REFERENCES: Destombes 1871; Houdoy 1880, pp. 73–74; Weale 1909, p. 102; Bègne 1910; Anon. 1913, pp. 1028–29; Dupont 1935; Rolland 1947–48; Thelliez 1951; Faille 1964, pp. 5–6, 10; Kolb 1968, pp. 40–46; Périer-D'Ieteren 1968; Cambrai 1971 (including critical bibl.); Schabacker 1974, pp. 13, 128–29; Bauman 1986, pp. 5–7; Frinta 1987; Passavant 1987, pp. 202–3; Chastel 1988, pp. 107–9; Paris 1992–93, pp. 478–79, no. 369; Ainsworth 1993, pp. 4–7; Belting 1994, pp. 431, 438, 440, 455; J. Wilson 1994; Machelart 2002.

350. *Virgin and Child*

Hayne of Brussels (Brussels and Valenciennes, active third quarter of the 15th century)
Oil on panel, ca. 1455
61.9 x 36.2 cm (24⅜ x 14¼ in.)
INSCRIBED: At the upper left, MR; at the right, DI IHS XRS (Mater Dei, Jesus Christus [Mother of God, Jesus Christ]); at the lower left corner of the Virgin's robe, AVE MARIA; below the figures, Maria Mater graci[a]e / mater misericordi[a]e / Tu nos ab hoste protege et ora mortis suscipe / O mater dei memento mei (Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy, protect us from the enemy and at the hour of death take us; O Mother of God, remember me)
PROVENANCE:[1] M. Gaston Le Breton, Rouen; [his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 6–8, 1921, lot 13 (as École Primitive)]; [Findlay Art Galleries, Kansas City, 1923]; Albert R. Jones, Kansas City, Missouri, 1923; purchased from Jones by the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art through the Nelson Trust, 1932.
CONDITION: The panel has been thinned and cradled. There is a wood reserve on all four sides indicating the original painted edges. The painting is generally in good condition but abraded; there are numerous small losses throughout (but not in critical areas).
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (32-149)

Ever since it was brought from Rome to Cambrai by Fursy de Bruille in 1440 and later installed in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity in

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the cathedral in 1451, *Notre-Dame de Grâce,* also known as the Cambrai Madonna (cat. 349), has been one of the most famous and revered religious paintings of the Low Countries. Its "relic" status as a cult image was based on the belief that it was painted by Saint Luke and on its perceived ability to perform miracles. Almost immediately the painting inspired widespread devotion and numerous replicas. Documents describe two early commissions for copies of the icon, specifically, one to Petrus Christus in 1454 for "three images in duplication of that image of the blessed Mary and Holy Virgin which is in the Chapel of the Trinity as painted by the Blessed Saint Luke"[2] and another to Hayne of Brussels in 1454–55 to paint "twelve images of Our Lady in oil colors and well crafted."[3] The close correspondence of the Kansas City *Virgin and Child* to *Notre-Dame de Grâce* in the pose of the figures, most details of dress, and decorative embellishments (especially the gold background and the incised halos) has long been noted.[4] The differences between the two paintings are equally apparent; the Kansas City *Virgin and Child* is a fifteenth-century Flemish interpretation of the Cambrai model rather than an exact duplicate.[5] The schematic treatment of the Italo-Byzantine model becomes in the copy a more naturalistic rendering: the demure Virgin with her modestly lowered eyes holds the squirming Child with gently kicking legs and splayed toes, as he affectionately fondles her chin. The substitution of oil painting in the copy for the tempera technique of its predecessor allows for a more subtle modeling of the flesh tones in an effort toward verisimilitude, the chief aim of early Netherlandish painting.

A nearly identical replica, possibly by the same artist (formerly in the Abels Galerie, Cologne),[6] and two other, relatively early versions in Madrid and Lessines, each by a different hand,[7] are also known. In addition, numerous other examples that more literally copy the style of the Cambrai Madonna (fig. 350.1) have been suggested as candidates for the documented work of Petrus Christus or Hayne of Brussels. Recent technical studies of several of these works have helped to clarify matters.[8] The Kansas City *Virgin and Child,* for example, shows no relationship to the details of execution and handling characteristic of the autograph works of Petrus

Fig. 350.1. Copy of the Cambrai Madonna. Oil on panel, Netherlands (?), mid-17th century. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels (5062). Photo: © IRPA-KIK, Brussels

Christus.[9] Furthermore, several of the more precise, byzantinizing copies have now been revealed through dendrochronology and other laboratory examinations to be from the sixteenth century and later, which at least testifies to the long-standing efficacy of the image.[10]

An attribution of the Kansas City panel to Hayne of Brussels, therefore, seems to be most likely. Certain biographical details of Hayne's life support this, as does a stylistic relationship between the Kansas City image and the paintings of Rogier van der Weyden. Indeed, some of the very details of the Kansas City painting that differentiate it from its model are those that show similarities with Rogier's work. Note in comparison with cat. 351 the equally elegantly elongated hands of the Virgin and, in particular, the similar pose of the Virgin's right hand; the equivalent squirming attitude of the child; and the tender emotional appeal of the child pressed close to the cheek of his mother. Rogier was the city painter of Brussels, Hayne's hometown, from 1436 until his death in 1464; moreover, a document of 1459 cites Hayne as having painted the frame and a portion of the wall above a painting by Rogier that was installed in Cambrai Cathedral,[11] recording not only his familiarity with van der Weyden's work but also a specific association with Cambrai.

If, as seems probable, the Kansas City panel was one of the twelve commissioned from Hayne of Brussels for presentation to nobles and courtiers in support of Philip the Good's proposed crusade against the Turks (see cat. 349), it was also personalized for its recipient. At the bottom right and left of the panel are heraldic insignia. Though they are both damaged, the more legible one at the right appears to show a black field with three cocks turned in profile to the left. Jacques Dupont, followed by Burton Dunbar, has suggested an identification with the Sandelyn family,[12] which would link ownership with residents of the diocese of Cambrai. The inscription below the figures underscores the private devotional function of the work. An intercessory supplication to the Virgin, the verse is part of a hymn sung at Vespers and Lauds in the Office of the Virgin and the Commendation of the Soul.[13]

MWA

1. This provenance information was kindly provided by Burton Dunbar, who generously shared with me his text for the upcoming collection catalogue of northern European paintings in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. I am also grateful to Scott Heffley, conservator of paintings, and Dena Woodall, research assistant, Department of European Paintings and Sculpture, at the Nelson-Atkins Museum for their additional help with various inquiries.
2. Document in the Bibliothèque Municipal Cambrai, Ms. 1059, fol. 88v first published in Weale 1909, p. 102 n. 1; later published in Rolland 1947–48, p. 102 n. 14.
3. Document in the Archives du Département du Nord à Lille, Reg. G H 3903 cote proviso ire de classement, published by Dupont 1935, pp. 363–66, and Rolland 1947–48, p. 102 n. 15.
4. Dupont 1935, pp. 363–66; Rolland 1947–48, pp. 102–4; Panofsky 1953, vol. 1, p. 297; Périer-D'Ieteren 1968, p. 114.
5. Rolland 1947–48, p. 103; Belting 1994, p. 440; D. Martens 1995b, pp. 50–51.
6. Illustrated in Kolb 1968, no. 19.
7. I thank Didier Martens for reminding me of one version in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid (Lavalleye 1953–58, vol. 2, p. 20, no. 62, pl. 7). The other is a late-fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century copy in the Hospital of Notre-Dame de la Rose, Lessines. For the possibility of a thorough examination of the latter and for providing helpful information, I am most grateful to Marc Vuidar, Raphaël Debruyn, and Anne Chevalier-de Gottal.
8. Dendrochronology of the Brussels painting (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique) by Pascale Fraiture (report of July 2, 2002) indicates that it could not have been made before 1647. I thank Helena Bussers, curator at the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, and the proprietors at the Church of Saint-Martin at Frasnes-les-Buissenal for the opportunity to study closely the replicas in their collections. See also Borchgrave d'Altena 1953, pp. 37–44. A more recent inventory of all of the known copies of the Cambrai Madonna may be found in the photo archives of the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels. I am grateful to Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Christina Ceulemans for help in accessing this list.
9. For a comprehensive discussion of the technical studies of paintings by Petrus Christus, see New York 1994. Rolland 1947–48, p. 103, and Périer-D'Ieteren 1968, p. 114, suggest that the Kansas City version could be by Petrus Christus.
10. See n. 8, above.
11. Document found in the Archives du Département du Nord, Lille, no. 36H31, fol. 221; published in Laborde 1849, vol. 1, p. lix.
12. For a discussion of the difficulties with the identification of the heraldic insignia, see the forthcoming publication of Burton Dunbar, p. 9 (curatorial files, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art).
13. Dreves et al. 1978, vol. 2, p. 42 nn. 60–61. This text is also found on the hem of the Virgin's dress in Gerard David's *Annunciation* and Bernaert van Orley's *Virgin and Child with Musical Angels* (both in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

REFERENCES: Dupont 1935, pp. 363–66; Rolland 1947–48, pp. 102–4; Thelliez 1951, p. 14; Panofsky 1953, vol. 1, pp. 297, 419 n. 5, 481 n. 4; Lavalleye 1953–58, vol. 2, p. 20; Strieder 1959, p. 254; Kolb 1968, pp. 44, 128, no. 18; Périer-D'Ieteren 1968, p. 114 nn. 8–11; Richter 1974, pp. 156, 402–3 n. 79; Schabacker 1974, p. 128; Bauman 1986, pp. 6, 7; Upton 1990, p. 53 n. 7; New York 1993–95, p. 7; D. Martens 1995b, pp. 50–51; Hélène Mund, "La copie chez les primitifs flamands et Dirk Bouts," in Louvain 1998, pp. 231, 232, 245 n. 7.

351. *Virgin and Child*

Rogier van der Weyden (Tournai, 1399/1400–Brussels, 1464)
Oil on panel, ca. 1455–60
31.9 x 22.9 cm (12½ x 9 in.)
PROVENANCE: Private collection, Hungary; Paul Cassirer, Berlin (on the Amsterdam art market), 1924; Hess collection, Berlin; sale, Cassirer, Lucerne, September 1, 1931, lot 1; Strölin art dealers, Switzerland; Edith A. and Percy S. Straus collection, New York, purchased December 29, 1931; bequeathed to the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1944.
CONDITION: The painting has been badly worn, and there are paint losses throughout the surface. Although it has been remounted onto a second panel, the wood reserve of the primary support indicates that all of the edges are original.
Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (44.535)

If the *Virgin and Child* attributed to Hayne of Brussels (cat. 350) is indeed one of the twelve copies commissioned in 1454–55 by the chapter of the Cathedral of Cambrai, it is certainly not an exact copy but rather an interpretation of its model, *Notre-Dame de Grâce,* also known as the Cambrai Madonna (cat. 349). The Virgin and Child we see here exemplifies the further adaptation of the Italo-Byzantine prototype for introduction into the mainstream of Flemish art.[1] Its inspiration came from the well-known motifs of the Cambrai icon, translated into the naturalistic idiom of contemporary art of the Low Countries. The slightly squirming Child of the prototype adopts an even more exaggerated pose in this work, his left arm and hand lowered to play with his right foot. The somber, meditative mood of the Virgin and the distant glance of the Child are derived from the Cambrai model, while the tighter cropping of the figures enhances the poignancy of the Virgin's tender embrace of her child.

The unfortunate condition of the Houston painting has caused dissension over its attribution to Rogier van der Weyden.[2] However, both the strongly affecting emotional appeal of the painting and the complicated but highly successful composition with its brilliant, graphic articulation of forms speak for Rogier's own hand. A drawing of ca. 1450–60 of the Virgin's head (Musée du Louvre, Paris) shows the same type Rogier employed here and in the *Virgin and Child* of ca. 1463–64 in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.[3]

Rogier's introduction to Byzantine icons may well have come on his trip to Rome during the Jubilee Year of 1450, a visit that is recorded by Bartolomeo Fazio in his *De Viris illustribus.*[4] He could have learned about the Cambrai *Virgin and Child* specifically through his contact as a favored artist with the ducal

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court—Philip the Good visited Cambrai in 1457, and Charles the Bold followed there to see the icon in 1460.[5] Yet Rogier no doubt had firsthand familiarity with the painting purportedly made by Saint Luke, as one of his three documented works is a triptych commissioned in 1455 by Abbot Jean Robert for the Church of Saint Aubert in Cambrai.[6] It was delivered four years later, in June of 1459, by Rogier's wife and workshop assistants. In August of the same year the triptych was installed in a new frame that was painted by none other than Hayne of Brussels. How well Rogier and Hayne were acquainted is not known, but it is intriguing to speculate about at least one encounter in which they shared views on the miraculous icon at the Cathedral of Cambrai and their own renditions of it.

MWA

1. Among the close copies of Rogier's composition are those by the Master of the Legend of Saint Giles, an artist who apparently trained in the Netherlands and moved on to Paris about 1500. Works dating to ca. 1490 by this master and close associates in the Rogerian model are in the Louvre, Paris; the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon; the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dole; and the Karmelitenklooster, Bruges. On these versions, see Friedländer 1937; Ring 1949, p. 231, no. 246; Held 1952, pp. 107–8, figs. 6–7, 15; Sterling 1990, vol. 2, nos. 18–21.
2. While accepted by Winkler 1913, Friedländer 1924–37, Schöne 1938, and Vos 1999, it has been doubted by Destrée 1930 and Panofsky 1953, and rejected as autograph by Beenken 1951 and Périer-D'Ieteren 1982.
3. For illustrations, discussion, and bibliography, see Vos 1999, no. 32, pp. 321–22, and B21, p. 387.
4. Transcribed in Dhanens 1995, pp. 109–10.
5. These visits are recorded in the Diocesan Archives of Cambrai; see Machelart 2002. Icons belonging to Philip the Good and Charles the Bold are also listed among their personal belongings in inventories of their collections. See the essay by Maryan Ainsworth in this publication.
6. For discussion and transcription of the document, see Vos 1999, pp. 61–62, 398.

REFERENCE: Vos 1999 (with complete bibl.).

352. *Virgin and Child*

Simon Bening (Ghent and Bruges, ca. 1483/84–1561)
Tempera on vellum, ca. 1520–25
8.5 x 6.1 cm (3⅜ x 2⅜ in.)
PROVENANCE: Cels collection; [Galerie Le Roy Frères, Brussels, November 25, 1922, no. 4]; bought by the Friends of the Museum voor Schone Kunsten and donated in 1924.
CONDITION: The miniature is pasted down to a wood support, and there are three wormholes through both the vellum and the wood. The edges of the vellum have been unevenly cut, and a gold band around all edges is a restoration. There are splits in the vellum in the blue robe of the Virgin and cracks in the paint.
Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, Belgium (1924-D)

This exquisite miniature of the Virgin and Child by Simon Bening is yet a further modification beyond Rogier van de Weyden's rendering (cat. 351) of the prototype of the Cambrai Madonna (cat. 349). The pose of the Virgin remains unchanged, while the Child's body is now turned outward toward the viewer, and he holds an apple in his right hand as he fondles his mother's chin with his left. The gold ground of the Cambrai image has been retained, but new to the composition are the rays of light emanating from the Virgin and Child and the sliver of the moon beneath them. These features symbolize the "Virgo in Sole," or the Virgin of the Sun, which signals a representation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[1]

Though opposed early on by Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, and the Dominicans, the Franciscans adopted the teachings of Duns Scotus and argued that Mary was free from sin from the moment of her conception.[2] The dispute was taken up by the Council of Basel in 1438, and the doctrine was affirmed, only to be declared invalid because of the church schism at the time. Finally, in 1477, Pope Sixtus IV, a Franciscan, forced a debate and agreed to establish a feast day of December 8 for the

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Immaculate Conception as well as two offices for its celebration. In many prayer books of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Pope Sixtus IV is considered responsible for providing an indulgence of eleven thousand years to those who repeat a prayer, the "Ave sanctissima Maria mater dei" (Hail most holy Mary Mother of God), before an image of the Virgin of the Sun (see fig. 346.1).[3] The indulgence accounts for the extraordinary popularity of these specific devotional images. As it was principally the Franciscans who supported and promulgated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, it is not surprising that images similar to the Byzantine icons that they probably brought to the West became associated with their propagandistic cause (see the essay by Amy Neff and Anne Derbes in this publication).

Indeed, the concept of the Immaculate Conception had been introduced in the Eastern Church by writings such as those by Sophronios in the seventh century,[4] and subsequently debated for centuries. Even though Joseph Bryennios (d. ca. 1435), a Byzantine theologian, was emphatically against union with the Latin Church, Mary's Immaculate Conception was a doctrine on which he could agree. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks this view was supported through the preaching of George Scholarios (d. ca. 1472), that city's patriarch.[5]

Simon Bening modified the Cambrai Madonna model to suit the devotional tenets of the early sixteenth century and thereby to ensure the efficacy of the image. Medieval litanies used metaphors from the Old Testament as symbols of Mary's purity, the most popular of these being the Song of Solomon, in which Mary's sinless state is equated with the bride (Song of Solomon 4:7): "Thou art all fair, my love, and there is no stain on thee."[6] While the Virgin is equated with the bride in this poem, her son is associated with the bridegroom. Thus the Christ Child here fondling the chin of his mother is a "sign of erotic communion,"[7] and the apple he holds in his right hand indicates his role as the new Adam just as Mary is the new Eve.

The diminutive size of the *Virgin and Child* indicates that it was used for private devotion. However, it is difficult to say whether the illumination was cut from a book of hours or created as an independent image. Although there is no visible text seen bleeding through from the reverse side, such an image could have been painted on one side only and tipped into a book at an appropriate place for the "Ave sanctissima Maria mater dei" prayer to be recited. If this is the case, then the miniature was meant to be a painting of a painting, of the type that played featured roles in various illuminated books (see cats. 331, 336, 338, 342, and the essay by Maryan W. Ainsworth in this publication). Supporting this analysis is the presence of a trompe-l'oeil frame around the image, the shadow along the interior left side reinforcing the notion of the physical nature of a three-dimensional frame. On the other hand, Simon Bening was noted for his production of independent miniatures that were attached to panels to be hung on a wall or carried with the owner.[8] Whatever its original form, this "mini-icon" served as an object of contemplation and meditation in the tradition of its Byzantine predecessors. MWA

1. The story of Mary's Immaculate Conception is not found in the New Testament but appears in the second-century Protogospel of James, in the Pseudo-Matthew, and in the eighth-century *Liber de Nativitate Mariae*.
2. Mayberry 1991, p. 208.
3. Ringbom 1962.
4. Francis Dvornik, "The Byzantine Church and the Immaculate Conception," in O'Connor 1958, p. 92.
5. Ibid., pp. 109–11.
6. See Maurice Vloberg, "The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception," in O'Connor 1958, pp. 463–512.
7. On this imagery, see Steinberg 1996, p. 5.
8. See Scailliérez 1992, and Thomas Kren and Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Illuminators and Painters: Interrelationships and Artistic Exchanges," in Los Angeles–London 2003–4, pp. 43–44, 465–66, 480–82.

REFERENCES: Ghent 1909, pp. 22ff.; Ghent 1938, p. 24; Ghent 1955, no. 290, p. 152; Ghent 1963–64, no. 19, p. 20; Toledo 1969, no. 3, p. 30; Ghent 1975, no. 638.

353. *Virgin and Child at the Fountain*

Workshop of Jan van Eyck (Maaseik?, active by 1422–Bruges, d. 1441)
Oil on panel, ca. 1440
21.3 x 17.2 cm (8⅜ x 6¾ in.)
INSCRIBED: In Italian, on the verso, "Luca d'Ollande / 13 June 1776"
PROVENANCE: Collection of Margaret of Austria, early sixteenth century (?); private collection, England (possibly Sir Douglas Hume); [Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York]; private collection, England.
CONDITION: The painting is in very good condition, with its original brown marbling on the reverse of the panel.
Robert Noortman collection, Maastricht

Among the types of Byzantine icons that Viktor Lazarev called the "Virgin with the Playful Child" are the Virgin Pelagonitissa, the Kardiotissa, and the Kykkotissa (see cats. 211, 93, 91, respectively), all of which originated in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1] In general, these types share certain characteristics that include the intimate relationship of the faces of the Virgin and Child; the serpentine posture of the Child's arms (one embracing his mother's neck, the other twisted in the opposite direction at her shoulder); the Child's legs crossed in a kicking motion; and the Child's garments twisted around his body with the remainder hanging below.[2] More or less exaggerated variations of this type were known as miracle-working icons, among them (as Annemarie Weyl Carr points out in her essay in this publication) the Virgin Kykkotissa (cat. 91), which achieved particular renown in the late fourteenth century as a cult image equal in fame to the great Hodegetria of Constantinople. In 1422 the Cypriot hieromonk Gregory of Kykkos wrote a narrative concerning a miraculous icon at his monastery, the famous Kykkotissa. He conflated traditions of the Greek Orthodox world with a story of the Virgin and image making that allowed this icon to be embraced as a new type attributed to Saint Luke.[3] A more restrained version of the type, with angels at the upper right and left, decorative embellishments, and a specific manner of modeling suggesting an interaction with Italian art, developed in Crete in the fifteenth century (fig. 353.1).[4] The export of icons from Crete to the Netherlands is documented,[5] and it is perhaps by this means that such a prototype became known in Flanders. The Cretan examples in particular appear to share their formal characteristics most closely with Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* in the Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (fig. 353.2), and with the workshop copy discussed here, including the similar poses of the figures (though in reverse and full- rather than half-length) and the attending angels at the top of the composition.

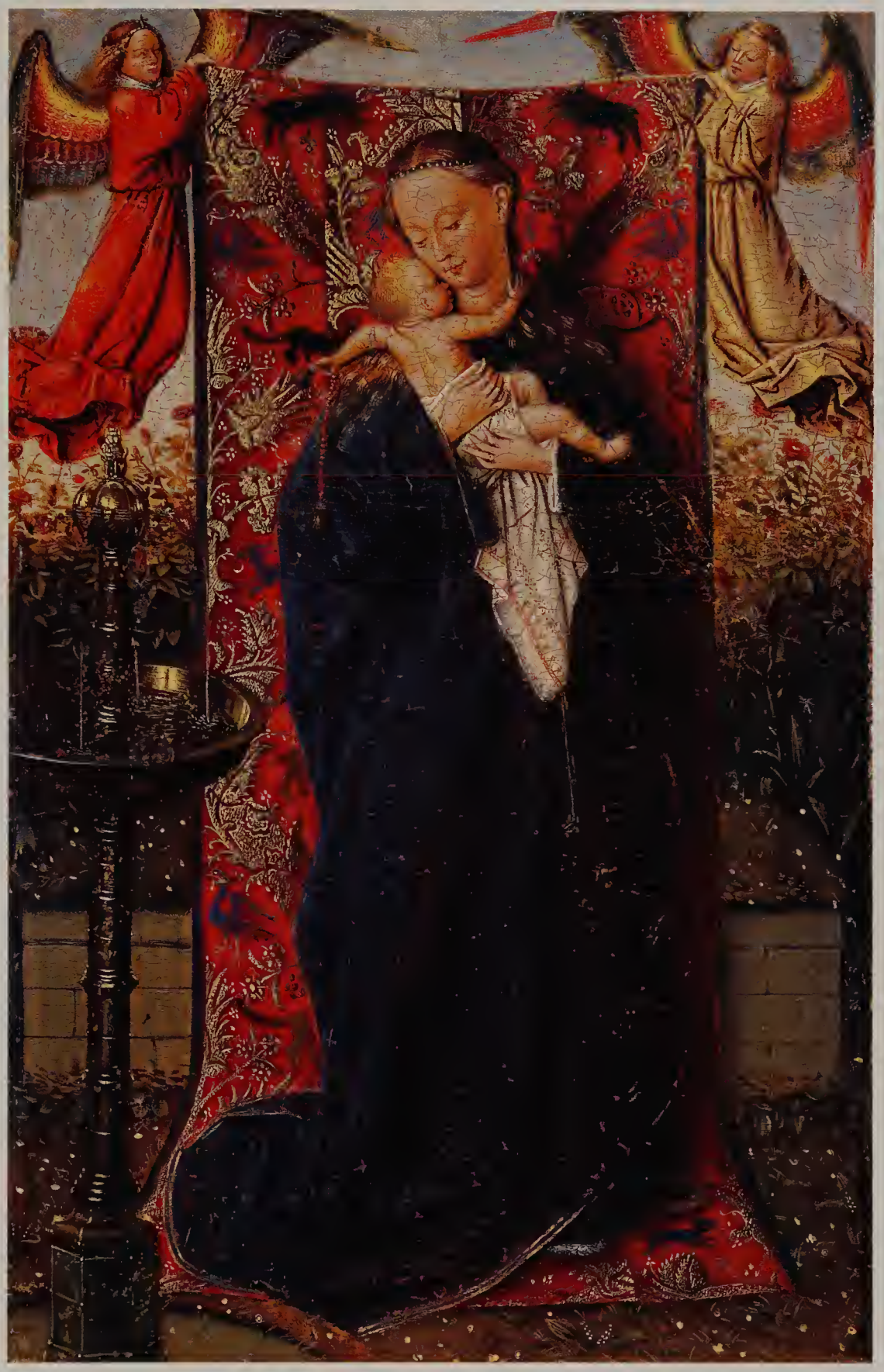

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Fig. 353.1. *Virgin and Child.* Tempera and gold on panel, Crete, end of the 15th century. Musée du Louvre, Paris (M.I. 350). Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

The Antwerp *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* has been referred to as one of the earliest instances of the adoption by a Netherlandish artist of a Byzantine icon type.[6] It is one of two religious paintings by Jan van Eyck—the other is the *Holy Face* (see cat. 336)—that carry pseudo-Greek letters in the inscriptions on the frames, thus suggesting an Eastern origin.[7] Undoubtedly reflecting its own status as a highly revered image, the *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* was immediately copied in its own time by an assistant in Jan's workshop

Fig. 353.2. *Virgin and Child at the Fountain*. Jan van Eyck, oil on panel, 1439. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Belgium

(cat. 353),[8] as well as ca. 1450 in a book of hours (where it accompanies the text of the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin)[9] and thereafter into the sixteenth century (see cats. 354, 355).

The iconography of Jan's painting was adapted from its Byzantine prototype to reflect the specific circumstances of its devotional context. Medieval religious texts are rich with the imagery of the Virgin.[10] Rupert of Deutz, for example, refers to Mary as a "garden" and as the "spring of the gardens," metaphors for her role in producing and sustaining life.[11] The roses of the background of van Eyck's painting are symbolic of Mary, reference to which can be found in medieval love poetry.[12] In his left hand, the Christ Child holds prayer beads, a gift often given by the bridegroom to the bride as a sign of respect and trust. This recalls the verses of the Song of Solomon and contemporary interpretations of its love poetry with Christ as the bridegroom and Mary as the bride. Even before the Dominican Alanus de Rupe officially founded a confraternity of the rosary in 1470 in Douai, a cult of the rosary had been proposed by a Carthusian, Domonik of Prussia (d. 1461).[13]

Jan van Eyck may have chosen the specific motif of the Virgin and Child to commemorate a miraculous event: in 1403, when Philip the Bold was securing the coast at Dunkirk, a small statue thought to be of the Virgin was discovered by a fountain or source of water and was thereafter associated with that event (called Our Lady of the Fountain or Our Lady of the Dunes).[14] It could also reflect one of the many miracle-working images in Bruges, possibly one kept at the Genadedal charterhouse, since Gerard David's later representation appears to make reference to this location (see cat. 355).[15] In addition, the *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* has been linked with a detailed description in two inventories of the collections of Margaret of Austria.[16] Since the authorship of Jan van Eyck is not specified, as it was for the *Arnolfini Portrait* also in Margaret's collection, it is possible that she owned a workshop copy, such as the one discussed here, instead of Jan's original.[17] Of particular interest for our concerns is that the painting is described in the 1523 inventory as "fort anticque" (very antique); open to question is whether this refers simply to the then eighty-four-year-old van Eyck painting or to an ancient (i.e., Byzantine) model. Linked with a specific event or a revered image, Jan van Eyck's Virgin and Child—the motif of the figures, not the entire composition—initiated what developed into a long-lasting homage to a venerated, if unidentified, icon.

MWA

1. Lazarev 1938, pp. 42–46.
2. On the development of these types, see Hadermann-Misguich 1983.
3. Michele Bacci, "With the Paintbrush of the Evangelist Luke," in Athens 2000, p. 87.
4. Paris 1992–93, no. 371, p. 481.
5. See the essay by Maryan Ainsworth in this publication.
6. Purtle 1982, pp. 160–61; Silver 1983, p. 99; Harbison 1991, pp. 158–67.
7. The inscription on the Antwerp frame is partially damaged and was not reconstructed during the recent restoration. See Depuydt-Elbaum et al. 2001, pp. 11, 16. Two of van Eyck's portraits, the *Tymotheos* in the National Gallery, London, and the *Portrait of Margaret van Eyck* in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges, also carry pseudo-Greek script on the frames.
8. See Depuydt-Elbaum et al. 2001, pp. 21–24.
9. Illustrated in Ainsworth 1998, p. 265, fig. 245; Dutschke 1989, vol. 2, p. 410.
10. For a helpful discussion, see Depuydt-Elbaum et al. 2001, pp. 4–7.
11. *PL*, vol. 168, p. 901.
12. Depuydt-Elbaum et al. 2001, p. 5.
13. On the development of the cult of the rosary, see Esser 1889; Thurston 1900–1901; Wilkins 1969.
14. Suggested by Harbison 1991, p. 178.
15. At present, no known Byzantine icon has been traced to Genadedal. I thank Noël Geirnaert, archivist at the Bruges Archives, for this information.
16. The inventories of 1518 and 1523 of Margaret's possessions at her palace at Mechelin list (here the 1523 inventory): *Item, ung aultre tableau de Nostre Dame, tenant son enfant, lequel tient une petite Paternostre de coral en sa main, fort anticque, ayant une fontainne emprès elle et deux aignes, tenant ung drap d'or figuré derrière elle* (Item, another painting of Our Lady, holding her child, which holds a small Paternoster [rosary] of coral in his hand, very antique, having a fountain next to her and two angels, holding a cloth of gold behind her). Michelant 1871, p. 87; see also Eichberger 2002, pp. 217–18.
17. See the discussion in Eichberger 2002, pp. 217–18.

References: Harbison 1991, pp. 158–67; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 261–72; Depuydt-Elbaum et al. 2001 (with bibl.); Bruges 2002, pp. 190, 235–36; Eichberger 2002, pp. 217–18.

354. *Virgin and Child at the Fountain*

Gerard David (Oudewater, ca. 1455–Bruges, 1523)
Pen in brown ink, over underdrawing in black chalk (?) on paper, ca. 1500–1510
19.7 x 13 cm (7¾ x 5⅛ in.)
Provenance: Paris; acquired in 1878.
Condition: The drawing is in good condition, but overall rubbed and faded.[1]
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 579)

Painters of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries made a variety of types of drawings that they kept on hand to use as workshop models for paintings. Some were studies after life of heads or poses of figures; others recorded compositions that were especially popular and likely to be requested repeatedly; and a number copied well-known works from famous artists.[2]

The Berlin drawing of the *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* by Gerard David is an especially interesting case, for it records a composition by Jan van Eyck (cat. 353) with a specific purpose in mind. A close comparison of the drawing and its model reveals that the former must have been made directly from van Eyck's painting or an exact copy of it. The drawing and the painting are nearly equivalent in size, and certain features of the drawing indicate that the draftsman copied the painting within its engaged frame. Even though there is ample room on the sheet of paper, the rendering ceases where the image of the painting meets the framed edge, cutting off the forms of the angels' draperies and the left edge of the fountain basin. There appear to be no traced lines on the sheet of paper, so the composition may have been copied freehand from the model.

Upon closer examination it becomes clear that the draftsman was primarily interested in the figures of the Virgin and Child. He quite specifically followed the contours of those forms, paying close attention to the relationship of the figures to each other, the exact folds of the draperies, and details such as the rosary beads dangling from the Christ Child's left hand and the decorative border on the cloth hanging below his legs. Furthermore, these figures are the only portions of the drawing that show the precise modeling of the draperies in order to establish the system of lighting and the volume of forms, again closely following the model. The other features of the composition—the angels holding the cloth of honor, the fountain, the rose hedge in the background and the grassy bench before it—are all summarily treated. Left completely unstudied is the intricate design

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of the brocade cloth of honor, the flowers and plants arranged around it, and the decorative wings of the angels. Clearly, the artist was interested essentially in the motif of the Virgin not in the balance of Jan van Eyck's scene.

Detailed comparisons of the Berlin drawing with Gerard David's *Virgin and Child with Four Angels* (cat. 355) and with the underdrawings of other paintings by David allow one to conclude that the drawing is indeed a copy by him.[3] The painter likely had a commission for the *Virgin and Child with Four Angels,* which prompted him to study the motif of the Virgin and Child of van Eyck's composition. The fact that this same motif appears in at least five other paintings with varied settings dating from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and that all but one are by Bruges artists, suggests that this particular image was not only popular but perhaps locally revered. As it has been argued in cat. 353, the origin of the image was likely Byzantine—perhaps from Crete (see fig. 353.1)—and a votive image of some considerable fame. David's drawing, then, served as a conveyor of that motif, for which he provided a new context in the *Virgin and Child with Four Angels* (cat. 355) in order to bring it up to date as a "living icon."

MWA

1. For further specific remarks on condition, see Buck 2001, p. 176.
2. For Gerard David's drawings, see Ainsworth 1998, pp. 7–55.
3. See Ainsworth 1985, pp. 55–57; Ainsworth 1993, pp. 18–19; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 28–31, 97, 269, 319; Buck 2001, pp. 176–81.

REFERENCES: Ainsworth 1985, pp. 55–57; Ainsworth 1993, pp. 18–19; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 28–31, 97, 269, 319; Buck 2001, pp. 176–81 (with complete bibl.).

355. *Virgin and Child with Four Angels*

Gerard David (Oudewater, ca. 1455–Bruges, 1523)
Oil on panel, ca. 1510–15
63.2 x 39.1 cm (24⅞ x 15⅜ in.)
INSCRIBED: On the cloth beneath the Christ Child, IHESVS [RE]DEMPT[OR] (Jesus Redeemer)
PROVENANCE: Private collection, Madrid; Abelardo Linares S.A., Madrid, ca. 1940, Charles B. Wrightsman, New York, 1962–77; gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman to the Metropolitan Museum, 1977.
CONDITION: The painting is in excellent condition. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1977 (1977.1.1)

Unlike modern collectors or connoisseurs, patrons of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the Low Countries often requested copies of existing works of art. Numerous surviving contracts from this period stipulate that the work to be produced was to be similar to an existing one in terms of its model and sometimes even in the materials used to make it.[1] Perhaps the most famous example of this phenomenon is the fifteen copies that were commissioned from Petrus Christus and Hayne of Brussels after the Cambrai *Notre-Dame de Grâce* (see cats. 349, 350). Yet this was not an isolated incident. It is hard to say how widespread this practice was, based on remaining examples from this period. However, when a specific motif is repeatedly copied, as in the case of Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* (cat. 353), the self-perpetuating spiritual value of that image must be considered. As Hans Belting has noted, "the replica was a witness of the original and aroused the same hopes as the latter. . . . The copy was therefore expected to share in the privileges enjoyed by the authentic original."[2] Notably, this meant a "trickle-down effect" of miraculous events or the healing powers of the original.

Although we do not know precisely which important cult image or Byzantine icon Jan van Eyck's Virgin and Child commemorated, some suggestions have been made (see cat. 353).

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Fig. 355.1. *Virgin and Child in a Shrine.* Attributed to Adriaen Isenbrandt, oil on panel, ca. 1520. Private collection, Rhode Island.

Not only was it faithfully copied in its own time, it later spawned a series of other versions that adapted the icon for contemporary use. That is to say, the motif was taken from its original setting and placed in varied pictorial environments that held specific meaning for those who had commissioned the new works. A copy from about 1480–1500, for example, was perhaps meant for an Italian client, as the enclosed garden features southern varieties of trees.[3] Another of about 1500 placed the Virgin and Child in an elaborate architectural setting labeled "the house of God and the gate of heaven."[4] Gerard David's version here and an exact copy of it from about the late sixteenth century[5] locate van Eyck's Virgin and Child at what is probably the Carthusian monastery of Genadedal, just outside the city walls of Bruges (identified by the churches of Sint-Jacobs and Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in the background); indeed, a Carthusian monk can be identified wandering in the background.[6] An example attributed to Adriaen Isenbrandt (fig. 355.1) shows the Virgin and Child on a pedestal in a shrine before a landscape, indicating the growing popularity of roadside shrines in the early sixteenth century.

The ultimate reliance of David's *Virgin and Child with Four Angels* on a Byzantine icon is not immediately apparent because of its deliberate intention to be a modern interpretation of that icon. Though David originally planned to precisely duplicate Jan van Eyck's model from the *Virgin and Child at the Fountain,* he altered that motif in the upper paint layers. X-radiography and infrared reflectography of David's painting show that the first version followed the model exactly.[7] But in the final stages of the painting, the artist turned the head of the Child to directly address the viewer, released the Virgin's hair from its pulled-back position at the nape of her neck, and added the gossamer shirt over the naked body of the Child. David's further strategy for creating a "living icon" involved the specific reference to Bruges in the background, mentioned above, and the addition of features that signified a particular devotional emphasis. Here the Virgin is crowned as Queen of Heaven by two angels at the *Porta Coeli* (Gate of Heaven). Her specific role as the co-Redemptrix along with Christ for the salvation of man—a concept especially developed by Carthusian writers—is signaled by the Virgin's red cloak (the color of Christ's Passion), the words *IHESVS [RE]DEMPT[OR]* (Jesus Redeemer) on the cloth hanging below the Child, the flowers that denote the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin in the garden behind the figures, and the crosses on the headbands of the angels. The playing of music before a miraculous image was not uncommon;[8] the harp- and lute-playing angels therefore signal the elevated status of this particular Virgin and Child. David thus used the aura of a venerated icon to deliver an inspired statement of Carthusian doctrine. MWA

1. Dijkstra 1990, pp. 7–28.
2. Belting 1994, p. 441.
3. See Ainsworth 1998, p. 266, fig. 246.
4. See New York 1998–99, no. 48, pp. 220–23.
5. This copy was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 14, 1977, lot 155A (72.5 x 46.5 cm [28½ x 18¼ in.]). I am grateful to Mme Gothgeburgh at the Institut Royal de Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels, who shared with me the results of her examination of this painting in May of 1997.
6. See also cat. 343 for a painting by the Master of the André Madonna of the Hodegetria Virgin type that is placed in the same setting.
7. See Ainsworth 1998, pp. 269–72, figs. 251–253.
8. Van der Velden 2000, pp. 210–11.

References: Scholtens 1938; Fahy 1969; Silver 1983, p. 101; Ainsworth 1985; Van Miegroet 1989, no. 38, pp. 305–6; D. Martens 1995a; Ainsworth 1998, pp. 261–72; New York 1998–99, no. 81, pp. 306–8.

Notes to the Essays

Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557), by Helen C. Evans, pp. 5–15

1. Geanakoplos 1984, no. 283, pp. 374–75, translated from George Akropolites, *Historia*, edited by August Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903), vol. 1, pp. 186–88.
2. Constantinople, capital of the *basileia ton Rhomaion*, was established by the Roman emperor Constantine the Great in A.D. 330. His New Rome, Constantinople (the city [polis] of Constantine) controlled important military and trade routes between East and West. In the centuries preceding 1261, Constantinople was one of the greatest cities of the world. Christianity was recognized as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the late fourth century. In the sixth century under the emperor Justinian, the states' territories extended across the Mediterranean from Spain to Sinai in Egypt. In 843, the Iconoclastic Controversy ended after a century of intense dispute, with the restoration of the veneration of icons and with a new era of artistic and political brilliance, which ended with the conquest of the city in 1204. Ostrogorski 1969 remains one of the most thorough overviews of the history of the era. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. (New York, 1991) (hereafter cited as *ODB*), is most useful for specific ideas and personages. New York 1977–78 and New York 1997, both exhibition catalogues, offer overviews of the artistic developments of these centuries.
3. Byzantion was founded in approximately 660 B.C. at the mouth of the Bosporos. Its legendary founder was Byzas, argued to be the son of the nymph Semestre or of a legendary Thracian king. Citizens of Constantinople were called Byzantioi, but never Byzantines, throughout the history of the *basileia ton Rhomaion*. See Cyril Mango and Alexander Kazhdan, "Byzantion," in *ODB*, p. 344.
4. See Beck 1984 for an overview of Wolf's contribution. Ostrogorski 1969, p. 2, recognizes Wolf as the "first scholar to appreciate Byzantine history for its own sake." I would like to thank Professor Robert S. Nelson for reminding me of Wolf's pivotal role in the modern naming of the state.
5. See the title of His All Holiness, the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew on the dedicatory page in this publication. I would like to thank His Beatitude Professor Panteleimon Rhodopoulos, Bishop of Tiroloi and Serention, Abbot of the Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, for drawing my attention to this fact.
6. "The church of ancient Rome fell because of the Apollinarian heresy, as to the second Rome—the Church of Constantinople—it has been hewn by the axe of the Hagarenes (Muslims). But this third, new Rome, the Universal Apostolic Church under thy mighty rule radiates forth the Orthodox Christian faith to the ends of the earth more brightly than the sun. . . . In all the universe thou art the only Tsar of Christians. . . . Hear me, pious Tsar, all Christian kingdoms have converged in thee alone. Two Romes have fallen, a third stands, a fourth there shall not be." Billington 1970, p. 58.
7. Ostrogorski 1969, pp. 450–572, traces the history of their reign generation by generation.
8. Belting 1994 is the outstanding introduction to this material.
9. The icon was then housed in the Chora Monastery, now the Kariye Camii, which is near the city walls. Doukas (ca. 1400–ca. 1462) described the Ottoman janissaries cutting it into quarters and dividing the parts and the jewels that bedecked it among themselves. Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakēs, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 385; Magoulias 1975, pp. 215, 225 n. 23.
10. Robin Cormack, "The Mother of God in the Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 118–22.
11. See Ostrogorski 1969, pp. 450–572, for a general overview of the political currents of the period; Billington 1970 for Russia; and the *ODB* for entries with bibliography for specific topics.
12. See Clive Foss, "Nicaea" and "Trebizond, Empire of," in *ODB*, pp. 1464–65, 2112–13.
13. See Timothy E. Gregory, "Thessaloniki," and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Epiros, Despotate of," in *ODB*, pp. 2071–73, 716–17; Ostrogorski 1969, pp. 417, 423–39, 440, 446, 447–78, 494–95, 501–5, 505–19, 534, 546, 557, 560.
14. See Timothy E. Gregory and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Mistra," and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Morea," in *ODB*, pp. 1382–84, 1409–10; Ostrogorski 1969, esp. pp. 424ff., 407, 419, 460ff., 558ff., 571; Kalamara and Mexia 2001.
15. The Georgian queen Tamar and her dead father Geiori III are depicted in Byzantine imperial dress as early as 1184 in the rock-cut church of Vardzia (1184–86). Eastmond 1998, pl. 13, pp. 103–14; Evans 2001.
16. Der Nersessian 1969, p. 647.
17. For the crown, see Čirković 1999, p. 13; Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen and Alexander Kazhdan, "Serbia," in *ODB*, pp. 1871–73.
18. Eastmond 2003.
19. See Robert Browning, "Bulgaria," in *ODB*, pp. 332–37; Ostrogorski 1969, esp. pp. 403–6, 407ff., 550ff., 564.
20. See Alice-Mary Talbot, "John VI Kantakouzenos," Alexander Kazhdan, "Ohrid" and "Skopje," and Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen and Alexander Kazhdan, "Serbia," in *ODB*, pp. 1050–51, 1514, 1912, 1871–73; Ostrogorski 1969, esp. pp. 489ff., 505ff., 516–25, 533ff., 546ff., 564, 567, 571.
21. See Alice-Mary Talbot and Alexander Kazhdan, "Epiros, Despotate of," and Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen and Anthony Cutler, "Thomas Preljubović," in *ODB*, pp. 716–17, 2078; Ostrogorski 1969, esp. pp. 507–9, 524, 534.
22. See Ivić and Pešikan 1999, p. 141, for the date of the revival of the Serbian patriarchate; Speros Vryonis Jr. "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," in Vryonis 1981, p. 271.
23. See Timothy E. Gregory and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Serres," in *ODB*, pp. 1881–82.
24. For a brief history, see Robert Thomson, "Georgia," in *ODB*, pp. 840–41, and related entries.
25. For a brief history, see Nina G. Garsoïan, "Cilicia, Armenian," in *ODB*, p. 463.
26. See Larner 1999, pp. 40–41, for the departure site of Marco Polo; Evans 1990, pp. 38–46, for the Franciscans, Mongols, and Armenia in the thirteenth century; Arnold 1999 for more on the Franciscans and China.
27. R. Thomson 1996, pp. ix–xxvii.
28. Paul A. Hollingsworth, "Constantine the Philosopher," in *ODB*, p. 507.
29. See Aristeides Papadakis and Alexander Kazhdan, "Patriarchates," in *ODB*, pp. 1599–1600, for the establishment of the Bulgarian patriarchate in the mid-thirteenth century and the Serbian one in the mid-fourteenth; Krikor H. Maksoudian, "The Religion of Armenia," in New York–Baltimore 1994, pp. 24–29, for the establishment of the Armenian hierarchy.
30. The influence of Palaiologan art on the Armenian court may have had as much to do with marital alliances as religion. Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328) married his son and heir Michael IX to the Armenian princess Rita after failing to arrange a marriage for him with the titular Latin empress of Constantinople, Catherine de Courtenay. Rita was the sister of the king of Armenian Cilicia Het'um II (r. 1289–1301), who also became a Franciscan monk. The Palaiologan style appears at its finest in Armenian manuscripts during the reign of Andronikos, including in the lectionary (now Matendaran 979) made for his own use. See Ostrogorski 1969, esp. pp. 487–89, for the marriage alliances; Alishan 1899, p. 11, for the relationship between the Byzantine empress and the Armenian king; Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 97–100, vol. 2, figs. 394–395, pl. 394, for the manuscript.
31. See Olenka Z. Pevny, "Kievan Rus'," in New York 1997, pp. 280–87, for the early history of Rus'; Billington 1970, pp. 3–84, for the history of Rus' through the centuries covered by the exhibition; Ostrogorski 1969, pp. 353–54.
32. For a recent overview of the history of Mount Athos, see Nicolas Oikonomidès, "The History of Mount Athos during the Byzantine Age," in Thessalonike 1997, pp. 3–10; Ostrogorski 1969, pp. 486–87.
33. Alice-Mary Talbot and Anthony Cutler, "Iveron Monastery," in *ODB*, pp. 1025–26.
34. Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Zographou Monastery," in *ODB*, pp. 2228–29.
35. Alexander Kazhdan, "Moldavia" and "Rumanians," and Ellen Schwartz, "Rumanian Art and Architecture," in *ODB*, pp. 1390, 1817–18.
36. Alexander Kazhdan et al., "Vatopedi Monastery," in *ODB*, pp. 2155–56.
37. Alice-Mary Talbot and Anthony Cutler, "Hilandar Monastery," in *ODB*, pp. 931–32.
38. Alice-Mary Talbot and Anthony Cutler, "Panteleemon Monastery," in *ODB*, pp. 1573–74.
39. See Thessalonike 1997 for a history of the Holy Mountain and many of its treasures; Alice-Mary Talbot and Anthony Cutler, "Athos, Mount," in *ODB*, pp. 224–26; Oikonomidès 1996; Zachariadou 1996b.
40. I would like to thank Warren Woodfin for his information on hesychasm. For a general overview of the movement and information on specific major figures related to it, see Aristeides Papadakis, "Hesychasm" and "Palamas, Gregory," and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Gregory Sinaites" and "Barlaam of Calabria," in *ODB*, pp. 923–24, 1560, 883, 257.
41. For more information on the monastery, see Manafis 1990; Alexander Kazhdan, "Sinai." Alice-Mary Talbot, "Catherine, Monastery of," and Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Catherine of Alexandria," in *ODB*, pp. 923–24, 392–93.
42. Arnold 1999, pp. 138–39.
43. Raby 1983.
44. "Dating Volcanic Blast," *New York Times*, December 14, 1993, p. C7, reports that Dr. Kevin D. Pang has shown that the terrible rain and hail recorded at Constantinople's fall was caused by a volcanic explosion that broke apart a huge island in the South Pacific, creating the present islands of Tongo and Epi in the New Hebrides.
45. The Turks would call the Greeks "Rumlar"; see Speros Vryonis Jr., "The Greeks under Turkish Rule," in Vryonis 1981, p. 48.
46. G. Necipoğlu 1992, pp. 196–99.
47. Raby 1983, pp. 22–23; Cutler 1995, p. 250; see Kangal 2001, pp. 62–64, for relics of John the Forerunner (the Baptist) that are said to have come to the Topkapı through the conquest of Constantinople, including the portion of the skull said to have belonged to Mehmed II.
48. Raby 1983, pp. 15–34. See Zachariadou 1992 for a survey of the extended religious dialogue between leading Palaiologan and Ottoman figures.
49. Vryonis 1981, p. 50.
50. G. Necipoğlu 1989, pp. 424–25 n. 71, where Paolo Giovio, *Commentari delle cose de' Turchi* (Venice, 1531, fol. 30r), is quoted as "per esser legittimo successore di Constantino imperatore qual transfere l'imperio in Constantinopoli."
51. Vryonis 1986, p. 315.
52. G. Necipoğlu 1992, pp. 212–13, citing Cyril Mango and Robert Ousterhout.
53. Vryonis 1981, pp. 54–55; Vryonis 1996, pp. 82–106; Magoulias 1975, p. 210 and n. 259. The daughter of Loukas Notaras, Anna Palaiologina Notaras, was sent to Italy for safety before Constantinople fell and became the protector of the Greeks in Venice.
54. Speros Vryonis Jr., "The Experience of Christians under Seljuk and Ottoman Domination, Eleventh to Sixteenth Century," in Gervers and Bikhazi 1990, p. 202.
55. Ostrogorski 1969, esp. pp. 362ff., 384–85, 414, 425, 441, 445, 452ff., 459ff., 460–64, 486, 534–36, 538ff.; John Meyendorff, "Schism," in *ODB*, pp. 1850–51.
56. Aspeslagh 1998, pp. 9–11, rejects the legendary association of the relic's arrival in Bruges in 1150. He notes that a twelfth-century document now in the British Library refers to a relic of the Holy Blood as being in Constantinople at that date. The relic is first recorded in Bruges in a document of 1270, which refers to its presence there in 1255/56. A papal bull of

Clement V in 1310 grants indulgences to those who take part in the annual procession of the Holy Blood, a major event in the town through the centuries.

57. D. Weiss 1998, pp. 4–5, 11–15, 30–32.
58. In the fourteenth century, the Lusignans of Cyprus successfully extended their influence by marriage alliances to Spain and France in the West and in the East to Mistra and the kingdom of Armenian Cilicia. Maria of Lusignan, heir to the Cypriot throne, married King James II of Aragon in 1315. Hugh IV of Cyprus's eldest son married a great-granddaughter of King Louis IX of France in 1330. After a distinguished career in the service of the Byzantine Empire, Guy of Lusignan, whose father was a member of the Cypriot royal family, inherited the throne of Armenian Cilicia from his mother in 1342. Guy's daughter, Isabella of Lusignan, married Manuel, son of the Byzantine emperor John VI Kantakouzenos; Manuel was the first despot of Cyprus. Although by heritage on her mother's side Isabella was a member of the Armenian Orthodox Church, she is credited with bringing the Catholic faith to Mistra when it was under the authority of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople. See Edbury 1991, pp. 115, 137–38, 142–43; Alishan 1899, p. 407; Panayiotis Perdikoulias, "Codex D538 inf. of the Ambrosian Library," in Kalamara and Mexia 2001, p. 186.
59. In the West, Catherine de Courtenay, granddaughter of Baldwin II, last Latin ruler of Constantinople, was considered the titular empress of Constantinople, providing her husband, Charles of Valois, with a legal title to the throne; at her death in 1308, the claim passed to her daughter Catherine of Valois; see Ostrogorski 1969, pp. 488, 496–97.
60. Saint Catherine was chosen by the Dominicans as one of the earliest patronesses of their order because she was the patron saint of philosophers. She and Mary Magdalene are the order's secondary patronesses. The Virgin and Saint Dominic are the primary patrons. I thank Brother William Ng OFM and the Dominicans of New Haven, Connecticut, for this information.
61. Evans 2003.
62. Ostrogorski 1969, pp. 460–65.
63. See ibid., pp. 541–42, 545, 548, for the first period of vassalage, and p. 559 for the return to a vassal state in 1424.
64. Ibid., pp. 562–64; Billington 1970, pp. 57–58.
65. I thank Anastasia Drandaki for bringing her research on this topic to my attention; see Drandaki 2001.
66. See Hilsdale 2003, pp. 132–74, on the significance of the gift of the pallium.
67. Nicol 1988, esp. pp. 149, 417–18; Georgopoulou 2001.
68. Alice-Mary Talbot, "Notaras, Loukas," in *ODB*, pp. 1494–95.
69. Vryonis 1991b offers an overview of the increasing interest in the ancient Greek, or "Hellenic," past in the last years of the empire. See I. Ševčenko 2002 for the same period with a greater focus on the Byzantine scholars' movement west to Italy for employment.
70. I would like to thank Professor Charalambos Bakirtzis, Director, Ninth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Thessalonike, for urging recognition of the importance of learning and libraries of manuscripts to the Byzantine world. Vryonis 1991b, p. 115.
71. See Kianka 1995, pp. 102–10, where he notes that Kydones, when he traveled to Rome seeking aid for Byzantium, met with respect from men who also knew Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Coluccio Salutati.
72. For Mistra's history and the intellectual life there in the last years of the Byzantine sphere, see Runciman 1980. See also Alice-Mary Talbot, "Plethon, George Gemistos" and "Bessarion," in *ODB*, pp. 284–85, 1685.
73. Vryonis 1991a, p. 13.
74. I wish to thank Dr. Stefanos Geroulanos for the text that "by a special decree of July 11, 1607, of the University of Paris Sorbonne, the Pharmacology of Myrepsos [cat. 316] was obligatorily taught to the medical students. This practice changed only after the French Revolution," and for the following references. Maraslis 1983, p. 55, says Myrepsos's text was in use in the School of Paris until 1751. Théodoridès 1984, p. 157, and Savage-Smith 1984, p. 183, also refer to his importance in Byzantium and in the West.
75. Grigg 1987, pp. 5, 7, and notes, for the early history of the Lukan claim; Ostrogorski 1969, p. 450, for the claim that the image carried by Michael VIII on his entry into Constantinople in 1261 was a Lukan image; González de Clavijo 1928, p. 84, for his description of seeing a Lukan image (probably the one in the Hodegon Monastery) while visiting Constantinople.
76. "Then the ascetic gave her an icon on which was depicted the All-holy Theotokos holding the Divine Child in her arms." Sinai 1999 (2003 rpt.).

Revival and Decline: Voices from the Byzantine Capital, by Alice-Mary Talbot, pp. 17–25

1. Heisenberg 1903, pp. 187–88.
2. For further details, see Talbot 1993.
3. Quatremère 1837–45, vol. 1, p. 177.
4. Ihor Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 59–61.
5. Featherstone 2000, p. 119.
6. Vin 1980, vol. 2, pp. 632–33, 628.
7. Ibid., p. 697.
8. Majeska 1984, p. 160.
9. Ibid., pp. 44–46.
10. Vin 1980, vol. 2, p. 570.
11. Vasiliev 1932, pp. 116–17.
12. Talbot 1975, p. 85.
13. Bekker 1829–55, vol. 1, pp. 567–68.
14. Both Michael VIII and John VI wed long before they ascended the throne and thus were not concerned with the diplomatic benefits of marrying wives from abroad.
15. Pachymeres 1984–99, vol. 4, p. 323.
16. See Runciman 1960.
17. Other examples included the marriages of Euphrosyne, another daughter of Michael VIII, to Nogay, and of Maria, the illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II, to Toqtai, both Golden Horde rulers.
18. Pachymeres 1984–99, vol. 1, p. 235.
19. Trapp 1976–96, vol. 9, no. 21395; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in N. Necipoğlu 2001, pp. 334–36.
20. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of this journey is quite untrustworthy; see Runciman 1960, pp. 47–48.
21. Defrémery and Sanguinetti 1914–26, vol. 2, pp. 444–45.
22. Dennis 1977, pp. 98–100.
23. The manuscript is now kept at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, catalogued as Ivoires A 53.
24. For English translation, see J. Barker 1969, p. 264, and photo of the Greek text at fig. 20.
25. Bellaguet 1994, vol. 5, pp. 50–51.
26. Vin 1980, vol. 2, pp. 636, 635.
27. Ibid., p. 703.
28. Ibid., p. 569.
29. Bekker 1829–55, vol. 2, pp. 788–89; English translation in Vasiliev 1952, vol. 2, p. 680.
30. Vin 1980, vol. 2, p. 703.
31. E. Barker 1957, p. 194.
32. Ibid., p. 195.
33. I. Ševčenko 1960, p. 225.
34. Dennis 1977, ep. 14, p. 38, and ep. 16, p. 44.
35. Ibid., letter from Demetrios Kydones, cited p. 50 n. 16.
36. Magoulias 1975, p. 210.
37. Ibid., p. 235.

Religious Settings of the Late Byzantine Sphere, by Slobodan Ćurčić, pp. 65–77

1. *Historia mystagogica*, attributed to Patriarch Germanos I (r. 715–30); see C. Mango 1993, pp. 141–43.
2. Krautheimer 1986. Horst Hallensleben (1973) offers a strongly worded critique of parts 6 and 7 of an earlier edition of Krautheimer's book. Excessively focused on minutiae, this review never received the attention that its main points warrant. The term "nostalgic eclecticism" was coined by Hans Buchwald (1999, p. 9) as an expedient for dismissing Late Byzantine architecture as an essentially irrelevant phenomenon. The most balanced general approach is that of C. Mango 1974, chs. 8–9.
3. O. Demus 1958 and Lazarev 1967, pp. 301–4, 353–91, despite their age, remain rare constructive attempts at offering a broad overview of the subject matter.D. T. Rice 1968a was disappointing even at the time of its original publication. More recently scholars have been preoccupied with methodological approaches to various topics and have tended to ignore the larger picture, which consequently continues to elude us.
4. Reinert 2002 is but the latest of such general assessments.
5. This subject has received considerable attention from historians in recent years. See Macrides 1980; Talbot 1993; Kidonopoulos 1994; Klaus-Peter Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," in N. Necipoğlu 2001, pp. 315–28; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in ibid., pp. 329–42. For studies of architecture, see Ousterhout 1991; Zanini 1999.
6. Matschke in N. Necipoğlu 2001, p. 322 (buttressing of Hagia Sophia) and pp. 319, 322 (rebuilding of the dome of Hagia Sophia).
7. Eyice 1980 is the only attempt at comprehensive coverage of Late Byzantine church architecture in Constantinople. The book highlights many of the intrinsic problems and adds new ones by including buildings that demonstrably do not belong to this period.
8. Macridy 1964.
9. For decorative motifs on Late Byzantine church facades in Constantinople, see Pasadaios 1973.
10. Belting et al. 1978 includes a chapter on the history and architecture. Discussion of architecture is supplemented by Hallensleben 1964.
11. Talbot 1999, pp. 77–79.
12. Despite the general ideas regarding the interpretation of this architecture that cannot be fully accepted, the most thorough coverage of the monuments of Nesebŭr remains Rashenov 1932. See also Ćurčić 1989, pp. 62–65.
13. Rashenov 1932, pp. 36–58; also Boiadzhiev 1981.
14. Mavrodinov 1935. The use of external decorative patterns has more recently been analyzed from a technical point of view as a means of concealing certain structural features within the thickness of walls; see Velenēs 1984.
15. See Ćurčić 2000, esp. pp. 19ff.w, where the issue is introduced. A more detailed study is currently in progress by this author.
16. The problem is broached in Ćurčić 2003.
17. Velenēs 1988 and, more recently, Vokotopoulos 1998–99 and Papadopoulou 2002.
18. Orlandos 1963 and, more recently, Theis 1991.
19. Ousterhout 1999, p. 102, refers to the Paregoretissa as one of several examples of churches that demonstrate the phenomenon of "evolving design" in the course of the actual construction process.
20. M. Popović 1996.
21. A considerable literature exists on Hilandar Monastery. The most recent collection of essays on different topics related to the monastery is Subotić 1998a. The most thorough study of the Hilandar katholikon architecture to date is Nenadović 1997, pp. 59–99. For the suggested Constantinopolitan links, see Slobodan Ćurčić, "The Architectural Significance of the Hilandar Katholikon," in *Abstracts* 1978, pp. 14–15.
22. With the exception of the still useful but in many respects outdated Diehl et al. 1918, no comprehensive study of Late Byzantine architecture in Thessalonike exists. Beyond several short popular monographs, almost all monuments lack adequate studies of their architecture. Vokotopoulos 1987 is focused on a comparative analysis of the building types. Goulakē Voutyra 1984 offers possible explanations for the Byzantine identity of some of the churches in question, although not all have been accepted.
23. Rautman 1984 is the only serious study of architecture of any of the Late Byzantine monuments of Thessalonike, but it, too, remains unpublished.

24. In addition to the standing portion of the monastery gate and a large vaulted cistern, substantial remains of other monastic buildings have been excavated in an area abutting the western line of fifth-century city walls. This material awaits final publication. The dating of the church has been brought into serious question by Kuniholm and Striker 1990, but their conclusions are still justifiably disputed.
25. Papazōtos 1991, whose identification of the church as the katholikon of Akapniou Monastery has not been universally accepted.
26. Mylōnas 1990; Ćurčić 1971.
27. Despite its universally recognized importance, the Church of Theotokos Peribleptos does not have a scholarly monograph; Ćornakov 1961 is useful as a popular short account. For a more thorough discussion of frescoes, see Đurić 1976, pp. 134–35, 283 n. 118.
28. Hallensleben 1975.
29. Much scholarly effort has been generated with hopes of learning more about these two painters, their origins, and their artistic oeuvre. The first solid works on the subject were Hallensleben 1963 and Miljković-Pepek 1967a, 1967b. Most recently the subject has been revisited from a more modern perspective by Todić 1999, with an overview of older literature; see also Todić 2001.
30. O. Demus 1948, notwithstanding some of its shortcomings due to its early date, remains the clearest articulation of the basic theological and theoretical underpinnings of Byzantine monumental religious painting and its relationship to architecture.
31. Grozdanov 1980; Subotić 1980. No equivalent studies of architecture exist.
32. Ćurčić 1989, esp. p. 67.
33. The complex problem of the origins, use, and subsequent fate of Byzantine church belfries is broached by Ćurčić 1988, pp. 68–72.
34. The standard monograph on the church is Panić and Babić 1975. Nenadović 1963 is still the essential study of its architecture.
35. Ćurčić 1979a.
36. Babić 1987a.
37. The inscription was published several times, most recently in ibid., pp. 20–24. One should note here an increased interest in exterior inscriptions on Byzantine church facades, as seen in the example of the Church of Hagia Maria Pammakaristos in Constantinople (see discussion above and also n. 11). Although not new as a phenomenon, and certainly not mandatory, they appear with some frequency in the Late Byzantine world and in its sphere of influence (e.g., in Serbia).
38. Ćurčić 1973, pp. 191–95. On the question of ruler ideology in Serbia, see Marjanović-Dušanić 1997.
39. Babić 1987a, pp. 193–219. Aspects other than painterly skills and stylistic qualities have understandably raised many questions. One of these has to do with the fact that all inscriptions in the church are in Old Church Slavonic and not in Greek. Who painted the inscriptions, and was the language possibly indicative of the ethnic origins of the painter? Much ink was spilled in the past debating these issues. Today it is clear that the main painter came from Byzantium and that the inscriptions must have been the work of his native apprentice (or apprentices), who may have been learning on the job.
40. Šuput 1989a is a short but useful popular monograph. The results of major excavations and study of the architecture await final publication.
41. Ousterhout 1987; for frescoes, see Underwood 1966–75; for sculpture, see Hjort 1979.
42. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parekklesion," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 303–49. Engin Akyürek, "Funeral Ritual in the Parekklesion of the Chora Church," in N. Necipoğlu 2001, pp. 89–104, attempts to reconstruct the actual funerary ritual as performed in the chapel and to relate it to aspects of its decorative program.
43. The remains of the deceased were removed from the arcosolia at the time of the Ottoman conversion, along with some of their overtly Christian decorative features.
44. V. Petković and Bošković 1941 is still invaluable in many respects; see also Pantelić 2002; for frescoes, see Đurić 1995. A new monograph is in preparation by Milka Čanak Medić (architecture) and Branislav Todić (fresco painting).
45. For the tombs, see D. Popović 1992, esp. pp. 101–13.
46. Ćurčić 1984; Ćurčić 1996, p. 136, figs. 8–10.
47. For further articulation of this idea, see Ćurčić 1991.
48. Ćurčić 1979b; see also Gavrilović 1989. Kandić 1998–99 has produced a comprehensive study of medieval fonts in Serbia, but maintains that they had an exclusive function for holding the Holy Water blessed in conjunction with rituals of Great and Lesser Blessing of Waters. Baptismal rites for infants, however, need not be eliminated in conjunction with this interpretation, as Kandić maintains.
49. See, for example, C. Bouras 2001.
50. Despite thorough coverage by historians, the city of Mistra and its monuments have received rather spotty treatment from art and architectural historians. For a useful albeit short analysis, see C. Mango 1974, pp. 156–60; most recently, Kalamara and Mexia 2001 offers insight on aspects of religious settings in Mistra (e.g., worship in the town, burials within the walls, master builders, and different artisans and artists).
51. For the architecture of the Panranassa and the related Mistra churches (the Hodegetria and the Metropolis), see Hallensleben 1969. On Mistra's distinct links with the West, see Mouriki 1987a (reprinted in Mouriki 1995, pp. 473–510).
52. Mouriki 1991b.
53. Millet 1919, pp. 152–98; Katanić 1988; Ristić 1996; Jelena Trkulja, "The Use of Relief Sculpture on Late Byzantine Church Facades," in *Abstracts* 2002, pp. 31–32, where the notion of the Late Byzantine context for the development of this phenomenon is proposed.
54. For architecture, see Vulović 1966; for frescoes, see Belović 1999.
55. Ćurčić 1997.
56. Todić 1995 is the most recent monographic study. For aspects of the monastery fortification, see Simić 1997, pp. 236–39, with older literature.
57. In Serbia, in particular, this has been linked to the activities of monks from Sinai, who settled in the area at the time; see Amfilohije 1981.
58. Evgenidou et al. 1991, pp. 55–59. Similar examples abound in the FYR–Macedonia (around Lake Ohrid), Serbia (Ždrelo), and Bulgaria (Ivanovo), etc.
59. For Meteora, see Nicol 1975.
60. On the origin of the Athonite church plan, see Mylōnas 1984. For a recent summary of the history of Koutloumousiou Monastery, see Mylōnas 2000, vol. 1, pp. 138–49.
61. Steppan 1966.
62. On the fictitious origins of the term, see Meyendorff 1996.
63. Faensen and Ivanov 1975, p. 423.
64. Williams 1985.

Sculpture and the Late Byzantine Tomb, by Sarah Brooks, pp. 95–103

1. The location of tombs on church exteriors, while less prevalent than within churches, is attested at the Church of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond (Turkey), established ca. 1250–70; the Church of the Anastasis, Veroia (Greece), established by 1314/15; and the Church of the Taxiarchs (Archangels), Kastoria (Greece), founded in the late ninth or early tenth century and restored several times during the Late Byzantine period. On these monuments and the most recent bibliography on the subject, see Brooks 2002, pp. 28–30 (exterior tombs in general), 319–27 (Hagia Sophia, Trebizond), 406–13, and 393–405 (Taxiarchs Church, Kastoria).
2. For a discussion of the text on this donation and its English translation, see Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople," in Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 3, p. 1362, Appendix n. 143. For the inscription in Greek, see Delehaye 1921, p. 94, Appendix n. 143.
3. His full name was John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos. Talbot in Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 3, p. 1562, Appendix n. 142 (English); Delehaye 1921, pp. 93–94, Appendix n. 142 (Greek).
4. On the tomb of Tornikes and his wife, also referred to as Tomb D, see Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, pp. 276–80; Hjort 1979, pp. 250–55. For the architecture of the Chora Monastery, see Ousterhout 1987.
5. Perhaps the best known instance of a wood panel icon being moved in and out of a tomb setting is that of the renowned icon of the Virgin Hodegetria of Constantinople. It was brought every Friday evening from the Hodegon Monastery to the imperial Monastery of Christ Pantokrator, where, at the imperial tombs, it played a central role in commemorations for the deceased emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43) and his wife, the empress Eirene. See Robert Jordan, "Pantokrator: Typikon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople," in Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 3, pp. 756–57 (section 35). Evidence for the display of mosaic icons at tombs is found in the typikon written by the twelfth-century sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos (1093–ca. 1152), brother of Emperor John II. In this document he provides a remarkable description of the furnishings for his tomb at the Kosmosoteira Monastery (Bera, Greece), among them his own mosaic icon of the Mother of God, which was to be displayed on a stand. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Kosmosoteira: Typikon of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera," in Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 3, pp. 794, 836 (section 84) (discussion of the text and English translation).
6. An epigram was composed by the Late Byzantine poet Manuel Philes to adorn a wood panel bearing repoussé portraits of the deceased Constantine Palaiologos (r. 1259–75) and his family members. The epigram describes the placement of the inscribed repoussé image at the emperor's tomb (location unknown). For the Greek text of Philes's poem, see Miller 1967, vol. 2, pp. 162–63, n. CXXVII (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. grec 2876, fol. 197v); passages specifically dealing with the making of the icon are lines 1–2, 7–13.
7. On Theodore's tomb and its setting, see Brooks 2002, pp. 331–37; Dufrenne 1970, pp. 8–13, see 12, pls. 17, 20, plan IV; Papamastorakēs 1996–97, pp. 290–93, 298, figs. 6, 10; Millet 1910, pls. 99.1, 96.5, 152.1.
8. Examples of sarcophagi set against the church wall include the south aisle burial in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond; the north and south aisle burials in the Vlacherna Monastery, Arta (Greece); and burials at the Church of the Trinity in Sopoćani (Serbia). Bryer and Winfield 1985, p. 201 (Trebizond); Pazaras 1988, nos. 51a–b, pp. 42–43, pls. 38–39 (Arta); Ćurčić 1984, p. 177 (Sopoćani).
9. For a typology of Middle and Late Byzantine sarcophagi, see Pazaras 1988, pp. 58–89, 168–71; Ivison 1993, vol. 1, pp. 97–157.
10. On these motifs on Late Byzantine sarcophagi found in Greece, see Pazaras 1988, pp. 89–119.
11. Mathews 1994, pp. 313–35; Firatli 1990, pp. 43–68.
12. Of Late Byzantine sculptures outside the tomb context bearing figural decoration, examples are the early-fourteenth-century epistyle fragment from a templon barrier depicting the youthful Christ from the Constantinopolitan Monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos (founded mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century; restored and enlarged ca. 1263–1345) (Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. 71.148); a sculpted proskynetarion icon of the enthroned Christ Pantokrator from the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Mistra (founded ca. 1350–75) (Mistra Museum, inv. 1166); and two colonnette bases, attributed to the fourteenth century, representing a member of the Byzantine court and a male dancer (Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. 696, 4211). Yalçin 1999, pp. 360–61, 363, figs. 4, 19; A. Grabar 1976, no. 130, p. 131 (Constantinople epistyle with Christ), no. 166, pp. 155–56 (Mistra proskynetarion with Christ), nos. 147–48, pp. 141–42 (Constantinople colonnette bases).
13. Belting 1972b, pp. 89–92; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 18–20; André Grabar in Brussels 1982, pp. 72–74; Yalçin 1999, pp. 361, 365.
14. Belting 1972b, pp. 92–93; New York 1977–78, no. 68.
15. A. Grabar 1976, p. 19. For Romanesque and Gothic figural sculptures in the East during the Late Byzantine period, see for example the main church of the Blacherna Monastery in Elis (Peloponnesos, Greece), begun in the twelfth century; the figural capitals and other architectural sculptures made in the 1170s for the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, and those installed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jersualem, during the 1100s; and the facade sculptures decorating the church of Valsamonero Monastery (1332—1400–1426/27), Crete. C. Bouras 2001, p. 249, fig. 1; Folda 1995a, pp. 177–229 (Holy Sepulchre), 414–41 (Nativity Church); Maria Georgopoulou, "Gothic Architecture and Sculpture in Latin Greece and Cyprus," in *Byzance et l'extérieur,* edited by Michel Balard (forthcoming).
16. A. Grabar 1976, no. 145, pp. 139–40; Yalçin 1999, p. 365. For the fourth-century sarcophagus with archangels now at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. 4508), see A. Grabar 1963, pp. 30–33, pl. 7.
17. Pazaras 1988, no. 11, pp. 25–25, pl. 9. On the Anastasis, see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 1, p. 88; Kartsonis 1986.

18. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. 78.18. Peschlow 1994 proposes that these fragments can be associated with a sarcophagus designed for the burial of Constantine Porphyrogennetos (a son of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos), the ktetor, or restorer, of Constantinople's Stoudios Monastery, who refurbished its Early Byzantine basilica in 1293.
19. See C. Mango 1995.
20. Pazaras 1988, no. 50, p. 42, pls. 36–37.
21. The archangel Michael often appears as a guide for the soul in scenes of the Last Judgment and is also found in illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder. See J. Martin 1954, fig. 36. On angels in Byzantine art in general, see Peers 2001.
22. Ivison 1993, vol. 1, pp. 136–58, map IXB; Brooks 2002, Appendix A; Ćurčić 1979a, pp. 128–34, pls. 91–95.
23. Rock-cut churches, including those of Cappadocia in central Asia Minor (Turkey) are an important exception in this larger picture; a great number of arcosolia carved from the living rock survive in Cappadocia from the Middle Byzantine period, dating from the ninth to the thirteenth century. On these churches and their tombs, see, for example, Teteriatnikov 1996; Teteriatnikov 1984; Bernardini 1993.
24. For a survey of existing church spaces converted in order to house tombs, see Brooks 2002, pp. 21–30.
25. For Metochites' tomb, also referred to as Tomb A, see Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, pp. 270–72; Hjort 1979, pp. 249–50. For the tomb of Tornikes and his wife, also referred to as Tomb D, see Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, pp. 276–80; Hjort 1979, pp. 250–55. For the architecture of the Chora Monastery, see Ousterhout 1987.
26. Ihor Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the *Chora*, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, p. 21 n. 14; Talbot 1999, pp. 79–81, fig. 8.
27. On the coloration of the Chora tomb facades, see Hjort 1979, pp. 249–55. For two additional examples of painted Late Byzantine sculpture, see A. Grabar 1976, no. 166, pp. 155–56 (Mistra proskynetarion icon); Belting et al. 1978, pl. 11 (nave capitals).
28. Connor 1998.
29. For a sculpture carved in exceptionally high relief, see the Serbian portal sculpture of the Virgin and Child (cat. 41).
30. Yalçin 1999, figs. 1–2. A. Grabar 1976, no. 129, pp. 129–30, suggests that the archivolt decorated an altar ciborium instead.
31. Ousterhout 1987, pp. 65–70.
32. The tomb of Demetrios and his wife is referred to as Tomb H. Underwood 1966–75, vol. 1, pp. 295–99; Hjort 1979, pp. 255–63.

Liturgical Implements, by Anna Ballian, pp. 117–24

1. Boyd and Mango 1992; Boyd 1998.
2. Cécile Morrisson, "Monnaies et sceaux de l'époque des Paléologues," in Paris 1992–93, pp. 496–97; idem, "Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation," in Laiou 2002, vol. 3, pp. 940–46.
3. Hendy 1985, pp. 229–31.
4. Kovačević 1960; London 1981, pp. 4–9; Matschke 1991–92.
5. Theocharidēs 1962, pp. 20, 73; Lemerle et al. 1970–82, vol. 4, pp. 131, 132; Nichōritēs 1998, p. 634.
6. Laiou 1991; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in N. Necipoğlu 2001, pp. 329–42.
7. Schopen 1831–32, vol. 2, pp. 148–49.
8. Bekker 1829–55, vol. 2, pp. 788–89. We know the appearance of later tin vessels from a wall painting of 1483 in Meteora; see M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, p. 77; see also Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver," in S. Papadopoulos 1991, pp. 164, 371, fig. 270.
9. Gerstel 1999, pp. 37–67; Papamastorakēs 2001, pp. 135–65.
10. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998, pp. 475–81; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2001; Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 3, p. 20.
11. Radojković 1977a, p. 383; Bogdanović et al. 1978, fig. 78; Simić-Lazar 1995, pl. 35; Papamastorakēs 2001, pl. 104b. See also Vatopedi 1998, vol. 1, fig. 231, where certain vessels have a multifaceted stem and cup.
12. Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 2, p. 567.
13. Gerstel 1999, fig. 74.
14. Lightbown 1978, pp. 30–31, pls. 43–45; New York 1984, pp. 292–97, no. 43. See also the later Venetian boat-shaped navicella in the Treasury of Patmos; see Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver," in Kominis 1988, p. 226, fig. 4.
15. Han 1964; Lightbown 1978, pp. 20–24, 65, 69, pls. 5–14; London 1981, pp. 28–31, nos. 32–40. For a different attribution of some of the silver bowls, see Wenzel 1999, pp. 233–85. For a bowl on a high stem, see Polenaković-Stejić 1964; for its equivalent in painting, in the Church of Saint Nikita in Čučer, see Todić 1999, fig. 157.
16. Laiou 1980–81, pp. 178–79, 186–87; Laiou 1982.
17. Two reliquaries in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice, dating from 1460/61 and 1463, were produced in a Venetian workshop in Scutari; see Krekić 1961, pp. 128, 205, 207, nos. 256, 266; Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, pp. 183–84, nos. 177–78, pl. 178; Gasparēs 1989, pp. 102–4.
18. The hatched or crosshatched background is a feature of fourteenth-century Western silver in central Europe and in Italy and Adriatic cities under Venetian influence, such as Ragusa and Zara (Zadar); see Taburet-Delahaye 1989, pp. 61–63, 178–80, nos. 15, 69; Codroipo 1992, pp. 60–61, no. II.10–11.
19. Ballian 1998, pp. 500–501, fig. 442.
20. See a Novgorod chalice of 1329 in Vienna 1991, pp. 48–49, no. 13. For Western examples, see Hahnloser and Brugger-Koch 1985; for hard-stone objects mentioned in Byzantine inventories, see Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 2, pp. 566–68; Delehaye 1921, p. 92. After the present article was completed, Jannic Durand shared with me his forthcoming article on Gothic innovations in Byzantine metalwork, in which the Western origin of the Kantakouzenos jasper bowl is emphasized (see Durand 2004). I am most grateful to him for this kindness.
21. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, pp. 149–51, nos. 149–50, pls. 132–136. For Byzantine candlesticks, see L. Bouras 1973 and L. Bouras 1991, figs. 8–20.
22. Klaus-Peter Matschke, "The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," in Laiou 2002, vol. 2, pp. 486, 490–91, 492. For naturalized Venetians, see ibid., p. 475, and Jacoby 1981.
23. See Nicol 1968, pp. 92–93, for the associations of John Kantakouzenos and his mother with Vatopedi, and pp. 122–28 for Manuel Kantakouzenos.
24. Zakythinos 1936; Binon 1937; Louvi-Kizis 2003, pp. 102–3. See also Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2001, p. 445.
25. Nicosia 1995, p. 9. The date of the Cypriot chalice can perhaps be read as 1516; see Perdikēs 2002, p. 343 n. 21.
26. Gauthier 1972, pp. 206–26; Mariani Canova 1984.
27. Spatharakis 1995. For the Italian variants of the scene, see Derbes 1984.
28. It is not clear from the photograph of the Lavra paten if the enameling is damaged or the surface was merely engraved. On the iconography, see Venice 1994–95, pp. 140–41, no. 42; Neff 1999, pp. 87–91, and preceding bibliography. On the shape of patens, see Skubiszewski 1982.
29. Collareta 1983; Collareta and Capitanio 1990, pp. 62–65, 94–99, nos. 17, 25.
30. The plaquettes were perhaps stamped in a mold or cast; see Taburet-Delahaye 1989, p. 199, nos. 79–80.
31. New York 1984, pp. 53, 55, 57. Closest to the setting of the jewels in the Pala d'Oro is that of the large stones on the calyx of the chalice, whose broad base terminates in striations and is decorated with pearls, which have a floral socket. Venetian-influenced jeweled ornamentation on works from the periphery of Venice, northern Italy, and central Europe exhibits a simplified version of the Pala d'Oro settings and a mixture with other styles of setting the stones, although Gothic hooks are invariably found; see Taburet-Delahaye 1989, pp. 248–51, no. 131; Codroipo 1992, p. 121, no. VI.6.
32. Gauthier 1972, pp. 218, 231, 173 (repr.), 186; New York 1984, p. 59.
33. Neff 1993; Venice 1994–95, pp. 198–202, nos. 81–85; Thessalonike 1997, pp. 323–29, nos. 9.29–9.31.
34. Walter 1982, pp. 214–21; Papamastorakēs 1993–94, pp. 67–69. For the meaning of the inscription "OΩN" and its association with the hesychast movement, see Papamastorakēs 2001, pp. 68–71.
35. See Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, pl. 131 (diadems in Warsaw and Cracow); Venice 1994–95, p. 256, no. 125.
36. The back has a semicircular projection, which may be compared with the similarly shaped pews in the Dečani Monastery (sixteenth to seventeenth century); see Šakota 1984, pp. 303–4, figs. 10–11, 13–14. The carved wooden throne with colonettes was a common type in both Byzantium and Italy; see Corrie 2003 and Parani 2003, pp. 165–66.
37. Lightbown 1978, pls. 61, 67.
38. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, pls. 150 (left), 151 (upper middle and right); Hahnloser and Brugger-Koch 1985, pl. 188.
39. Dennis 1960, pp. 105–6; Vranousēs 1962, pp. 85–86.
40. Matschke in Laiou 2002, pp. 477–78. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, after the first Ottoman conquest, the situation had changed, as is apparent from the use of transparent enamels in two works, the icon of Peter and Paul, which is associated with the despot of Thessalonike Andronikos Palaiologos, and the cross of Constantine; see Vatopedi 1998, vol. 1, fig. 29, vol. 2, figs. 431–432.
41. Đurić 1974a, pp. 154–58.
42. Lemerle et al. 1970–82, vol. 3, pp. 100–107; Subotić 1992; Loverdou-Tsigarida 1997.
43. Veēs 1909, pp. 271–73.
44. Veēs 1911–12, p. 22.
45. Ballian 1998, p. 501, fig. 442.
46. Heuzey and Daumet 1876, vol. 1, p. 444.
47. Veēs 1911–12, p. 22.
48. Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 2, p. 567.
49. Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacra liturgia*, in *PG*, vol. 155, pp. 301–4. In the post-Byzantine period the main paten was small, while the paten for the antidoron was large and particularly ornate.
50. On the dove-shaped container for consecrated bread hanging above the altar in the Early Byzantine period, see Kallinikos 1921, pp. 234–35; for doves suspended from crowns hanging above the altar, see Pallas 1987–88, vol. 2, pp. 404–19.
51. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998, p. 481, fig. 430.
52. Boyd 1998, pp. 163–64, fig. 6.12.
53. Astruc 1981, pp. 22–23; Gautier 1981, p. 93.
54. Sherry 1995.
55. New York 1997, no. 34. See two twelfth-century single-sheet Georgian covers decorated with gammata in Amiranashvili 1971, pls. 78–79.
56. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, pp. 50–54, nos. 38–39, pls. 38–39; Velmans 1979; S. Papadopoulos and Kapioldasē-Sōtēropoulou 2000, pp. 55–57, fig. 9; Rome 2000, pp. 202–3, no. 74.
57. Miller 1967, vol. 1, pp. 70–72.
58. N. Ševčenko 1998, pp. 223–26. Single-sheet book covers and icon revetments have several features in common and are dealt with in another essay in this catalogue.
59. Javakhishvili and Abramishvili 1986, pls. 217, 226.
60. Koutelakēs 1996, figs. 39–41a; Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. 33804, 33830.
61. Radojković 1966, fig. 50; Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. 33896; Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos in Kominis 1988, p. 225, pl. 17; Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Metalwork," in Manafis 1990, pp. 267–68, figs. 6–7; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2000, pp. 366–67 n. 2.
62. Paris 1992–93, pp. 444–45, no. 340; New York 1997, pp. 79–81, nos. 37–40.
63. Walter 1982, fig. 65.
64. The slanting lower arm is frequently found in the fourteenth century, for example, in the wall paintings in Vatopedi Monastery (Vatopedi 1998, vol. 1, figs. 197, 224, 226, 229), and on the crosses painted on the reverse of the icons. The type, however, appears from the twelfth century onward in Russian enkolpia and staurotheke-enkolpia and is common in later Russian altar crosses; see Milan 1991, nos. 20, 55, 66; Teteriatnikov 1995, fig. 20.
65. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998, figs. 431–432; A. Papageōrgiou 1994, vol. 1, pp. 245–50, vol. 2, pls. 132–135. In the Church of Saint Sophia in Thessalonike the altar cross was also used for litany processions; see Darrouzès 1976, p. 63.
66. S. Papadopoulos and Kapioldasē-Sōtēropoulou 2000, pp. 63–69; Sterligova 1996a, pp. 129–41, nos. 7–10.

67. Thessalonike 1997, pp. 314–15, no. 9.23.
68. Radojković 1977b, repr. pp. 31, 33, 36, 39, 42, 46–47. On the use of these crosses in the ceremonials of the Great and Small Hagiasmos, see Kallinikos 1921, pp. 676–87.
69. Patriarch Germanos, in *PG*, vol. 98, col. 388C. In the Late Byzantine period, six-winged seraphim and tetramorph cherubim were often used indiscriminately, so that rhipidia eventually became identified with seraphim; see Papamastorakēs 2001, pp. 124–28.
70. Šakota 1984, p. 49, figs. 1–3.
71. Laurent 1971, pp. 188–89.
72. Sterligova 1996a, pp. 161–62, no. 18.
73. Geneva 1979, no. 52; Matakieva-Lilkova 1995, nos. 1 and 4 (rhipidia from the Monastery of Saint John Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion), nos. 2, 3 (rhipidia from the metropolitan church of Serres).
74. L. Bouras 1981, pp. 65, 69–70; London 1981, pp. 31–32, no. 43; Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos in S. Papadopoulos 1991, p. 163, fig. 81; Buckton 1994b, p. 201, no. 217.
75. Todorović 1978; Šakota 1984, pp. 184, 209, drawing no. 9, figs. 96–97; Athens 2000–2001b, pp. 90–93, no. 153.
76. Klaus-Peter Matschke, "Mining," in Laiou 2002, vol. 1, p. 120; idem, "The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," in Laiou 2002, vol. 2, p. 492.
77. L. Bouras 1982; Istanbul 1983, vol. 2, p. 167, C37; M. Mango 1994, vol. 1, p. 224, vol. 2, pls. 117–118; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, p. 221, fig. 394; Xanthopoulou 1998.
78. Porter 1981, pp. 14–17, 23–24; Buckton 1994b, p. 201, no. 217.
79. Istanbul 1983, vol. 3, p. 75, D138–D139. See also the Byzantine form of the suspension chains of a mosque lamp in Folsach 2001, fig. 459.
80. Ann Arbor 1978, nos. 69–70.
81. A. Grabar 1975b, figs. 43, 45; Geneva 1979, nos. 37–39; Vatopedi 1998, vol. 2, figs. 433 (halo of Virgin) and 434 (background of Christ). See similar decoration on tenth- to fourteenth-century manuscripts illustrated in Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 1, figs. 27, 143, 280, 289.
82. Allan 1982, pp. 58–66, nos. 7–8; Baer 1983, fig. 191. See also, for manuscript illumination, MMA 1987, pp. 32–33.
83. Thessalonike 1997, pp. 310–12, no. 9.20.
84. D. S. Rice 1950; Atıl 1981, pp. 218–19, no. 111; Baer 1983, pp. 139–41, figs. 29, 76, 118.
85. Vatopedi 1998, vol. 1, fig. 29, vol. 2, fig. 314.
86. Raby 1982, pp. 25–27; Amsterdam 1999–2000, p. 275, no. 273.

Images: Expressions of Faith and Power, by Annemarie Weyl Carr, pp. 143–52

1. On the history of the icon, see especially M. Chatzidakis 1958–59. For Late Byzantine icons, see recently Cormack 1997a and Baltoyianni 1994.
2. There was figural stained glass in both the Pantokrator Monastery (Zeyrek Kilise Camii) and Saint Savior in Chora (Kariye Camii) in Constantinople; see Megaw 1963, pp. 349–67, and Ousterhout 1987, p. 31.
3. On icons in ivory, see Cutler 1994, pp. 227–52. On icons in steatite, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985. On metal icons, see Margaret E. Frazer, "Byzantine Enamels and Goldsmith Work," in New York 1984, pp. 109–26.
4. The vast majority dating from the centuries before 1100 are in the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai; see Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, figs. 1–53; Weitzmann 1976.
5. On the templon, see most recently Sharon E. J. Gerstel, "The Late Byzantine Sanctuary Screen: Form, Program, Reception," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, forthcoming; Walter 1993; Weitzmann 1986; Epstein 1981; M. Chatzidakis 1979.
6. Walter 1993, p. 203.
7. The idea that the development of the templon was the "engine" driving the expanded use of the panel painting is from M. Chatzidakis 1979, p. 169. The transformation of the templon was surely a major force in the expansion of the panel-painted icon. But it was not the only one. Three fourteenth-century panels from Nicosia, Cyprus, seem to have been funerary icons and to owe their unusual shape to the architecture in which they were displayed. Their extremely tall, narrow proportions suggest that this was Gothic architecture and that the panels were either placed on piers or fitted into the slender Gothic niches that flanked tombs in Cyprus's churches—Orthodox as well as Latin—during its centuries as a Crusader kingdom. Though these are not templon panels, they clearly show that, when necessary, paintings on wood could be scaled up to meet architectural requirements. Comparably architectonic is the seven-foot-high two-sided panel from Naxos with a Latin bishop crouched before Mary (cat. 300). Many of the most grandiose icons were in fact made for the big churches of the Serbian despots or for the towering interiors of Russian sanctuaries (see cat. 118). These Latin, Serbian, and Russian connections might suggest that the escalation in the size of painted panels was a development of the Byzantine periphery, where Byzantine imagery met alien architectural conventions. Yet Byzantium, too, produced truly monumental panel paintings. Some very large panels must have been given specially constructed places within their buildings and assumed exceptional presence there.
8. On the proskynetarion, see most recently Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "The 'Proskynetaria' of the Templon and Narthex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections and Reception," *Dumbarton Oaks Paper*, forthcoming.
9. The eleventh-century Saint Lazaros of Mount Galesios forbade his monks to keep icons in their cells because it would violate proscriptions of private property: "Galesios: Testament of Lazarus of Mount Galesios," in Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 1, p. 156, §138, online at http://www.doaks.org/typikaPDF/typo15.pdf. At much the same period, however, we hear of a young monk in Greece being healed by the icon of Saint Nikon of Sparta that he kept in his cell; see Sullivan 1987, pp. 214–16.
10. Oikonomidès 1990, pp. 208–10, tallies the contents of fourteen wills dated between 1071 and 1401 and cites icons in eight, of which one listed seven and another seventeen. Oikonomidès 1991, p. 38, compares the prices of the seven icons mentioned in the will of Manuel Deblitzenos, drawn up in 1384 in Thessalonike, with other items. One icon was evaluated at seven hyperpyra, one at six, one at five, three at four, and one at two. A kettle was also evaluated at two hyperpyra, a good blanket was evaluated at four, a fox-fur bedspread (used) at seven, a horse at fourteen, and a good silk blanket at thirty-two. This was a period, Oikonomidès notes, when a peasant paid an annual tax of one hyperpyron, a priest earned an annual salary of six, and the comfortably off Manuel Deblitzenos earned an annual stipend of seventy to eighty hyperpyra. The twelfth-century Life of Saint Leontios of Jerusalem offers an example of a modest home with icons: a priest's house in Greece with a "place where the divine images were kept," containing "a small icon of the Saviour, which had him represented at the age of a baby." See Tsougarakis 1993, pp. 36–37.
11. On the use of icons for magical purposes in the fourteenth century, see Oeconomos 1930, p. 229.
12. This kind of scene is first found in a badly damaged icon of the late thirteenth century at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai; see M. Chatzidakis 1974b, p. 194, fig. KE'1 (reprinted in M. Chatzidakis 1976). The icon has attracted recent interest; see Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991; Tanoulas 1998.
13. See Stancioiu 2003.
14. As A. Grabar 1962, pp. 366–67, points out, not all icons have painted backs, and those that do serve diverse purposes. The huge, early acheiropoietas (icon not made by human hands) of Christ in the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran in Rome, adorned with a cross on the back, was clearly painted as a whole three-dimensional "machine" with sliding lid, interior surfaces, and exterior surfaces. Similarly, the little twelfth-century panel at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, with icons of the Mother of God and scenes of Jesus's Passion must have been adorned with a cross and inscriptions on the back to acknowledge its character as a precious object—in rather the way Flemish devotional panels were painted on all sides. On the latter icon, see most recently Trahoulia 2002; it is reproduced in color in Cutler and Spieser 1996, fig. 310. The fabriclike patterns on the back of several later twelfth-century icons at Sinai may have served to adorn the inside of a templon, though their sizes make it unlikely that they belonged to the same templon; see New York 1997, pp. 374–77, nos. 246–47 (Annunciation; Heavenly Ladder of John Klimax). More clearly intended to characterize the back of the templon is the familiar pattern of splotches on a white background suggesting a marbleized effect, as in ibid., p. 377, no. 248. Other panels were painted simply to protect the wood on the reverse. The use of figural scenes is rarer. In special cases, they were a way of economizing, as in menologion icons with saints for one month on one side and those for another month on the other (Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 144), but the large icons with equally important figural scenes on the two sides are predominantly late; see Pallas 1965, pp. 308–32; Vokotopoulos 1999a.
15. Good descriptions of the Hodegetria's processions are given in N. Ševčenko 1995, pp. 547–50, and Cormack 1997a, pp. 57–63.
16. As suggested for the Poganovo icon, cat. 117.
17. See Gerstel, note 5 above.
18. Other examples are the pairing of a military saint with Mary bearing the recumbent Child, in the early thirteenth-century icon of the Mother of God Theoskepaste from Paphos and the Crusader-era diptych in the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai (both reproduced in color in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 350–53, 444–46, nos. 36, 71, with earlier bibl.), and the pairing of the Mother of God with the Akra Tapeinosis (Man of Sorrows) in the great late-twelfth-century icon in the Byzantine Museum, Kastoria, and the tiny diptych in the Transfiguration Monastery, Meteora (ibid., pp. 458–69, 484–85, figs. 227–228, no. 83).
19. Thus, for example, the recurrence of saintly hierarchs among the small panels in this exhibition (cats. 118, 134, 135) makes one wonder if the owners were not also hierarchs and if high ecclesiastics might not have been especially enthusiastic patrons of exquisite personal tools of devotion.
20. A crucial figure in the foundation of the Greek confraternity of San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice and a major collector, Anna Notaras is representative of the way Byzantine refugees enriched European culture. She is in this sense an "icon" of one of this exhibition's themes. On her life, see Nicol 1994, pp. 96–109.
21. Belting 1994, p. 337.
22. On the dodekaorton, see in particular Kitzinger 1988; Walter 1993, pp. 214–23; Spieser 1999.
23. On the vita icon as a genre, see N. Ševčenko 1999.
24. As argued in ibid., pp. 159–60.
25. To my knowledge the earliest example of an icon of Mary surrounded by scenes not of Jesus's life but of her own is the great bilateral icon (113 x 84 cm [44½ x 33⅛ in.]) painted in the late thirteenth century for the Church of Saints Joachim and Anna at Kaliana, Cyprus; see Nicosia 2000–2001, pp. 246–49, no. 3. Its central image was overpainted in 1539 with a large Hodegetria, and it is hard to know whether the vita scenes were adopted primarily as a reference to the central image or—as Christina Spanou suggested to me and seems probable—as a reference to the patrons of the church, who figure extensively in the cycle as Mary's parents. The next examples I know are the one in this exhibition (cat. 151) and the lovely small fifteenth-century icon of the Virgin Kykkotissa in the Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia (A. Papageōrgiou 1969, pl. 48). Both—I believe—are instances in which the central panel clearly represents a miracle worker.
26. On the relation of the Akathistos cycles to the imagery seen in the Triumph of Orthodoxy icon, see Foundoulakis 1999, pp. 180–92. On the Akathistos cycle, see Pätzold 1989.
27. Of the very considerable literature on the Hodegetria, see in particular Wolff 1948; N. Ševčenko 1995; Cormack 1997a; Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakēs, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 373–87.
28. The pose we recognize as the Hodegetria's is clearly labeled with this name on the famous icon of the twelfth century on Mount Sinai with five icons of the Mother of God (see Cutler and Spieser 1996; Trahoulia 2002). One notes that alone of the five, the image of the Hodegetria is worn—and it is almost wholly rubbed away, suggesting the particular duration and intensity of its cult.
29. For descriptions, see N. Ševčenko 1995, pp. 547–50; Cormack 1997a, pp. 57–63.
30. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1985–86.
31. Melville Jones 1988, pp. 142–43, §130.
32. On the political content of these Italian panels, see Corrie 1990.
33. On the Virgin of Vladimir, see Ėting of 1999; Shchennikova 1999a. On the processions of the Kykkotissa, see C. Constantinides 2002, pp. 163–68, §114.6–13.
34. On the Virgin Megaspilaiotissa in the Megaspilaion Monastery near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos, see Andreopoulou 1925, p. 90. I thank Olga Gratziou for sending me this

text. The icon is first cited in a chrysobull of the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos from 1350, published in Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 5, p. 191.

35. The Virgin Soumeliotissa is first cited in a chrysobull of the Grand Komnenos Alexios III in 1364; see Janin 1975, pp. 274–76; Chaireti 1966. The Soumeliotissa was the icon of Soumela Monastery near Trebizond. It was hidden in a well in 1922; when Ismet Pasha, Prime Minister of Turkey, went to Athens in 1931, Ambrosios of Soumela was given permission to take the icon—now an illegible panel of wood—to Athens, where it was placed in the Byzantine Museum (see Timotheos 1955, pp. 39–41). With the consecration of Nea Soumela in Kastania in northern Greece in 1952, the icon was moved there, where it is now in residence alongside the new icon of 1952.
36. On Kykkos Monastery, see Paulides 1987; Chrysostomos 1969. On the Virgin Kykkotissa, see most recently C. Constantinides 2002, pp. 61–74; Perdikēs 2001. Its cult is first cited in Machairas 1932, vol. 1, §37.
37. On the Machairas Monastery in Cyprus, see most recently the introduction by Anastasius Bandy to his translation of the Machairas typikon in Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 3, pp. 1107–20 (with earlier bibl.) (available online at http://www.doaks.org/typikaPDF/typ046.pdf); its icon, too, is first cited in Machairas 1932, vol. 1, §67–77.
38. The Virgin Phaneromene icon—which still bears on its frame a petition for rain—is dated by its much overpainted panel, which is now in the Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia and is of fourteenth-century date; see A. Papageōrgiou 1969, pl. 47a–c.
39. On the Virgin Karyiotissa at the Protaton on Mount Athos, see Vassilaki et al. 1999, pp. 19–23, pl. p. 18. On the Virgin Tricheirousa of Hilandar Monastery, see Kretzenbacher 1962.
40. On the Pelagonitissa, see Babić 1988, pp. 71–77.
41. See Carr 2004.
42. The Mandylion has a vast bibliography, but see in particular Dobschütz 1899, pp. 102–96, 158*–249*, 29**–129**; Weitzmann 1960; Cameron 1984; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 1282–83; Cameron 1998.
43. On this version of the Mandylion, see Smirnova 1994, vol. 1, pp. 299–302, vol. 2, pls. 170–171; Wolf 1998, pp. 162–65; Smirnova 2001, p. 136.
44. See, above all, Baltoyianni 1994.
45. Carr 1993–94.
46. Baltoyianni 1994, p. 13.
47. Ibid.
48. Maguire 1981, p. 102.
49. Corrie 1996a.
50. Baltoyianni 1994, pp. 17–21.
51. Ibid., pp. 79–85.
52. Ibid., pp. 132–33.
53. Ibid., pp. 133–34.
54. On the role of symbolism in Late Byzantine intellectual and artistic discourse, see in particular—and with passion—John Meyendorff, "Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, p. 104, quoting Gregory Palamas that "if [the Kingdom of God] is made again of symbols, of mirrors, and of enigmas, it means that our hopes were deceived, that we were outwitted by fallacies: hoping to acquire Divinity through the promise, we are not even allowed to see the Divinity, but only a sensible light, a nature absolutely foreign to Divinity"; and Meyendorff 1959b, p. 270, quoting Palamas's intellectual counterpart, Nikephoros Gregoras, that "no one has seen God except through the intermediary of symbols and corporal types."
55. Baltoyianni 1991. Moses commissioned the artist Bezaleel to make a mercy seat of pure gold with a cherubim of gold at either end, and placed the ark of the Covenant beneath it (Exodus 25:17–18). The ark contained the Tablets of the Law (Exodus 25:22; 1 Kings 8:9). Solomon installed the ark and mercy seat in his Temple (1 Kings 8:6–7). Mary, whose body had contained the word of God, was often likened to the ark, as Jesus was to Solomon.
56. Belting 1994, pp. 261–96.
57. See, in particular, the work of Manolis Chatzidakis (for example, M. Chatzidakis 1958–59, 1979) and that of Myrtalē Acheimastou-Potamianou, Chrysanthe Baltoyianni, Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Maria Vassilaki, and Panagiōtēs Vokotopoulos, who move with conversant ease from Byzantine into post-Byzantine painting. See also Cormack 1997a, pp. 167–217.
58. Popova 1997a, 1997b; Lazarev 1967, p. 376.
59. Meyendorff 1959b, p. 270; Meyendorff 1964 (rpt.), pp. 188–89; Meyendorff in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, pp. 104–6.
60. Beck 1975, pp. 37–44.
61. Meyendorff in Underwood 1966–75, vol. 4, p. 105.
62. The psalter is at the Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, M 729. Gould 1978, pp. 93–94, figs. 7, 65; Wolf 1998, p. 171.
63. A number of Veronica tokens are reproduced in Rome 1999–2000, pp. 342–47.
64. Thomas 1998, pp. 20–21.
65. "Panel of the Blessed Virgin Mary that Saint Luke painted with his own hands." Bryzek 1988, p. 79.
66. Bacci 1998, ch. 4 and *passim*; Bacci 1996.
67. Marilyn E. Heldman, "Saint Luke as Painter: Post-Byzantine Icons in Early Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia," *Gesta* (forthcoming).
68. Bacci 1998, ch. 5.
69. See M. Chatzidakis 1958–59, p. 14: "Il faut le noter en passant, en Occident l'icône n'a été vénérée qu'en sa qualité de relique sainte ou de copie d'une icône miraculeuse et c'est là la grande scisson entre les églises grecque et latine" (It must be noted in passing that in the West, the icon has not been venerated except in its role as a holy relic or as the copy of a miracle-working icon, and this is the great division between the Greek and the Latin Churches).

Images of Personal Devotion: Miniature Mosaic and Steatite Icons, by Arne Effenberger, pp. 209–14

1. For a listing, see Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, p. 110, Table II; Buschhausen 1995, pp. 58–59.
2. O. Demus 1991, nos. 1–11.
3. Corpus by Otto Demus and Helmut Buschhausen in press; also Furlan 1979; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, p. 110, Table II.
4. Ibid., pp. 108–9, Table I. In addition, there is the mosaic icon of the Glykophilousa *Virgin and Child* (cat. 128).
5. For the technique, see Buschhausen 1995, pp. 57–58.
6. Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 74–75.
7. See A. Grabar 1975b, nos. 22–24, 31, 33–34, 43.
8. Furlan 1979, pp. 16–18; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, p. 58.
9. Theodore Metochites, in Sathas 1872–94, vol. 1, p. 147, lines 2–5.
10. See Hunger 1978, p. 174.
11. According to Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 59–72; but see the critical view expressed in Buschhausen 1995, pp. 64–66.
12. The only source for this is Gori 1759, vol. 3, pp. 320–27; see Becherucci and Brunetti 1970, p. 279. A critical overview of the scholarship (to the date of publication) is found in Cutler 1995, pp. 245–46.
13. See Buschhausen 1995, pp. 65–66.
14. Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 58, 62.
15. Thurn 1973, p. 52, line 82–p. 53, line 13.
16. See Speck 1990.
17. Thümmel 1991, pp. 180–86; Belting 1990a, p. 210 and appendix, p. 568, no. 14 (source text in translation).
18. At length in Belting 1990a, pp. 254–59, and compilation/translation of the sources in the appendix, pp. 573–79, nos. 20, 22–23.
19. Furlan 1979, nos. 7 (Hilandar), 18, 36 (Lavra), 22 ("Athos"), 27 (Stauroniketa), 35 (Esphigmenou), 24 (Vatopedi), 37 (ex Vatopedi; see cat. 135). In addition, see O. Demus 1991, no. 4 (Xenophontos); Buschhausen 1995, pp. 63, 65, assumes twelve Athos icons.
20. Furlan 1979, nos. 5, 8, 20 (Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome; see cat. 131), 34, 42; see Buschhausen 1995, p. 63, who has a total of five icons but adds Furlan 1979, no. 6, as well, for a total of six.
21. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 73–79; Belting 1990a, pp. 580–84, no. 20.
22. Pjatnickij 1990. One mosaic icon (Furlan 1979, no. 25 [Vatopedi]) was a gift from Anastasia, wife of Ivan the Terrible (r. 1547–84), indicating that it had previously been in Russia.
23. See Cutler 1995, pp. 251–58.
24. See Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "La tradizione bizantina, l'Oriente greco, l'Italia meridionale," in Venice 1994b, pp. 21–31.
25. Vasari 1996, vol. 1, pp. 88–90.
26. For Bessarion, see Mohler 1923, vol. 1, *passim*; Bianca 1999, pp. 3–17; and the various essays in Venice 1994b.
27. Labowsky 1980, pp. 23–34, 147–88 (inventory). For the donation record, see Zorzi 1994, p. 427, no. 1, fig. p. 428; Elpidio Mioni, "La formazione della biblioteca greca di Bessarione," in Venice 1994b, pp. 229–40.
28. Now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice; see Venice 1974, no. 112 (bibl.); Cologne 1984–85, pp. 16–17, fig. 10; Renato Polacco, "La stauroteca del Cardinale Bessarione," in Venice 1994b, pp. 368–78; Fabrizio Lollini, in ibid., pp. 451–53, no. 66; Cutler 1995, p. 257.
29. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, I 87 inf., fol. 71, *Catalogus sacrarum reliquiarum almae basilicae Vaticanae* (manuscript); see Müntz 1879, p. 298 n. 3; Müntz 1886, pp. 232–33. One of these had been given to Bessarion by Queen Elisabeth of Sicily.
30. See Müntz and Frothingham 1883, pp. 111–13: *Relicta sive legata per Nicenum Car[dinalem]. Grecum*—meaning Bessarion.
31. Müntz 1879, pp. 181–287; see also Müntz 1886, pp. 229–32 (an abbreviated and incomplete list). For the art collections in the Palazzo di San Marco (Palazzo Veneziano), see Rome 1980, pp. 13–19, 40–49; Cavallaro 1999, pp. 285–87, 291 n. 2 (bibl.).
32. Belting 1990a, pp. 369–74.
33. See Wolf 1990, *passim*.
34. Bertelli 1967 (2nd ed.), pp. 40–55; Chiappetta 1994, pp. 37–38, 48–55.
35. Furlan 1979, pp. 60–61, no. 15, pl. 15; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 73, 89, 129 n. 289 (bibl.).
36. Spallanzani and Bertelà 1992, pp. 27, 47–48, which corrects the older lists of Müntz 1886, pp. 233–34, and Müntz 1888, p. 63.
37. Spallanzani and Bertelà 1992, p. 27.
38. See Marcucci 1962, pp. 79–80 (bibl.), no. 25.
39. For the provenance history, see Theocharē 1978; Buschhausen 1995, pp. 60–61. Cutler 1995, pp. 253–54, disagrees.
40. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 70–73.
41. Ibid., pp. 73–79.
42. Ibid., p. 87.
43. Ibid., pp. 85–87.
44. Ibid., pp. 87–88.
45. Ibid., pp. 87, 206–8, no. 132, pl. 65.
46. Sources in ibid., pp. 79–83.
47. Müntz 1879, p. 202.
48. Ibid., p. 205.
49. In Germany, for example, by Johann Jakob Reiske; see Effenberger 1995.

Precious-Metal Icon Revetments, by Jannic Durand, pp. 243–51

1. The author would like to express his deep gratitude to Elka Bakalova, Barbara Boehm, Brigitte Pitarakis, Catherine Piganeol, Maximilien Durand, and Georgi Girov for their kind assistance.
2. Kondakov 1892 (icons of Djoumati), 1902 (Athos), 1909 (Macedonia), 1914–15 (iconography of the Virgin), 1928–33 (Russia).
3. For example: Ebersolt 1921, pp. 69–70; Ebersolt 1923, pp. 110–14; Diehl 1925–26, vol. 2, pp. 897–901; and above all Bank 1972.
4. A. Grabar 1975b.
5. Particularly the icon of Saint John the Theologian (slightly before 1200) from the katholikon of Patmos (Kominis 1988, pp. 107–8, fig. 4); and the icon of Christ (Great Lavra, Mount Athos) identified as coming from the church founded about 1360 at Vodena by the

despot Thomas Preljubović (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1997, p. 86, fig. 111); the Virgin called "Elaiovrytissa" from the fourteenth century and the Virgin called "Vimartissa" partly from the fourteenth century (both from the Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos; reproduced in the *Visitor's Guide* of 1993, figs. 25 and 1, respectively; see also Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998, p. 124, fig. 84, and Loverdou-Tsigarida 1999); the icon of the Virgin Akatamachetos from the Byzantine Christian Museum, Athens (Livieratou 1999, p. 143); the large halos of the Virgin and Saint Nicholas in the new katholikon of Great Meteoron (Meteora), probably given by Preljubović's widow, Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, about 1390 (M. Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, pp. 58–59); the revetment of the double-sided icon of the Virgin Brephokratousa from the Church of the Virgin Theoskepaste on Naxos (Athens 2000–2001a, p. 152, fig. 93); and the icon of the Virgin Portaitissa (Georgian, beginning of the sixteenth century) at the Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, which until recently was concealed by a heavy covering that dated to the beginning of the nineteenth century (Vokotopoulos 1996, fig. 1).

6. The revetment from an icon of the Virgin from Serres (fourteenth century, repaired in 1529 and later), National Art Gallery, Crypt of the Cathedral of Saint Alexander Nevsky, Sofia (Gerov et al. 1999, no. 5, p. 23).
7. Two icons of the Virgin and Saint Nicholas, dated to 1539, in Urisiu de Jos (Transylvania) (Sabadosh 2000–2001), attributable to the same artists as three other icons preserved until 1955 in the Serbian church Our Lady of Belgrade in Constantinople.
8. The double-sided icon (Virgin Hodegetria and the Annunciation) from Ohrid in the National Museum in Belgrade (cat. 152; Athens 2000–2001a, no. 61, with bibl.).
9. For example, a Christ Pantokrator and a Virgin Psychosostria and a Christ of Pity in Ohrid (cats. 153, 154; Paris 1999b, nos. 31–33).
10. Icons of the Virgin and of the Pantokrator from the Church of the Dormition in Glavinitsa (now in the Onufri Iconographic Museum, Berat), attributable to the painter Onufri in the mid-sixteenth century (Nice 1993, nos. 13–14).
11. For example, the icon with enamel revetment (twelfth–thirteenth century) of Christ Euergetes from the Church of San Prassede in Rome (Andaloro 1985).
12. The revetment of the icon of the Virgin of the Knights of Rhodes (Virgin of Filerimos), fifteenth century (?), in a watercolor at the Vatican (Piatnitsky 1998a, fig. 10). The icon, which has changed hands frequently, is preseved in the National Museum, Montenegro. Padua 2000–2001 cites the seventeen-volume compilation entitled *Atlante Mariano . . . , Immagini miracolose della B. V. Maria venerate in tutte le parti del mondo . . .* (Verona, 1839–47), which illustrates many icons with revetments from a range of dates and places of origin.
13. See Lazarev 1996, nos. 1, 11, 25, 37, 55, 58, 69, 106, 109, 114–15, 122, 140; Sterligova 1996a, pp. 231–54, nos. 56–62 (Novgorod); and above all Sterligova 2000, figs. 9, 57, 63, 67–68, 70, 83, 87, 92–93. See also Smirnova 1995, p. 270, fig. 3 (Saint Demetrios in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, 1586, based on a model of the icon in the Kremlin and of its revetment—no longer extant—from the fifteenth century); for Russian revetments at Mount Athos, see for example Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Silver," in S. Papadopoulos 1991, p. 169 (Russian Virgin from the Monastery of Simonopetra).
14. Geneva 1979; Vienna 1981; Paris 1982a. See also Baltimore–San Diego–Houston 1999.
15. For example, for Mount Athos, see Loverdou-Tsigarida 1997, 1998, 2001.
16. Bakalova 2001, p. 264, who cross-references Sterligova 1996b and Herzfeld 1990, pp. 116–17; Sterligova 2000, pp. 28–29; Alexei Lidov, "Miracle-Working Icons of the Mother of God," in Athens 2000–2001a, pp. 47–57.
17. Kominis 1988, pp. 107–8.
18. Inventory drawn up in September 1200, published in Astruc 1981, p. 20.
19. The diataxis (rule) of the Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople, established by Michael Attaleiates in 1077, for example, or the typikon of the monastery founded by the sebastos Gregory Pakourianos at Petritzos (near Bačkovo, Bulgaria) in 1083, indicates many such icons, of painted wood or bronze, decorated with "cadres d'argent doré" (frames of silver-gilt). See Gautier 1981, pp. 88–90; Gautier 1984, pp. 118–21.
20. A. Grabar 1975b, p. 30, figs. 11–13; recently, Mač'abeli 2001, p. 194, fig. 8.
21. A. Grabar 1975b, nos. 3–4; Lazarev 1996, no. 1; Sterligova 1996a, pp. 234–48, nos. 56–57; Sterligova 2000, pp. 92–126, figs. 17–20, 30–32.
22. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, nos. 17 and 16, pls. 19–21 and 16–17; see Paris 1984b, nos. 12, 19.
23. "Olokosmetos": inventory of the Treasury of Patmos in 1200 (Astruc 1981, p. 20); "kekosmeimenos" (Vokotopoulos 2002, p. 124): testament of Theodore Sarantenos in 1325 (Bompaire et al. 2001, no. 64, p. 349). The typikon of the Bebaias Elpidos Nunnery in Constantinople, between 1327 and 1342, also records many "decorated" icons (see Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 9, pp. 1561–62); that of the Monastery of the Virgin Eleousa of Stroumitza (1449) distinguishes "decorated" icons from others (ibid., vol. 9, p. 1671).
24. According to the *Chronicle of Leo of Ostia*, the chancel screen in the abbey church of Monte Cassino, near Rome, was executed in 1071 by master craftsmen from Constantinople; with its silver-covered columns and its precious-metal-framed icons, it serves as an example of this concept; see Belting 1998, p. 321.
25. Niketas Choniates, *De Isaac Angelus III*, 7, pp. 584–85, cited in Ebersolt 1923, p. 112.
26. For John VI, see Nikephoros Gregoras, *Hist.* XV, I, p. 748, cited in Ebersolt 1923, p. 108. For Constantine XI, see the sources cited in Grierson 1999, part 1, p. 236.
27. Oikonomidès 1991, p. 38.
28. For parallels between icons and relics, see Lidov 1996; Belting 1998, pp. 71, 86–91, 266–69; Lidov 1999; Lidov in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 56. In this connection, we are reminded of the miracle-working icon of the Virgin Hodegetria of Constantinople believed to have been consigned to the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople with its collection of relics and the same appellation by the empress Pulcheria in the fifth century (Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakēs, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 373).
29. Kehren 1990, p. 123. See also Majeska 1984, p. 365.
30. Kehren 1990, p. 123. See also Majeska 1984, p. 365.
31. Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 2, p. 567.
32. Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 9, p. 1562: "On the 8th of August should be commemorated my beloved nephew, Lord John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos . . . For he gave a gold icon of the all-holy Mother of God, all [decorated] with pearls, and with eight precious stones . . . He also had decorated another icon of the Dormition."
33. Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, nos. 22–23, pl. 24; A. Grabar 1975b, nos. 44–45, fig. 100.
34. For Melnik, see esp. Geneva 1988, no. 149; Bakalova 2000, pp. 121–22. For Bačkovo, see ibid., pp. 120–21.
35. Loverdou-Tsigarida 2001, p. 133.
36. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1997; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2001, p. 132.
37. Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 9, p. 1671.
38. For example, a Christ of Pity from the end of the fourteenth century and a Virgin from the beginning of the fifteenth; see Paris 1999b, nos. 33, 28.
39. Hadermann-Misguich 1991, p. 199, pl. 107.
40. Kokosalakis 1995; Bakalova 2001, p. 264.
41. For inscriptions of this type, beyond consulting A. Grabar 1975b, see Talbot 1999, pp. 81–83, 87, and, for the supplicator inscription of Disypatos, pp. 82–83.
42. Miller 1967, vol. 1, pp. 65–66 (see A. Grabar 1975b, p. 16), vol. 2, pp. 74–75.
43. Dufour Bozzo 1974; A. Grabar 1975b, no. 35, figs. 74–78.
44. A. Grabar 1975b, no. 9; Panayotidi 1991a; Sterligova 2000, pp. 130–32, fig. 34; Bakalova 2000, pp. 120–21, fig. 1; Bakalova 2001, p. 266. This probably concerns itself with the icons offered in 1083 by Gregory Pakourianos cited in the typikon of the monastery (see note 19 above). The revetment is now mostly obscured by a second revetment that dates to 1819.
45. Musée Archéologique: A. Grabar 1975b, no. 6; Rome 2000, no. 86.
46. The revetment bears a long dedicatory poem (Talbot 1999, pp. 82–83) that names Manuel Disypatos, probably Manuel Opsaras Disypatos, bishop of Thessalonike (1235–60/61). Part of the revetment dates from the fourteenth century (A. Grabar 1975b, no. 16; Cologne 1985, no. H69).
47. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998.
48. A. Grabar 1975b, no. 21; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2001, p. 133.
49. A. Grabar 1975b, no. 32a–b, pp. 60–62; Loverdou-Tsigarida 1998, p. 493, figs. 436, 437.
50. Bellosi 1996, no. 8.
51. A. Grabar 1975b, no. 30; Venice 2000, no. 69; Durand 2004.
52. Paris 1999b, no. 19.
53. A. Grabar 1975b, no. 30; Venice 2000, no. 69; Durand 2004.
54. Vatopedi 1996, vol. 1, pp. 51–52, figs. 431–432. The icon is mentioned in an act of the despot in 1421 (ibid., p. 661 n. 205). For translucent enamels, see Durand 2004.
55. Paris 1999b, no. 19.
56. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, vol. 1, pp. 115–16; Rome 2000, no. 62.
57. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al. 2001, nos. 32–36, 38.
58. Piatnitsky 1998a.
59. D. T. Rice 1972; Frinta 1981.
60. New York 1997, no. 75.
61. Babić 1991, p. 56, pl. 14.
62. Bakalova and Petković 2002, fig. 172.
63. Vokotopoulos 2002, figs. 106–111.
64. See Sterligova 2000.
65. Chastel 1988, fig. 2; Belting 1998, pp. 94–95, fig. 18; Serena Romano, "L'acheropita lateranense: Storia e funzione," in Rome 2000–2001, pp. 39–41.
66. N. Ševćenko 1991, p. 55, fig. 21; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Mother of God in Public," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 335, figs. 205, 209; Đorđević and Marković 2000–2001, p. 19 (in favor of a Greek revetment). The icon was believed to have been donated by Frederick Barbarossa in 1185, but there is no evidence earlier than 1291 (Bonfioli 1996). The patron of the revetment, Irene Pietralifina, "descendant of Pietro di Alife," otherwise unknown (Dufour Bozzo 1974, p. 109 n. 94), would suggest a local origin for the revetment. See also Belting 1998, pp. 327, 450, fig. 326.
67. Laborde 1849–52, vol. 2, pp. 240 (no. 4079), 265 (no. 4249); see Ebersolt 1928–29, vol. 2, p. 73.
68. A Crowning of the Virgin and two Virgins and Child. See Grimme 1972, nos. 82–84; Belting 1998, pp. 327, 450, fig. 326.
69. See Kořan 1987, p. 542, fig. 2.
70. See Matějček and Pešina 1950, p. 86, no. 283, pl. 278. I am grateful to Barbara Boehm for this and the preceding reference.
71. See Belting 1998, ch. 16, pp. 445–72, and also pp. 651–56.
72. Chastel 1988, fig. 7; Belting 1998, pp. 655–58, fig. 294, pl. 11.

Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261–1557, by John Lowden, pp. 259–69

1. This essay focuses primarily on the illuminated manuscripts selected for the exhibition, identified by catalogue numbers. Catalogue entries include individual bibliographies, which are not repeated in the following notes. The subject of Late Byzantine manuscript illumination is a large and complex one, with much work still to be done.
2. Weitzmann 1944; Buchthal 1983.
3. Statistics derived from Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1989, pp. 199–200.
4. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 184–85, fig. 134; Athens 1964, no. 371. Note also a similar chrysobull of 1307 with Andronikos II and Christ: Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. M.398, in Spatharakis 1976, pp. 184–89.
5. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 185–87, figs. 136–138; Spatharakis 1981, no. 268; Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 1, p. 40 (repr.); Thessalonike 1997, repr. pp. 504, 517–18, and compare cat. 13.19.
6. Buchthal and Belting 1978; Nelson and Lowden 1991; Paris 1992–93, no. 348; Cologne 1992–93, nos. 27–28; Vatican 2000, no. 79.
7. Prato 1979.
8. Spatharakis 1981, no. 258; Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 2, figs. 47–48; Thessalonike 1997, no. 18.19, and discussion on pp. 602–4; Della Valle 1999, pp. 131–33; Galavaris 2000, pp. 84, 87, figs. 57–58.
9. Lamberz 1998, pp. 567–69, 675 nn. 49–51; Erich Lamberz 1996.
10. See the important article by Erich Lamberz (2000), who first identified the scribe and consequently redated the manuscript (and conveniently provides further bibliography). See also Paris 1992–93, no. 356.
11. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 233–34, figs. 175–76; Paris 1992–93, no. 357.

12. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 148–51; Paris 1992–93, no. 351.
13. The book seems to have belonged to a member of the Spanopoulos family in 1386/87: Belting 1970, p. 37 and n. 118; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 84–87. In general, see Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 2, figs. 11–40; Thessalonike 1997, no. 5.17 (with further bibl.); Galavaris 2000, pp. 51–71, figs. 32–41.
14. Spatharakis 1981, no. 245; Kominis 1988, pp. 293–95, figs. 41–45.
15. Spatharakis 1981, no. 195; Buckton 1994b, no. 207.
16. Nelson 1986.
17. Nelson 1991.
18. Niedersachsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Ms. theol. gr. 28 (see Nelson 1991, pp. 101–5 and *passim*, figs. 21a–j); and Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos, Ms. 47 (Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 3, figs. 174–79; Spatharakis 1981, no. 216; Nelson 1991, pp. 106–12 and *passim*, figs. 10a–k).
19. Princeton 1986, no. 180 (with further bibl.). In addition, see the important article by Papadaki-Oekland 1975–76, pls. 14–37 (and pls. 38–39 of two leaves in a private collection). See also the Dionysios the Areopagite, mentioned above. For a different sort of procedure, see the thirteenth-century evangelist image on paper, pasted into a tenth-century Gospel lectionary (Ms. Vat. ottob. gr. 2) in Nelson 1981.
20. Following the dating proposed in Spatharakis 1981, no. 210, rather than that of Belting 1975. See also Buckton 1994b, no. 208.
21. Compare, for example, the twelfth-century addition of images to the tenth-century text of British Library, London, Ms. Burney 19, in Buckton 1994b, no. 176.
22. Politis 1958.
23. Paris 1992–93, no. 354.
24. For a recent study of the monk-scribe Kallistos of Vatopedi Monastery, see Lamberz 1999.
25. C. Mango 1972, p. 257 (from Epifanij the Wise's letter to Cyril of Tver).
26. Hutter 1972.
27. For the Munich Psalter, see Belting 1978–83; for the Tomič Psalter, see Dzhurova 1990.
28. An exceptional lectionary is Rome, Vallicell. f.17: Muñoz 1905, pp. 74–78; Voicu and D'Alisera 1981, p. 547; Lazarev 1967, p. 371, fig. 508. See also the lost Smyrna Lectionary discussed by Papadaki-Oekland 1975–76. For some starting points, see Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "Lectionary Dissonance: The Palaiologina Group, Again," in *Abstracts* 1999, pp. 126–28. For an exhibited lectionary from outside the Byzantine world, see cat. 262 (Coptic/Arabic).
29. Buckton 1994b, no. 178; Politis 1958, no. 22, pp. 30–31.
30. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 129–39; Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 1, figs. 118–128; Thessalonike 1997, no. 5.26. (Discussion based on firsthand examination of the manuscript.)
31. Lowden 2002, pp. 74–77.
32. Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 4, figs. 47–187; Thessalonike 1997, no. 5.16. More generally, see Lowden 1992; Weitzmann and Bernabò 1999.
33. Lowden 1988a, pp. 32–47, figs. 76–89, colorpls. 4, 8; Lowden 1997, pp. 396–97.
34. For the Vatican psalter, see Belting 1972a; Cutler 1984, pp. 83–85; Heidelberg 1986, vol. 2, no. C10; Ravenna 1990, no. 96; Berschin 1992, pp. 147–51; Cologne 1992–93, no. 26.
35. See also the version included in the Tomič Psalter, in Dzhurova 1990.
36. Hutter 1977–, vol. 5, pp. 56–62, figs. 201–221, colorpls. 6–18; Hutter 1995; Cutler and Magdalino 1978; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 190–206.
37. A similar situation can be observed in scientific manuscripts: compare the Dioskorides manuscript in Padua (cat. 315), the product of a long tradition of illustration, and the newly illustrated Hippiatrika manuscripts studied by Stavros Lazaris (see Lazaris 1999a, 1999b).
38. Russian State Library, Moscow, Muz. 9500 (formerly in Elisavetgrad); Sucevița Monastery, Romania, Mss. 23, 24; Lvov University Library, Ms. I.AZ; Der Nersessian 1973a, vol. 1, pp. 231–63, 265–78, vol. 2, figs. 151–212, 213–217; Lazarev 1967, pp. 395, 433–34 n. 194.
39. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 169–75, vol. 2, figs. 464–476.
40. Within this Byzantine sphere of cultural influence, the preponderant type of illuminated book in the period was the customary Four Gospels. See, for example, the following manuscripts in this exhibition: Slavonic text—cats. 25, 166, 168; Armenian text—cats. 30A, 30B, 173, 266); Ethiopian text—cat. 267.
41. Dujcev 1963.
42. Dzhurova 1990.
43. Belting 1970, p. 7 n. 19, citing the work of Ivan Dujcev. Some part of a note is visible on the bottom margins of fols. 22v, 25v, 30r, 31v, 35v, 38v, 45r, 66r, 69r, 80r, 92v, 236v, 268v, 270r.
44. Vzdornov 1978.
45. See New York 1997, no. 164; Pelekanides et al. 1974–79, vol. 2, figs. 53–132; Thessalonike 1997, no. 5.15.
46. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 45–48, proposed that the icon might not be the Hodegetria of the Hodegon Monastery, but this appears excessively skeptical.
47. Turyn 1964, pp. 76–80, pls. 45–47; Spatharakis 1981, nos. 200–201, pls. 366–367. I base the argument solely on the evidence of the published photographs; it needs to be explored more directly and in situ.
48. This can be contrasted with the totally Italianate appearance of the presentation copy of the (Greek) Oracles of Leo the Wise prepared in Candia by Francesco Barozzi for the governor of Crete, Giacomo Foscarini, with images by Georgios Klontzas (ca. 1577): Sotheby's 2002, lot 33 (with further bibl.). See also cat. 250.

Liturgical Textiles, by Warren Woodfin, pp. 295–98

1. Choniates 1975, p. 560; English translation in Choniates 1984, p. 306.
2. For a representative sample of these textiles, see Millet 1947; also Johnstone 1967 and, most recently, Moscow 1991a. For a study of liturgical vestments in the religious and social contexts of the Late Byzantine period, see Woodfin 2002.
3. Most scholars make the tacit assumption that production of Byzantine patterned silks ceased altogether after 1204. For a contrary view, see Starensier 1982, pp. 376–405.
4. Technically, the metal thread is said to be "laid and couched," that is, laid on the surface and secured by small stitches along its length. For a detailed discussion of the technique, see Johnstone 1967, pp. 65–73.
5. Frolow 1938; Warren Woodfin, "Clothing the Icon: The *Podea* and Analogous Liturgical Textiles," in *Abstracts* 2001, p. 43.
6. Choniates 1975, pp. 18–19, 119; Choniates 1984, pp. 12, 67; Verpeaux 1966, pp. 195–204.
7. Dölger 1935.
8. Taft 1975, pp. 194–215.
9. Taft 1995, p. 90.
10. Notably, the troparion "Honorable Joseph," which is still recited at the moment when the gifts are deposited on the altar and covered with the aer. Taft 1975, pp. 244–49. For the text of the troparion, see the entry on the epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes (cat. 190).
11. Belting 1990b, p. 124, has pointed out late-twelfth-century depictions of the epitaphios in other media, signaling that actual examples must have existed by this time.
12. Choniates 1975, p. 222; Choniates 1984, p. 125.
13. Braun 1907, pp. 92–93, 604–7; Woodfin 2002, pp. 14–17 (with bibl.).
14. On the Celestial Liturgy, see Walter 1982, pp. 217–21; Schulz 1986, pp. 111–14; Spatharakis 1996, pp. 293–310.
15. Millet 1947, pp. 87–108.
16. Taft 1975, pp. 227–34; Belting 1990b, p. 127.
17. A number of authors question the propriety of using the term "epitaphios" for the aer embroidered with the image of the dead Christ. Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonike (*De sacra liturgia*, in *PG*, vol. 155, col. 288A) states quite explicitly, however, that the aer is called epitaphios when it bears the image of the dead Christ. For a different interpretation, see Johnstone 1967, pp. 25–26; *Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Aer" and "Epitaphios"; Spatharakis 1996, pp. 294–99.
18. Taft 1995, pp. 90–91.
19. Perhaps the earliest epitaphios with the theme of the Lamentation is the Cozia Epitaphios of 1422. Gabriel Millet correctly transcribed the date in the text of his publication, but it is given incorrectly as 1396 in the caption to the illustration and in Pauline Johnstone's subsequent publication. See Millet 1947, p. 104, pl. 187; Johnstone 1967, pp. 26, 39, pl. 101.
20. The more purely "liturgical" decoration did not immediately go out of use, for the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos preserves an epitaphios given in 1460 by Matthew, metropolitan of Myra, showing the dead Christ on the Stone of Unction along with angels and instruments of the Passion and referring to the cloth as an amnos (literally, "lamb"), the consecrated eucharistic bread. Maria S. Theocharē, "Church Gold Embroideries," in Kominis 1988, pp. 191–92.
21. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Expositio de divino templo*, in *PG*, vol. 155, col. 709.
22. Braun 1907, pp. 707–8.
23. Woodfin 2002, pp. 43–44.
24. Theodore Balsamon, *Responsa ad Marcum*, in *PG*, vol. 138, col. 989A; idem, *Meditata*, in *PG*, vol. 128, cols. 1020C, 1025D–1028B.
25. Demetrios Chomatenos, *Responsiones ad Constantinum Cabasilam*, in *PG*, vol. 119, cols. 949D–952A. Symeon of Thessalonike further specifies that the archbishops allowed to wear the sakkos are the metropolitans of Cyprus, Ohrid, Tŭrnovo, and Peć; Symeon of Thessalonike, *Responsa ad Gabrielem*, in *PG*, vol. 155, cols. 869D–872B.
26. Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacra liturgia*, in *PG*, vol. 155, col. 260B–C; idem, *Expositio de divino templo*, in *PG*, vol. 155, col. 716A.
27. On the theme of the Deesis, see Mouriki 1968; Walter 1968; Walter 1970a; Cutler 1987b; Walter 1993.
28. Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacro templo*, in *PG*, vol. 155, col. 345C–D.
29. Woodfin 2002, pp. 176–77.
30. Taft 1995, p. 102; Taft 1975, pp. 210–12.
31. Woodfin 2002, pp. 154–61.
32. Millet 1947, pp. 76–78, pls. 159–161.
33. Atasoy et al. 2001, pp. 176–81, 241–47, pls. 10, 51–55; see also Starensier 1982, pp. 672–79 (with earlier bibl.).
34. See, for example, Tafrali 1925.

The Icon as a Ladder of Divine Ascent in Form and Color, by Archbishop Damianos, pp. 335–40

1. It is worth mentioning here that the artistic creativity of the Byzantine painters was not as restricted as many would think. According to Kurt Weitzmann, "some accomplished Byzantine artists were greater individualists than scholarship has thus far realized" (Weitzmann 1971, p. 154). Also, a long-held misinterpretation of a pronouncement delivered during the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787 "as being an assertion of the Church's right to exercise control over ecclesiastical art, over both the choice of themes and the manner of their representation by the artist," has been questioned and brilliantly reassessed in Yiannias 1987.
2. *PG*, vol. 88, pp. 901CD–904A (Greek); Klimax 1959, pp. 161–62 (English translation).

Byzantium and the Islamic World, 1261–1557, by Scott Redford, pp. 389–96

I would like to thank the following people: Sarah Brooks, Rosamond Mack, Nevra Necipoğlu, Robert Nelson, Robert Ousterhout, Kahraman Şakul, Alice-Mary Talbot, and Warren Woodfin.

1. İnalcık 1954, pp. 103–4, detected two stages to the relationship between Ottoman Osman and local Greek lords: first alliance, then vassalage.
2. N. Necipoğlu 1999–2000; Brand 1989; Bombaci 1978; Savvides 1993. The Seljuk-style palace is known only from a description; see C. Mango 1972 (rpt.), pp. 228–29. For the onomastic similarity between the Philopation and the Seljuk royal garden palace of Filubad, see Redford 2000, p. 178. The best introductions to this era remain Cahen 1968b and Vryonis 1971.
3. See Vryonis 2001, p. 216, for the revival of the fair of Saint Eugenios at Trebizond. Vryonis also quotes Michael Akominatos on the presence of Turks (Iconiotes—i.e., from Konya) at the fair in Chonai in western Anatolia. See Polo 1958, p. 47, for the weaving of crimson silks and other cloths by Greeks and Armenians. See Cahen 1968a, p. 42, for Turkoman nomads. For Cappadocia in this period, see Jolivet-Lévy 1997, pp. 103–15.

4. Redford 1993.
5. D. T. Rice 1968b, pl. 19 for the south porch, p. 50 for the author's distinction between narrative and decorative character there. The eagle at the top of the archivolt bears stylized sun motifs at the top of its wings like those on a silk of Sultan Kayqubādh (which depicts a double-headed eagle); see Öney 1978, p. 133. This silk is now in Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz). The motifs mentioned above are depicted in ibid., figs. 14–17, pl. 22d.
6. Öney 1968, pp. 34–35, ties the proliferation of this depiction to the importance of the tree in pre-Islamic shamanistic Turkic beliefs. There, the tree is the center of the world and is used by the shaman as a ladder on his voyages in the sky or under the surface of the earth. While the tree of life is, of course, an ancient Near Eastern artistic motif, the proliferation of its depiction in this period is striking. Parallels can be drawn between the cosmology reflected on this and other thirteenth-century stone carvings and the dream of Osman, founder of the Ottoman dynasty. In this dream, recounted in an Ottoman chronicle, a tree rises out of the navel of the sleeping ruler, spreading to describe a well-watered and peaceable kingdom. For a full translation, see Kafadar 1995, p. 8. Gierlichs 1996, pp. 94–95, notes strong parallels for the dragons in stone reliefs on medieval Armenian buildings.
7. See İnalcık 1993, pp. 85–86; Neşrī 1995, vol. 1, e.g., pp. 111, 175. For travelers' accounts and the nineteenth-century tombs in Bursa, see Eyice 1962. The conjoining of Byzantine building techniques with Ottoman buildings in this early period has been examined in Ousterhout 1995.
8. Neşrī 1995, vol. 1, p. 121. For the importance of robing to the Ottomans, see Raby and Effeny 2001, pp. 32–36.
9. Bryer 1981, p. 481.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., pp. 478–79. It seems as if both the Byzantine custom of dowry and the Muslim/Turkish custom of bride price continued simultaneously.
12. At Markov, many royal or impressive personages are represented wearing robes with three dots, including a scene of the Akathistos Hymn showing an anonymous king, and the two angels flanking the Virgin in the upper apse; see Velmans 1977, fig. 43. For the wall painting of the genealogical tree of the Serbian royal family at Peć, see Đurić et al. 1990, pl. 82. The difference between the simpler patterns of dots on representations of robes worn by Serbians and others and the more elaborate ones on later depictions of Ottomans in their robes can be explained by the lower status and quality of the former. See Raby and Effeny 2001, pp. 199–200, fig. 79, for an example of an Ottoman silk robe with a design of three dots in silver (like ones depicted as at Peć); in this case, the design is not only simpler, it is stamped rather than woven.
13. González de Clavijo 1928, pp. 208–9. The text continues: "These three circlets which, as said, are like the letter O thrice repeated to form a triangle, further are the imprint of Timur's seal, and again by his special order are added so as to be seen patent on all the coins struck by those princes who are become tributary to his government."
14. For example, Zhukov 1993, pl. 1b, illustrates an *akçe* (silver coin) of Orhan that has the three dots and the five-pointed star made up of bows. Mamlūk and Īlkhānid Qur'anic illumination seems to have affected Palaiologan book illumination profoundly; see Nelson 1988. Embassies and marriages between Muslim and Christian polities seem unlikely to have constituted the proper vector for the reception of these books in late Constantinopolitan society; this issue remains to be explored.
15. Mack 2001, p. 153; London 2001–2, pp. 32–33. Mack hypothesizes that the quiver and bow case may have been a gift from the emir of Karaman, a central Anatolian Turkish state rival to the Ottoman John VIII. The Byzantine chronicler Phrantzēs, who also served as John VIII's Lord of the Imperial Wardrobe, was given two caftans, one "a heavy, gold-colored caftan from Brusa [Bursa]" by the Byzantine emperor; see Phrantzēs 1980, pp. 29, 41. For an overview of relations between the Byzantines, Īlkhānids, and Golden Horde, see Richard 1999.
16. Babinger 1949. Doukas, present at the wedding, wrote: "She [the bride] brought with her many treasures and a precious dowry . . . / . . . He [Ottoman Sultan Murad II] had invited all the officials and subject princes of his dominion, Christians as well as Turks, and they all hastened with gifts to celebrate the nuptials." These, he reported, lasted from September to December (see Magoulias 1975). See Hemmerdinger 1968, pp. 306ff., for the Byzantine adoption of the double-headed eagle. For a brief consideration of Byzantine heraldry, including the Palaiologan use of the # sign, see Ousterhout 1986, pp. 42–43. The # was used by the Byzantines as an imperial symbol as early as the thirteenth century on the coinage of Laskarid Emperor John III Vatatzes (r. 1221–54); see Hendy 1999, pp. 602–3, pl. 34.
17. "Y-a-t-il eu un moyen-âge byzantin?" *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine* 13 (1927), p. 9, as quoted in Köprülü 1999, p. 108.
18. For *çintamani* (the origins of which may be Buddhist) patterns from Mehmed's reign, see Raby and Effeny 2001, pls. 65–66, and p. 228 for a discussion of the *çintamani* caftan said to have been his. For Mehmed's regard for the Hagia Sophia, see G. Necipoğlu 1992, pp. 198, 204 (for the endowment). The word "idiom," *şīve*, is used literally. Raby 1983 documents the Greek courtiers surrounding the sultan, as well as mentioning his collection of Christian relics and Byzantine and antique statuary, and his commissioning of an Italian painting of the Madonna and Child. See G. Necipoğlu 1991, pp. 210–11, for the pavilions. There seem to have been plans for an Italianate pavilion as well.
19. G. Necipoğlu 1992, pp. 212–13 for the covering of the mosaics, pp. 209–10 for Sultan Selim II and his building projects as ". . . the culmination of the dialogue between Ottoman-Islamic architecture and Haghia Sophia that had been initiated earlier by Mehmed II."

The Arts of Christian Communities in the Medieval Middle East, by Thelma K. Thomas, pp. 415–26

I am grateful to Ellen Poteet for her essential research assistance on this project.

1. For both general reference and specific discussions of historical, religious, and artistic points of interest, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1954–) and the *Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991) should be consulted. I use the term "medieval Middle East" in an attempt to avoid overemphasizing the religion of Islam as the determining factor for historical developments, following the strategy in Chamberlain 1994, pp. 9–11. The framework and chronological focus of this essay were influenced as well by Abu-Lughod 1989. Now a classic, this study identified the century 1250–1350 as formative for later developments of a "world economic system" centered on the Middle East. In addition to Abu-Lughod's study, several important essays on this period of such memorable traveler-explorers as Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa are found in Macrides 2002. See also Galatariotou 1993.
2. See Bolman 2002, pp. 103–52, 241–48, for a useful summary of the artistic traditions adapted in this monument. The foundational work on "spatial icons"—icons composed to suit particular architectural configurations—is O. Demus 1948.
3. See Bolman 2002, pp. 21–30, for the architectural history of the church.
4. For the "memorial" inscription, given below, see ibid., p. 227:

   > With Christ. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. / This dedicated memorial of the / paintings of the holy church of the great Antony happened / through [the beneficence of] our holy fathers, [who are] lovers of God and lovers of charity / and lovers of offerings [and] lovers of Christ, the monks and Spirit- / bearers, who are the archpriest Peter of this church, and the priest / Michael, and the priest Setakleh [?], and the priest Peter, and the Priest Jamoul, and / the priest Mark . . . [the list of financial contributors to the painting project continues]. Amen [and] amen. / Those whose names [we have mentioned] as well as those whose names we have not mentioned, / together with [all those to whom] we have given [thanks] for this / church—the Lord Jesus Christ give them their [recompense] in [the] Jerusalem / of heaven, the place from which has fled away / [all] pain and sorrow and [sighing]. Amen and amen. / The Era of the Martyrs [9]49.

5. Loon 1999 provides a useful architectural history and symbolic reading of the Coptic *khūruṣ*. Introduced in the seventh or eighth century, the *khūruṣ* symbolizes the site of the Last Judgment, where the souls of the righteous await their ascent into heaven, while the altar room, or *haykal*, symbolizes heavenly Jerusalem. The *khūruṣ* functions as a spatial marker, separating the place of priestly liturgical action from congregational devotion, and is related to the icon screen which, ultimately, came to replace the *khūruṣ* in the construction of smaller churches of the thirteenth century and later. On the *khūruṣ* at Saint Antony, see Bolman 2002, pp. 57–62, 127–54.
6. Ibid., pp. 149–51, for further discussion, and Psalms 121–22.
7. Ibid., pp. 185–94, 217–40, on graffiti and inscriptions. Graffiti were not written in Coptic, which was, by then, no longer in popular use. The graffiti in Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Armenian are primarily votive in character; those in Latin and Greek typically record the passage of visitors.
8. For the Sinbad reference and generally, see Abu-Lughod 1989, pp. 185–211. Wiet 1971 provides a vivid overview of Baghdad's earlier history.
9. Abu-Lughod 1989, p. 194, quoting a contemporary Persian account.
10. On Mamlūk history, see Lapidus 1967. Former military slaves of the Seljuk Turks, the Mamlūks offered a model for social mobility that utilized preexisting pools of administrative talent, including Christians, in urban centers. Despite the image (and instances) of Mongol "hordes" ravaging urban foundations, not least Baghdad, cities remained fundamental units not only of Mamlūk rule but of Islamic rule in general. On the history of Cairo, see Raymond 2000; Abu-Lughod 1971; Wiet 1964. See also note 16 below.
11. Useful overviews of these churches are found in Atiya 1968; Gilman and Klimkeit 1999. See also Sundkler and Steed 2000.
12. Foundational works include Buchthal 1939; Weitzmann 1966. The contributions of Lucy-Anne Hunt are essential: see Hunt 1998 (collected essays), and especially Hunt 1996 and 2000. See also Nelson 1983; Dodd 1997–98. On current approaches to "culture areas" and "ethnic processes," see Emberling 1997.
13. Among many examples from this literature focused on particular cities, especially Cairo, Jerusalem, and Baghdad, O. Grabar 1984 is important for highlighting the urban milieu more generally as a locus of the production and reception of medieval Arabic manuscripts with figured compositions.
14. Especially important recent studies are Bolman 2002 and Dodd 2001.
15. On Arab views of Christians within the Muslim world, see Bosworth 1982; Little 1995. Important primary sources may be located in Goitein 1967–93; Donald P. Little, "The Significance of the Haram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History," *Islam* 57 (1980), and idem, "The Haram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture of the Mamlūk Period," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), both reprinted in Little 1986.
16. Raymond 2000, p. 137, provides a recent overview of Cairo's development with estimates of a population of ca. 200,000 in 1328, compared to 80,000 in Paris and 60,000 in London. See also Sanders 1994; Shoshan 1993.
17. See Gawdat Gabra 1993, pp. 113–39, on churches of Old Cairo. Garcin 1984; Ward 1999; Hunt 1996; Meinardus 1969–70.
18. See Gawdat Gabra 1993, pp. 123–27, on al-Muʿallaqa.
19. A crucial study of this screen is Lucy-Anne Hunt, "The al-Muʿallaqa Doors Reconstructed: An Early Fourteenth Century Sanctuary Screen from Old Cairo," *Gesta* 28, no. 1 (1989), pp. 61–77, reprinted in Hunt 1998, vol. 1.
20. Hunt 1987 (rpt.), pp. 62–66.
21. Psalm 117:19–20.
22. On a recently discovered wall painting of the Nativity in this chapel, see Urbaniak-Walczak 1993.
23. Hunt 1987 (rpt.), pp. 65–66.
24. In the later, smaller churches, the *khūruṣ* also diminishes in size (see note 5 above). On Coptic conversions, see Donald P. Little, "Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahri Mamlūks, 692–755/1293–1354," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976), pp. 552–69, reprinted in Little 1986. On conversion within a broader historical context, see Gervers and Bikhazi 1990.
25. Abu-Lughod 1971, p. 37. For a contemporary account of the destruction and looting of Greater Cairo's churches and monasteries in outbreaks of urban violence directed against Copts, see al-Maqrīzī, "Account of the Monasteries and Churches of the Christians of Egypt," in Abū Ṣāliḥ 1895, pp. 328–40.
26. Abu-Lughod 1971, pp. 37–55, and Raymond 2000, pp. 138–90, survey the later centuries of Cairo under Mamlūk rule. Primary sources are our most vivid guide to the metropolis; for example, the fourteenth-century Christian traveler Niccolò da Poggibonsi distinguished in Cairo's population Latin Christians, Greeks, Nubians, Georgians, Ethiopians, Jacobites, and

Armenians. And these accounted only for the Christians. Among the "infidels" might be counted Turks, Indians, Tatars, Jews, Samaritans, Arabs, and Berbers. "[E]ach race," he noted, "differs from the other in tongue and letters and dress; one carries dress of linen, one of camel skin, and another of gold. . . ." Niccolò 1945, p. 89.

27. The entry for "al-Kuds" (i.e., Jerusalem) in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* surveys topographical and social developments broadly, while Little 1995 focuses more on Jerusalem's Christian communities. Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations between the Christian Communities at the Holy Sepulchre in the 12th Century," in Hunt 1998, vol. 2, pp. 261–300, provides a useful review of the extensive literature on the Holy Sepulchre.
28. For a survey of primary sources, see Peters 1985. On later medieval pilgrimage, see Andreas Külzer, "Byzantine and Early Post-Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to Mount Sinai," in Macrides 2002, pp. 149–61.
29. See Hunt 1998, vol. 2, pp. 261–300. For a Coptic perspective on the long and complex history of inter-Christian rivalries, see the entry "Jerusalem, Coptic See of," in the *Coptic Encyclopedia*. Also pertinent is Palmer and Gelder 1994.
30. Frescobaldi et al. 1948, pp. 77–78. See p. 47 and note 2 on the identification of Christians of the Girdle with Coptic Christians. Touring the church seems to have been a serene experience compared to the hardships of travel (pp. 143–44):

> And in the said journey we received very great displeasure and insults from the said Saracens, from big and small, and especially in Cairo, in Gaza and Jerusalem, and on the journey to the Jordan, and in Nazareth and along the sea of Galilee and in Damascus. And in Damascus they offended us with words and the worst blasphemies in their power; then they pulled the cowls off our heads; then in the crowd they would put their foot between our legs to trip us; and then those on horseback would ride the horse on us and make it bite and kick us. Then from the windows or from the ground they threw water on us; and they spat in our faces, and they threw dust in our eyes, and threw stones at us, hurt us with canes, with their fists, and slapped us: and all for fear of worse we had to suffer.

31. Dodd 2000, p. 100; Dodd 2001, p. 55. Surely Dodd is correct (p. 100) when she continues, "This description indicates that Christians and Moslems in Syria emulated each other in the decoration of churches and palaces."
32. Dodd 1997–98; Immerzeel 2000; Sader 1997.
33. Dodd 2001, pp. 18–19.
34. See, e.g., Dodd 2000, p. 103.
35. Ibid., pp. 115–16, quoting the eleventh-century Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusrow.
36. With the renewed independence of the Church under the Mamlūks, Syriac replaced Greek in thirteenth-century inscriptions. One particularly Syrian motif may well be the gesture of blessing, with the little and forefingers extended, "the others bent under the thumb across the palm." Dodd 1997–98, p. 258. Pseudo-Syriac, a kind of pseudowriting, simulates writing using Syriac letter forms.
37. Bolman 2002, pp. 71–72.
38. This mid-thirteenth-century poem by Bahā' ad-Dīn Zuhayr (quoting the Persian poet Neẓāmī's *Iskandar Nama* is cited in Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, pp. 65–66. Al-Maqrīzī, in Abū Ṣāliḥ 1895, p. 312, described the Monastery of Tamwaih (no longer extant), near Cairo, essentially as a vacation spot: "the monastery commands a view of the river, and is surrounded by vineyards, gardens, palms and trees, forming a populous pleasure-resort. It has a fine view of the Nile; and when the earth grows green, it lies between two carpets—the water and the crops. It is one of the best-known places of pleasure and resorts for refreshment in Egypt."
39. Al-Maqrīzī in Abū Ṣāliḥ 1895, p. 305: "Ibn Sidah says: Ad-Dair [monastery] is an inn [khan] of the Christians, in the plural Adyar. . . . I remark that Ad-Dair is among Christians the special dwelling place of the monks, and al-Kanisah [church] is among them the place of assembly of the people for prayer."
40. Bolman 2002, p. 16; see ibid., p. 252, n. 20, and the *Coptic Encyclopedia*, p. 33, for a reattribution.
41. Fully published in Mathews 1991.
42. Ibid., pp. 101–5, 124–25; models for this scene are discussed on pp. 102 and 124.
43. Ibid., pp. 77–81, on models, artistic initiative, and this manuscript.
44. Ibid., pp. 14–26.
45. Leroy 1964, p. 301 n. 4. See also Fiey 1959, esp. pp. 26–28.
46. Leroy 1964, p. 310.
47. O. Grabar 1984, pp. 4, 17ff., describes the illustrated manuscript of the Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī as particularly urban and symptomatic of the "explosion in representation" among arts of Islam during this period, but finds no evidence for "schools" in Damascus, Cairo, Baghdad, or Mosul. Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," in Hunt 1998, vol. 2, pp. 152–97, closely examines "frameworks of patronage and production" (p. 154), noting the importance of both urban and monastic locales, private and corporate patronage.
48. Heldman 1994, p. 19.
49. Important studies of Ethiopian art include Leroy 1967; Chojnacki 1983; Baltimore–New York 1993–96.
50. Heldman 1994, pp. 35–42.
51. On the fourteenth-century Arab invasions of Nubia and the concomitant demise of Nubian Christianity, see Adams 1984, esp. pp. 539–46. Ethiopian Christians played key roles in the networks of Christian communities in the Middle East through the fifteenth century. The patriarch of the Coptic Church in Egypt appointed a Coptic monk to the head of the Ethiopian Church. Perhaps more importantly, an Ethiopian monastic community was established in Jerusalem, and Ethiopian monasteries throughout the Middle East, as at Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi in Syria and the Monastery of Saint Antony in Egypt. O'Mahony 1996 emphasizes the importance of an Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem.

Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere, by Anne Derbes and Amy Neff, pp. 449–61

We are grateful to Helen Evans for her assistance throughout our work on this essay; many thanks as well to Joanna Cannon, Donal Cooper, Jaroslav Folda, Sharon Gerstel, and Ionna Rapti for their careful reading of a draft and for their astute comments, and to Annemarie Weyl Carr, Maria Georgopoulou, Kathleen Maxwell, and Robert Ousterhout for valuable suggestions.

1. While the life of Saint Francis was depicted in panel painting not long after his death in 1226, very few comparable frescoes before about 1260 survive. There is a fresco fragment including Francis, possibly from a narrative scene, from an earlier church on the site of the present Santa Croce, Florence, which Cook 1999, no. 69, p. 102, dates ca. 1250. Because so little remains, it is impossible to know the extent of the cycle. In the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, fragments that include the head of Saint Francis have been variously dated from ca. 1240 to the early 1260s; see ibid., no. 10, p. 35, and most recently, Maria Andaloro, "Tracce della prima decorazione pittorica nella Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi," in Basile and Magro 2001, pp. 81–89. Again, the extent and theme of these frescoes are problematic. More complete narrative frescoes survive probably from the 1260s; these include two scenes at San Fermo, Verona (Cook 1999, no. 201, p. 229) and an extensive cycle in the Lower Church at Assisi (ibid., no. 11, pp. 33–36). For a recent discussion of the dating of these two cycles, see Bourdua 2003. Our thanks to Professor Bourdua for sending us portions of her book before its publication.
2. For the Kalenderhane frescoes, see the publications by Cecil L. Striker, most recently Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 128–42; Blume 1983, pp. 18–20; Krüger 1992, pp. 110, 187.
3. For basic historical background, see Moorman 1968 (rpt.); Hinnebusch 1966–73; Hinnebusch 1985. While the Franciscans and Dominicans were the two major mendicant orders, others existed as well, among them the Servites and the Augustinians. The Carmelites, founded in the twelfth century, traced their origins to the East, to Mount Carmel, but were granted mendicant status after they moved to the West in the thirteenth century. See Jotischky 2002, esp. pp. 12–16. For Carmelite art, see nn. 81 and 98 below.
4. Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, III.7 (FAED, vol. 2, p. 546); also reported earlier in Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis* (hereafter 1 Celano), XII.29–30 (FAED, vol. 1, p. 207). Bonaventure adds that Francis sent the friars "to three other parts of the world, thus forming the pattern of a cross."
5. 1 Celano XX.55 (FAED, vol. 1, pp. 229–30). See also Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, IX.5–9 (FAED, vol. 2, pp. 600–601).
6. For chapter 16, "Those going among the Saracens and other nonbelievers," of the Rule of 1221, see FAED, vol. 1, p. 74.
7. See Moorman 1968 (rpt.), esp. ch. 20, "Early Franciscan Missions"; Hinnebusch 1985, esp. ch. 3, "Their Missions to 1500"; Daniel 1975; Maier 1994. For a thorough study of later Dominican activity in the East, see Delacroix-Besnier 1997.
8. Hinnebusch 1985, p. 47. However, Daniel 1975, pp. 9–11, stresses that Spain was the most important site of mission for the Dominican order. Other orders also made their way to the Mediterranean East by the early thirteenth century, among them the Cistercians, the military orders, the Premonstratensians, and the Augustinians; see Lock 1995, pp. 222–23.
9. For an overview of the diverse churches in Palestine and Syria, see Riley-Smith 1987, pp. 45ff.
10. For the Franciscan settlements in the Holy Land and Cyprus, see Moorman 1968 (rpt.), pp. 227–28; for Crete, see Georgopoulou 2001, esp. ch. 5, "Blessings of the Friars." Our thanks to Professor Georgopoulou for generously sharing with us unpublished material on the mendicants in the East.
11. For Franciscan houses in the province of Greece, see Moorman 1968 (rpt.), p. 169; Lock 1995, p. 231. Moorman notes that by 1334, there were twelve houses in the province of Greece.
12. Moorman 1968 (rpt.), pp. 227–28, 235. For further discussion of the Franciscans in Armenian Cilicia, see Helen C. Evans, "Cilician Manuscript Illumination: The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries," in New York–Baltimore 1994, pp. 74–80.
13. The Franciscans returned to the Holy Land in the 1310s. In 1342 Clement VI officially recognized the presence of the Friars Minor at several sites holy to Christianity and authorized them to perform the Divine Office at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; they remain custodians of the Holy Sepulchre to this day. See Jacoby 1989, pp. 41–49, 56; and Milan 2000, pp. 146, 152.
14. When Acre fell in 1291, the Dominican house had twice as many residents as the Franciscan house. See Folda 1976, p. 19 n. 81; Hinnebusch 1966–73, vol. 1, pp. 46–47.
15. Maier 1994, p. 26 n. 22.
16. For the Dominican archbishop of Crete, Giovanni Querini (r. 1247–52), see Georgopoulou 2001, p. 136. For the respective houses of the two orders in Candia, see Georgopoulou 1995. It is not surprising that the mendicant churches were larger than nearby Orthodox churches. The mendicants favored large halls to accommodate large audiences for their preaching, while Byzantine churches after the Justinianic period tended to be relatively small. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the mendicant churches would have physically and visually dominated the town, as was possibly the case in other Eastern cities as well.
17. William of Rubruck mentions the Dominican house at Tbilisi; see Moorman 1968 (rpt.), p. 235.
18. The Franciscans settled along the Dalmatian coast early in their history and by 1235 had established a province of Dalmatia (sometimes called Sclavonia); later in the century they sent missions inland, to Bosnia and Serbia. By 1339, there were seven custodies in Bosnia and thirty-six houses (Moorman 1968 [rpt.], pp. 167–68). The Dominicans also established themselves in Bosnia. Before serving as master general of the order, John of Wildeshausen (also known as John Teutonicus) was bishop of the Bosnian church from 1233 to 1237. He was also the fiirst mendicant known to have been involved in papal crusading propaganda (see Maier 1994, pp. 32–33, 58–59).
19. The resulting negotiations in 1234 ended in failure, with each side shouting to the other, "You are heretics!" Vasiliev 1952, p. 543.
20. For Franciscan leaders involved in these negotiations, see below. Prominent Dominicans included William of Moerbeke and Humbert of Romans, master general from 1254 to 1263.
21. Riley-Smith 1987, p. 52, notes that Dominican missionaries converted the Jacobite patriarch and archbishop of Jerusalem and a Nestorian archbishop. The Franciscan John of Monte Corvino writes of baptizing one hundred people in India and six thousand in Beijing; see Dawson 1955, pp. 224–26.
22. Folda 1976, p. 39; Schein 1998, pp. 124–26.
23. For the likelihood of a Dominican scriptorium in Acre, see Buchthal 1957, p. 97 n.; Folda 1976, p. 166; and the second volume of Jaroslav Folda's *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, forthcoming. For recent perspectives on the production and use of manuscripts in the Crusader states, see *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*,

edited by Daniel Weiss (Baltimore, 2004), especially the essay by David Jacoby, who expresses reservations about the attribution of certain manuscripts to Acre.

24. See Folnesics 1917, pp. 14–34; Mirković 1977, for these and other Franciscan antiphonaries in Zadar illuminated by an early-fourteenth-century Bolognese artist.
25. Only a fragment remains of his crucifix for the Franciscans. For these paintings and a document for a Franciscan altarpiece from 1302, see Joško Belamarić, "La Dalmazia nella storia della pittura dal Duecento al Quattrocento," in Rimini 2002, pp. 36, 38. On painting in mendicant and other churches in Zadar, see Hilje 1999.
26. Živkov 2001 notes the importance of Franciscan foundations in spreading Gothic architectural style in these regions. For Dečani, see Pantelić 2002 (on Fra Vita, pp. 24–26). Our thanks to Cecil L. Striker for this reference.
27. For San Francesco in Galata, see Matteucci 1967; Matteucci 1971–75, vol. 2, esp. pp. 169–81. A visitor describes "la chiesa bella, ma oscura, e nel suo interno tutta rivestita di pitture e mosaico" (the beautiful but dark church, its interior completely covered with paintings and mosaics). Although the interior decoration is undated, a document of 1297 records the existence of the church. Many thanks to Donal Cooper for these references. We are grateful to Robert Ousterhout for discussing the Arap Camii frescoes with us; for photographs and discussion, see his website on Constantinople: http://www.arch.uiuc.edu/research/rgouster/contents.html. On the Dominican presence in Galata, see also Delacroix-Besnier 1997, pp. 9–11.
28. Sinai 1999, pp. 13–14. Our thanks to Helen Evans for calling this text to our attention.
29. Tugwell 1999, pp. 96–97.
30. Gerard de Frachet, *Vitae patrum IV.* For this passage and early Dominican devotional images, see Cannon 1998, pp. 28–30, 40 n. 12. See also the remarks by Belting 1990b, pp. 57, 238 n. 45, whose translation we have used.
31. *Compendium theologiae* 201; quoted in Didi-Huberman 1995, p. 4.
32. On the concern with vision and visibility in thirteenth-century Europe, see, for example, Cynthia Hahn, "Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality," in Nelson 2000, pp. 169–96; Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," in ibid., pp. 197–223.
33. Villehardouin and Joinville 1908 (rpt.), pp. 168–69. Joinville elaborates (p. 253): "In order to draw the Tartars to our faith, [Louis] had caused all our faith to be imaged in the chapel: the Annunciation of the angel, the Nativity, the baptism that god was baptised withal; and all the Passion, and the Ascension, and the coming of the Holy Ghost."
34. Rockhill 1900, pp. 103–7; passage quoted, p. 107.
35. Ibid., p. 183. The saga of William's books continued; for further discussion, see ibid., pp. 256–60. For a brief account of William's journey, see Moorman 1968 (rpt.), pp. 234–36.
36. Dawson 1955, p. 228. John wrote from Beijing on a mission to the Mongol court there.
37. The vita icon may in fact have been a relatively recent development in the history of Byzantine art; for the origins of the type, see N. Ševčenko 1992 and 1999. In any case, the iconic presentation of Francis would presumably have evoked long-established Byzantine conventions of sanctity.
38. Frugoni 1993, p. 321, and Hueck 1995 also note the vita panel's similarity to historiated crosses. Krüger 1992, pp. 13–36, suggests formal derivation of the gable from sculpted Madonnas flanked by painted panels. Francis's side wound, which during his lifetime he was careful to hide, is not always shown in early images of the saint.
39. Cook 1999 lists eleven vita icons of Francis; by contrast, only a single vita icon of Dominic has survived from the Duecento or early Trecento, a panel in Naples. For thoughtful discussions of reasons for the comparative scarcity of images of Saint Dominic in any format, and for the existing images, including the Naples panel, see Cannon 1980, ch. 5; Krüger 1992, pp. 72–78, 143–47. Our thanks to Professor Cannon for sending us a portion of her thesis, which she is currently preparing for publication as *Art and Order: The Dominicans of Central Italy and Visual Culture in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* While some have suggested that a panel of Saint Dominic in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., included in its original mid-thirteenth-century composition narratives of the saint's life on either side, Cannon 1980, ch. 5, and Krüger 1992, pp. 74–76, have convincingly questioned this assumption. For the argument in favor of such narratives, with a discussion of the vita panel in Naples, see Hoeniger 1995, pp. 88–98, figs. 65, 68. Finally, we should note that several images of Dominic and other Dominican saints may have once existed. Provincial legislation from 1247 and the General Chapters of 1254 and 1256 recommended that images of Dominic be displayed in Dominican churches, raising the possibility that earlier images of Dominic once existed; see Krüger 1992, pp. 77, 89; Cannon 1998, p. 37.
40. Krüger 1992, p. 66, citing Vasari's reference to a panel of Saint Catherine at the Dominican Church of Santa Caterina, links the existing panel with that church; Belting 1994, pp. 377–80, similarly ascribes the panel. However, Bacci 2000, p. 119 n. 114, argues that the panel more probably originated at San Silvestro in Pisa; an early chronicle describes the miraculous appearance of an "antiqua immagine di S. Caterina" in the Arno, from which it was taken to San Silvestro (cited by Da Morrona 1812, vol. 3, p. 187). As Bacci notes, Catherine was clearly venerated at San Silvestro; a mid-Duecento dossal from that church depicts both Saint Silvester and Saint Catherine (on which see Garrison 1949 [rpt.], no. 433). Although San Silvestro would pass to the Dominican order in 1331, it housed Benedictine monks until 1270, then became a priory (Paliaga and Renzoni 1991, p. 56). If the existing panel is in fact from San Silvestro, it cannot be considered a Dominican commission. Many thanks to Joanna Cannon for her help with this panel.
41. For these figures, see Striker and Hawkins (in Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 130–40 *passim*), who note that the frescoes of the Greek fathers differ somewhat in technique from those of Saint Francis, but, because of the unbroken continuity of the intonaco, the two sections must be judged contemporary parts of the same program. Possibly a Greek artist was hired to paint the Byzantine saints. Our thanks to Cecil L. Striker for clarifying this point.
42. For John's addition of Orthodox saints, see Van Dijk and Walker 1960, pp. 389–90.
43. 1 Celano XXIX.83 (FAED, vol. 1, p. 253). The English chronicler Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) describes Francis's "unkempt hair and his dirty and overhanging brow" (FAED, vol. 1, p. 598). For the discrepancies between early images of Francis and contemporary descriptions of him, see Scarpellini 1982b, pp. 91–93; as he notes, the images depict "un vero e proprio santone orientale" (indeed an authentic, true, and great Eastern saint). For the panel in the Assisi Treasury, see Morello and Kanter 1999, pp. 56–59; Carl Strehlke, "St. Francis of Assisi: His Cult, His Culture, and His Basilica," in ibid., pp. 40–42.
44. For the iconography of John Chrysostom, see O. Demus 1960, pp. 110–19; Maguire 1993, p. 80; Maguire 1996, pp. 78–80.
45. O. Demus 1960, pp. 111–12. Chrysostom is listed in the mid-thirteenth-century calendar of the papal curia, also used by the Franciscans, as "bishop of Constantinople"; Van Dijk and Walker 1960, p. 425.
46. Wolff 1944, p. 224.
47. Geanakoplos 1976, p. 200.
48. For the representation of Saint Francis in Orthodox churches in Crete, see Lassithiōtakēs 1981, who discusses four such churches, two of the fourteenth century and two of the fifteenth: the Church of Michael the Archangel, Kato Astrakon; Panagia Kera (the Church of the Virgin), Kritsa (pl. 54a); Eisodion, Sklaverochori (pl. 54b); and Zoodochos Pege, Sambas (pls. 55a–b). The first three represent the standing saint; the last depicts the Stigmatization of Francis. Also from Crete, a fifteenth-century icon of the Madre della Consolazione includes Francis. While it seems likely that the owner of this icon was Catholic, an Orthodox patron is not impossible. McKee 2000, pp. 100–132, points out that fourteenth-century wills of Orthodox residents of Candia at times included bequests to Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. Many thanks to Sharon Gerstel for directing us to the studies cited in this note and in note 49, for translating Lassithiōtakēs' article, and for providing slides of the Kritsa frescoes. Finally, early legends of miracles worked by Francis in "Romania" (that is, Greece) when it was under Frankish control may have encouraged the cult of the saint in the region; for these legends, which include Francis's intervention to save a Greek man falsely accused of theft, see Thomas of Celano's *Treatise on the Miracles of Saint Francis,* ca. 1250–52, XI.88; XIV.118; XVIII.194 (FAED, vol. 2, pp. 436, 449, 467); two of these are repeated in Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* (FAED, vol. 2, pp. 665, 671).
49. An unknown Franciscan of the thirteenth century wrote of the Greeks: "They treat Latins like dead bodies and despise them like cracked pots" or "dead dogs"; Gill 1979, p. 148. For Greek Orthodox antagonism to Latin church ritual, see also Lock 1995, pp. 220–21, 275. Lassithiōtakēs 1981, pp. 151–53, also discusses the hatred of the local population for the Latin occupiers, but suggests that Francis may have been seen as a neutral figure, a peacemaker; by the seventeenth century, the Orthodox came to name their children after the saint.
50. For the friars in hell, at Saint John, Kritsa, see Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1982, pp. 304, 307 n. 2, where she identifies the friars as Franciscans—and indeed the figures are shown in brown habits that strongly resemble the habit of Francis himself at Panagia Kera and in the *Stigmatization* at Sambas (for a color photograph of the fresco at Panagia Kera, see Borboudakis 198–, fig. 38).
51. The fresco is in the Church of Saints Kirykos and Ioulitta, Latympou; see Carr 1995b, p. 357, pl. 23a. We are grateful to Professor Carr for alerting us to this fresco.
52. Lunghi 1995; Servus Gieben, "La croce con Frate Elia di Giunta Pisano," in Basile and Magro 2001, pp. 101–10. Luciano Bellosi suggests that Giunta himself may have traveled to the Latin Kingdom; see Bellosi 1998, p. 60, and Bologna 2000, p. 206. The cross was destroyed in the early nineteenth century, after it fell and broke.
53. Most scholars date Giunta's crucifix at San Domenico, Bologna, to the 1250s; but Miklós Boskovits and Angelo Tartuferi suggest an earlier date, before 1234, to coincide with the canonization of Saint Dominic in that year. This early dating would place the Dominicans rather than the Franciscans as innovators in promoting the new iconography of the suffering Christ. For a summary of the question (and a late dating of the Dominican crucifix), see Bellosi in Bologna 2000, no. 52, pp. 203–7; also Cannon 2002, pp. 577–78.
54. For instance, a small image of the suffering Christ appears in the apron panel of a late-twelfth-century cross in Pisa; in general, however, the new image is seen rarely before ca. 1235. See Derbes 1996, p. 16, fig. 5. Cannon 2002, p. 578, cites Donal Cooper's recent research that establishes in thirteenth-century Italy the existence of about thirty large-scale crucifixes associated with Franciscan houses and four or five with Dominican. See also Cannon 2003; Elvio Lunghi, "Riflessi della decorazione della Basilica Superiore di San Francesco nella pittura umbra contemporanea," in Basile and Magro 2001, pp. 410ff.

    A later episode in Brother Elias's life also involved Byzantine art. Although in 1239 Elias had been deposed from his position of minister general, by 1245 or 1246 he founded a new Franciscan church in Cortona. In it he placed a splendid tenth-century Byzantine cross-reliquary that he had obtained when he was in Nicaea acting as a diplomatic envoy for Emperor Frederick II. Whether Elias prized this reliquary more for its ivory container or for the relic said to be within it, he can again be credited with bringing an example of Byzantine imagery to an Italian Franciscan community. For the reliquary, see Cutler 1995, p. 242; Cutler 1994, pp. 20–21, 36–37, 140. Elias's cross and reliquary are not the only evidence of the early enthusiasm for things Byzantine in Assisi; before 1250 an enormous stone was brought from Constantinople to Assisi for the construction of a fountain honoring Saint Francis (described in Celano's *Treatise on the Miracles of Saint Francis,* written between 1250 and 1252 [FAED, vol. 2, p. 429]; see also Bonaventure, *Legenda maior* [FAED, vol. 3, p. 661]).
55. Menestò 1991.
56. For the Stripping of Christ and its Byzantine antecedents, see Derbes 1996, pp. 138–45. Also, the unusual placement and pose of the Virgin of the Assisi *Lamentation* is comparable to frescoes from early-fourteenth-century Serbia, from Peć, and Gračanica, 1321; see Schultze 1967, p. 51.
57. Differing scholarly opinions regarding the dating and patronage of the decoration of the Upper Church remain unresolved, but current scholarship tends to accept the thesis that Cimabue's frescoes in the transept, choir, and crossing vaults date to the 1270s, while the nave vaults and wall frescoes would have been executed from ca. 1288 to 1296. For a recent summary of the question, with strong evidence linking the nave frescoes to the papacy of Nicholas IV, see Cooper and Robson 2003, pp. 31–35.
58. As suggested by Julian Gardner in his review of Hans Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin, 1977), in *Kunstchronik* 32 (1979), p. 81. Gilbert 2003 argues that Serbian elements in the Cathedral of Orvieto should be linked with Jerome's stay in the Balkans. Jerome's artistic patronage was not limited to objects done in an Italo-Byzantine style. For example, the chalice by Guccio da Mannaia that he gave to the basilica at Assisi is superbly crafted in a Sienese Gothic style. For Jerome's artistic patronage, see Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto, "La committenza e il mecenatismo artistico di Niccolò IV," in Menestò 1991, pp. 193–222. For the chalice, see Morello and Kanter 1999, no. 58, pp. 182–83.
59. White 1981, pp. 371–72, has observed that a large segment of the Evangelist vault is incised

with a grid pattern to further the likeness to mosaic. For the use of gold leaf in the Upper Church and in Serbian frescoes, see Romano 2001, p. 190. A detailed description of the vault's materials is in Carla D'Angelo, Sergio Fusetti, and Carlo Giantomassi, "Rilevamento dei dati tecnici della decorazione murale della Basilica Superiore," in Basile and Magro 2001, pp. 18–19, repr. pp. 11, 26.

60. First pointed out by O. Demus 1958, p. 40; O. Demus 1970, p. 208. This link is also accepted by Belting 1977, p. 210. The parallels are especially intriguing since this Greek manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cod. gr. 54, is a very unusual bilingual manuscript (cat. 162), with text in Latin as well as Greek. For the manuscript, see Maxwell 2000; she associates it with the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, who supported the unification of the churches; proposing that it was intended as a gift of the emperor to the pope, she suggests that it was left unfinished because of Michael's untimely death (personal communication, April 2003). She will explore these matters in depth in her book on the manuscript, in progress.
61. A link between the evangelists vault and Franciscan missionary activity was proposed by Battisti 1967, p. 32, positing a specific historical connection to the mission of 1278. The thesis of a more general ideological connection is more convincing, as proposed by Romano 2001, pp. 101–39, esp. 102–5; also Derbes 1996, p. 27.
62. Belting 1977, p. 74.
63. Romano 2001, pp. 189–90, 203–4 n. 39. Romano suggests that Torriti may have come into contact with contemporary Byzantine style when working in Rome on the frescoes of the Sancta Sanctorum in the 1270s. In the 1290s Torriti again worked on major commissions under Nicholas IV: the apse mosaics of San Giovanni in Laterano and Santa Maria Maggiore. Nicholas's interest in the medium of mosaic may have been inspired by his firsthand knowledge of the art of Constantinople, as suggested by Julian Gardner in his review of Hans Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi*, in *Kunstchronik* 32 (1979), p. 81, although the impressive mosaics of Early Christian and medieval Rome could also have been influential. The technical sophistication of Torriti's mosaics, however, might argue for direct contact, perhaps even collaboration, with Byzantine mosaicists; see Pace 2000a, pp. 294–98.
64. Torriti worked on other major commissions for the Franciscan pope, most notably the apse mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. For striking links between the Santa Maria Maggiore apse, Serbia, and the Holy Land, see Menna 1987. The possible identification of Torriti as a Franciscan is discussed in Pace 1996b; also Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto in Menestò 1991, pp. 209–10.
65. Živkov 2001, p. 120. The queen received personal letters, delivered by two Franciscans, in 1288 and 1291 from Pope Nicholas IV, who also in 1291 granted her special grace and allowed her to take a Franciscan confessor; see Bošković and Nenadović 1951, pp. 1–2; Atanasio Matanić, "Il Papato di Niccolò IV e il mondo dell'Europa sud-orientale slava," in Menestò 1991, pp. 125–28. For Helena's probable gift of a panel painting to Nicholas (Jerome of Ascoli), see below.
66. Bonaventure, *The Mystical Vine*, XXIV.3, in Bonaventure 1960–, vol. 1, pp. 204–5.
67. We have slightly altered the English translation in Angela 1993, p. 131. For the influence of works of art on Angela's visions, see ibid., pp. 102–4. See also Krüger 1992, pp. 152ff., for examples of mendicant affective response to the image of the crucified Christ.
68. Angela 1993, p. 175.
69. For a discussion of Horace's dictum in the thought of Aquinas and Bonaventure, see Freedberg 1989, pp. 162–64.
70. Belting 1980–81.
71. Ibid.; Ridderbos 1998.
72. Os 1991, pp. 244–66; Os et al. 1994; Cannon 1998, p. 29.
73. The origins of the pose are unclear. An Eastern origin is sometimes assumed, but it appears as early as 1240/50 in northern Europe and not until ca. 1300 in the East.
74. This emphasis is not, however, unique to the mendicants; see Neff 1999, pp. 87–91.
75. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 1898, fol. 14v; Valagussa 1991, pp. 14–15, n. 22.
76. For an early image of the Man of Sorrows that is very probably Umbrian, ca. 1250–60, and possibly from a Franciscan context, see Cannon 1999. For the Dominican and Franciscan contributions to the growth of the cult of Christ's blood, see Lorenzo di Fonzo and Giovanni Colasanti, "Il culto di Sacro Cuore di Gesù negli ordini francescani," in Bea et al. 1959, vol. 2, pp. 97–137, and Angelus Walz, "Dominkanische Herz Jesu-Auffassung," in ibid., vol. 2, pp. 51–95. The particular relevance of the stigmata is noted by Gougaud 1927, pp. 80–81.
77. The manuscript includes two images of the Man of Sorrows, discussed in Belting 1990b, pp. 35, 75, 166, 170, 278; La Favia 1980, pp. 28–41, 43–45; Ridderbos 1998, pp. 148–51, 160, 167; Neff 1999, pp. 91–92; all with earlier bibliography.
78. This copy of the Madonna Tempuli was pointed out in Gardner 1973, p. 47 n. 119; also Romano 2001, p. 192. On the icon, now at Santa Maria del Rosario, Rome, see Wolf 1990; Bertelli 1992; Koudelka 1992; Belting 1994, pp. 40, 314–20, 323, 531–32; Bacci 1998, pp. 255–58, 263; Michele Bacci, "With the Paintbrush of the Evangelist Luke," in Athens 2000–2001a, p. 84; Chrysanthe Baltoyianni, "The Mother of God in Portable Icons," in ibid., pp. 147–49.
79. The procession is recorded in the *Miracula beati Dominici*, by a nun of San Sisto, Sister Cecilia (ca. 1202–1290); *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37 (1967), p. 43. Our thanks to Joanna Cannon for bringing this episode from Dominic's life to our attention.
80. For thirteenth- and fourteenth-century beliefs and rituals concerning the icon at the Church of the Aracoeli, see Wolf 1990, pp. 80, 166, 188, 228ff.; Bacci 1998, pp. 263–65. Both authors also discuss the icon in later treatises and copies. The Aracoeli icon's fame reached a peak in the fourteenth century, both from the honor given it by Cola da Rienzo and from beliefs in its role in sparing Rome from the Black Death. Writing ca. 1385, Bartholomew of Pisa dated to 1257 the miracle of a novice whose prayers before the icon were aided by angels and answered by Mary speaking through the image; Wolf 1990, pp. 229–30. The Franciscans were housed at the Aracoeli from about 1250.
81. It is not known at what date the Byzantine icon of the Holy Face, the image of Edessa now in the Vatican, was given to San Silvestro in Capite, the convent of the Poor Clares of Rome; see Rome 2000–2001, p. 91. Indirect evidence suggests that it was at San Silvestro at least by the 1370s, and many authors think its presence there in the thirteenth century likely; for example, Belting 1994, p. 312. The Carmelites, another thirteenth-century mendicant order, also prized a Byzantine icon of Mary in their possession; see Cannon 1987; Os 1984–90, vol. 1, pp. 37–38; Belting 1994, p. 341.
82. Bacci 1998, p. 172. This icon would have been the model for the present icon of the Madonna Sissiotissa, which is dated 1700. From 1204 onward, Cephalonia was under Western rule, first Venetian, then, after 1236, Frankish. The title "Sissiotissa" may go back to this period and reflect an association with Assisi; see Rothemund 1966, p. 263.
83. The phrase is ultimately from Saint Basil but was first used as a defense of icons by John of Damascus. John's *De fide orthodoxa* is cited by the Franciscans Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure (*III Sent. Comm.*, d. IX. art. 1.qu.2; *Opera omnia*, III, 202), and the Dominicans Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologica*, III. qu. 25. art. 3). The *De fide orthodoxa* was translated into Latin in the twelfth century and again in the thirteenth. See Wolf 1990, pp. 63, 152, and Bacci 1998, pp. 259–61, highlighting the importance of these Latin translations, which, because of an interpolation into John of Damascus's text, stimulated legends of icons painted by Luke.
84. As demonstrated by the mendicant vita panels and the Deesis painted at Assisi, authoritative Byzantine models were readily altered to suit Western needs. In addition, see the examples analyzed in Corrie 1990; Corrie 1996a; Derbes 1994; Derbes 1996; Neff 1999.
85. Belting 1990b, p. 22.
86. From the *Assisi Compilation* 10 (also known as the *Legend of Perugia*), compiled probably ca. 1245 from the oral recollections of the saint's surviving companions (FAED, vol. 2, pp. 124–25); repeated in early fourteenth-century versions of *A Mirror of the Perfection* (FAED, vol. 3, pp. 224, 291). Francis's insistence on differentiation between the object and the sacred person represented adheres to a persistent tradition in Western thought; see Brugge 1975.
87. *The Deeds of Blessed Francis and His Companions*, LXV.1–18 (FAED, vol. 3, pp. 559–66). The *Deeds*, written between 1328 and 1337, was soon thereafter translated into Italian, becoming the popular vernacular text *I Fioretti di San Francesco d'Assisi*. For this and the following miracles in the context of Franciscan promotion of the cult of the stigmata, see Vauchez 1968.
88. Celano, *Treatise on the Miracles of Saint Francis*, II, 6–7 (FAED, vol. 2, pp. 404–5); Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, part III, 1, 6 (FAED, vol. 2, pp. 654–55). Another miracle in which the stigmata appear in an image concerns a Roman matron; see Celano, *Treatise on the Miracles of Saint Francis*, II, 8–9 (FAED, vol. 2, p. 405); Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, part III, 1, 4 (FAED, vol. 2, pp. 652–53).
89. For the panel, see Cook 1999, no. 115, pp. 141–42, who thinks the scene illustrates a miracle not recorded in texts. The scene has been identified as the legend of a Roman matron (Assisi 1982, no. 8.26, pp. 120–21; Frugoni 1993, pp. 207–8, 406–8) or as the legend of the canon Roger (Krüger 1992, pp. 129–30).
90. Among the earliest instances of the three-nail Crucifixion in Italy is a panel from a fragmentary altarpiece from the Franciscan house in San Miniato (Boskovits and Gregori 1993, pp. 74–76). The work, now in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, is undated; Boskovits places it in the mid-1220s on stylistic grounds, but on iconographic grounds a somewhat later date would be more likely. Rebecca Corrie dates it ca. 1250 (see New York 1997, pp. 488–89). Many thanks to Allison Peil of the Yale University Art Gallery for providing us with curatorial files and color photographs of this altarpiece. A diptych, ca. 1255, from Santa Chiara, Lucca (a house of the Poor Clares, the Second Order of Saint Francis), also depicts the Crucifixion with three nails. The new iconography did not displace the traditional four-nail version in Franciscan monuments (Cimabue, for instance, retains the traditional number of nails), and it soon spread beyond the order; thus Nicola Pisano adapted it in his pulpit for the Cathedral of Pisa, 1260. For the diptych and the pulpit, see Derbes 1989, figs. 10, 12. The three-nail Crucifixion appears quite early in the Levant as well, in the Perugia Missal (cat. 276), which is generally dated to the 1250s.
91. Early appearances of Mary's swoon at the Crucifixion in Franciscan works include the Santa Chiara diptych, ca. 1255 (see n. 90), and a miniature by the Master of Saint Francis, probably of the 1260s; see Morello and Kanter 1999, no. 38, p. 140. In the latter, Mary's pose seems adapted from a Byzantine tradition, seen, for example, in the fresco of the Crucifixion at Sopoćani. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the imagery of Mary's swoon appealed to diverse audiences, not only Franciscans; see Neff 1998.
92. The gesture appears in Byzantine art by the end of the eleventh century, as in, for instance, a lectionary in the Vatican (gr. 1156; Weitzmann 1961, vol. 1, p. 486, vol. 2, fig. 16). An early example in Italy is a fresco of the Lamentation at Aquileia (Dale 1997, fig. 87), where the gesturing woman is placed to the left, as she is in the Byzantine Gospel book.
93. Two of the first examples in which the gesturing woman is identified as the Magdalene are Franciscan: the Lamentation from a cross probably from the 1250s in San Martino, Pisa, a house of the Poor Clares (the Second Order of Saint Francis), where she wears red (for a color photograph, see Castelnuovo 1986, vol. 1, p. 239), and a Lamentation from a fragmentary altarpiece from the Franciscan house in San Miniato, now in the Yale University Art Gallery (see n. 90). She appears similarly in a Lamentation in a dossal from the Franciscan house in Farneto (reproduced in color in Valsassina and Garibaldi 1994, no. 10, p. 87). Over time, the gesturing Magdalene appeared in wider contexts, as in Duccio's Lamentation from the *Maestà*. For the importance of the Magdalene to the Franciscan order, see the extensive discussion in Jansen 2000, esp. pp. 86–99; she notes that Saint Francis was considered a second Magdalene (pp. 137–42). While the Dominicans venerated the Magdalene as well and proclaimed her the order's patron in the Chapter of 1297 (ibid., p. 76), pictorial evidence of their veneration is comparatively slight until the Trecento.

    As Annemarie Weyl Carr has observed, the cult of the Magdalene was never comparable to her cult in the West, and in Byzantine art she is typically clothed in rather muted garments like those of the other holy women ("Mary Magdalene," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), vol. 3, p. 1310). One exception is the red-garbed Magdalene shown with the female donor and the Virgin Mary in an Armenian manuscript of 1313 from Tayk (John Rylands University Library, Manchester, Ms. 10, fol. 9; repr. in color in London 2001, p. 85). Our thanks to Ionna Rapti for calling our attention to this image, about which she is preparing a study. The Magdalene is also singled out in a fresco in the fifteenth-century Church of Saint Anna in Kandanos, Crete (Kandanos 1999, fig. on p. 64), where she is identified by an inscription; we thank Sharon Gerstel for this reference.

    Spatharikis 1995, p. 439, refers to the gesturing figure in late-eleventh-, twelfth-, and thirteenth-century Byzantine examples of the Lamentation (Threnos) as Mary Magdalene, but it is not obvious that this figure was understood as the penitent prostitute. Professor Carr notes, however, with reference to the Magdalene, that "the boundary between [Western] and East Christian imagery is thinner than we might think" (personal communication, August 2003); we thank her for her assistance with this point.
94. For this altarpiece, see Gordon 2002b, pp. 229–33. A precedent for the angels' gestures can be found in the Man of Sorrows, probably of ca. 1250–60, from the Stoclet collection, now

in the National Gallery, London; see Cannon 1999, fig. 55; although the gestures are not identical, they are close, and tend to confirm Cannon's attribution of the Man of Sorrows to Umbria. The motif of the angel covering its face becomes more widespread later in the century, for example, in the *Supplicationes variae* and the fresco of the Lamentation at Saint Clement, Ohrid, both dated to the 1290s.

95. See, for example, Gill 1979, pp. 190–91.
96. For the importance of William's visit to Cilicia, the later influence of Franciscans at court, and the Franciscan elements in Cilician manuscripts of the later thirteenth century, see Evans in New York–Baltimore 1994, pp. 74–80. Het'um II received letters from Nicholas IV, who in 1289 thanked him and his aunt for their friendly treatment of Franciscan missionaries and in 1291 urged him and other rulers to a new crusade after the fall of Acre; Gill 1979, pp. 190–91. It may not have been fortuitous that the Armenian monks who settled in Perugia included in the decoration of their church a fresco of Saint Francis painted by a local artist and variously dated ca. 1273 or ca. 1300 (Assisi 1982, no. 8.8, pp. 109–10; Cook 1999, no. 132).
97. Young 1983, pp. 180–81, 224, points to a fresco at Kalapanayiotis, in Cyprus, of a Crucifixion that is linked with this group; she dates it ca. 1270–80. See also Derbes 1989; Carr 1995a; Carr 1995b; Carr 1998.
98. For the Carmelites, see nn. 3 and 81. The order moved to Cyprus as early as 1238 (Jotischky 2002, p. 12). For these Carmelite images, see Carr 1995b, p. 348; Folda 1995b, pp. 218–21; Folda 2002, pp. 135–45. For the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy in East and West, see, most recently, Schmidt 1996a, pp. 335–39; Schmidt 2000. Interestingly, both the Dominicans and the Franciscans appropriated the imagery of the Virgin of Mercy for their own saints: in a marble relief of ca. 1340 from a tomb in San Egidio, Milan, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art at The Cloisters, the Dominican saint Peter Martyr extends his cloak over three donors. Frà Ludovico da Pietralunga's sixteenth-century description of San Francesco, Assisi, notes in the apse of the Lower Church a figure of Francis "with arms and mantle extended wide" ("con le braccia et manto largho") and busts of figures on either side of the saint; an anonymous early-seventeenth-century source describes "St. Francis with a mantle embracing these saints"; see Scarpellini 1982a, pp. 63, 289. The Trecento fresco in the apse was destroyed in the seventeenth century. Our thanks to Janet Robson for this reference.

Venice and the Byzantine Sphere, by Maria Georgopoulou, pp. 489–94

1. Geanakoplos 1962; Maltezou 1970; Ashtor 1974; Laiou 1980–81; Nicol 1988.
2. Venice proudly made this claim for itself under Doge Pietro Orseolo (991–1008). See Guido Perocco, "Venice and the Treasury of San Marco," in New York 1984, p. 18.
3. F. Lane 1973; Thiriet 1979; Morris 1980.
4. F. Lane 1973, pp. 67–85; Stöckly 1995.
5. Jacoby 1987.
6. Maltezou 1988, pp. 142–47.
7. In Crete the first colonists were required to reside in the city despite their extensive landholdings in the interior of the island. According to Sefakas 1940, p. 96, three considerations lay behind this requirement: first, the protection of the Venetian citizens; second, the preservation of language and ethnic character; and third, the creation of a Venetian environment in which the state authorities could exercise their rule. See also Gasparēs 1997.
8. Maltezou 1995; Jacoby 2001.
9. Hunt and Hunt 1989; Arbel 1995. On the history of the period, see also Bustron 1998.
10. Redolfi 1986; Alberto Rizzi, "'In hoc signo vinces': I leoni di San Marco a Creta," in Ortalli 1998, pp. 543–81. Specifically on Crete, see Iōanna Steriōtou, "Le fortezze del regno di Candia: L'organizzazione, i progetti, la costruzione," in Ortalli 1998, pp. 283–302 (with earlier bibl.). On Cyprus, see Enlart 1987; Perbellini 1994; Wartburg 2002, pp. 34–43.
11. Georgopoulou 1995; Maltezou 1998.
12. The relics of the saint were kept in a seventeenth-century reliquary in the Treasury of San Marco until the twentieth century, when they were returned to Crete; see Giovanni Mariacher, "Oreficeria veneziana del secolo XVII," in Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 2, no. 252, pp. 217–18. The icon still adorns the high altar of the Church of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice; see Georgopoulou 1995 (with earlier bibl.).
13. Gerola 1905–32, vol. 2; Georgopoulou 2001, pp. 120–31, 133–52.
14. Tsirpanlēs 1985; Georgopoulou 2001, pp. 179–81.
15. Panayotidi 1991b; Mitsani 2000. The frescoes show very little influence of Venetian art.
16. Laiou 1984; Jacoby 1989, 2001.
17. Holton 1991; McKee 1995. Whether the difference between Latins and Greeks was solely a practical, legal matter or carried a proto-national ideological weight is still a matter of debate; see Dimitris Tsougarakis, "La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione veneziana a Creta: Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identità culturale," in Ortalli 1998, pp. 509–22; Thiriet 1979, pp. 118–19; McKee 2000.
18. Benjamin Arbel (1984 and 1989, pp. 176–77, 188–90; both reprinted in Arbel 2000) has demonstrated that ethnic and social mobility was easier from the mid-fourteenth century, when the original tensions between colonist and colonizer had eased somewhat; he also emphasized the difference in the political and social position of the inhabitants of the towns and those of the countryside (serfs or free men). This dichotomy seems to relate to the artistic evidence quite neatly.
19. Spadaro 1994; Panagiōtakēs 1995 (with earlier bibl.).
20. On El Greco's life in Crete, see Panagiōtakēs 1987. See also Baltoyianni 1995; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1995.
21. For an overview of the Venetian monuments of Crete, see Gerola 1905–32. On the Lusignan monuments, see Enlart 1987.
22. Maria Georgopoulou, "Gothic Architecture and Sculpture in Latin Greece and Cyprus," in *Byzance et l'extérieur,* edited by Michel Balard (forthcoming).
23. For similar considerations on Crusader architecture, see Ousterhout 2004.
24. Gallas 1983, p. 216; Gallas et al. 1983, pp. 313–21.
25. Dēmakopoulos 1972; Phaturu-Hesychakē 1982.
26. Numerous references to Italian paintings by Giovanni Bellini, Palma Vecchio, Vivarini, Titian, and Raphael appear in inventories that list the works of art brought back to Italy from Crete in the seventeenth century; see Gerola 1903.
27. Philanthropinos was also active in Venice, where he worked on the mosaics of San Marco in 1435; see Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982. On the Church of Agios Konstantinos, in Avdou (1445), the frescoes of which were painted by Manuel and John Phokas, see Gallas et al. 1983, pp. 410–11. The wall paintings, signed by the Phokas brothers, show affinities with paintings related to Constantinopolitan workshops, for instance, those of the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Mistra; see M. Chatzidakis 1962, pl. 38.
28. Borboudakis 1991. On the three churches, see Gallas et al. 1983, pp. 313–21, 395–97, 408–10. On the Church of Gouverniotissa, see also the important study by Vassilaki 1986. See also the general studies of Kalokyris 1973; Bissinger 1995; Spatharakis 2001. The majority of the churches date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
29. Gerola 1905–32, vol. 4, pp. 513–78. See also Tsougarakis in Ortalli 1998, pp. 509–22.
30. Lassithiōtakēs 1981; Papadaki-Oekland 1991.
31. E. Constantinides 1999, p. 268, fig. 9. Axentis also painted a Byzantine Anastasis scene in a nearby church. For the issue of the dual way of presenting the resurrection of Jesus, see Paliouras 1978.
32. Frigerio-Zeniou 1998.
33. Sergio Bettini (1933) expanded the theories of N. P. Kondakov and N. P. Likhachev.
34. M. Chatzidakis 1974c, 1977b.
35. Rimini 2002.
36. Cattapan 1968.
37. Cattapan 1972; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1973.
38. Private commissions account for 85 percent of the contracts; see Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "La pittura di icone a Creta Veneziana (secoli XV e XVI): Questioni di mecenatismo, iconografia e preferenze estetiche," in Ortalli 1998, pp. 463–64 (with further bibl.).
39. Cattapan 1972, pp. 211–13 nn. 6–8.
40. Manousakas 1960–61; Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1981. A survey of his works can be found in M. Chatzidakis 1987–97, vol. 1, pp. 147–54.
41. Cattapan 1973, 1977.
42. Robin Cormack in Athens–London 1987, p. 27.
43. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis 1981.
44. M. Chatzidakis 1986. Theophanes painted frescoes in the Monastery of Saint Nicholas Anapausas at Meteora and in the Great Lavra and Stauroniketa monasteries on Mount Athos.
45. Venice 1993b, p. 4.
46. Xyngopoulos 1957a, p. 146.
47. O. Demus 1955; P. Brown 1996; Howard 2000. On the icon of the Virgin Nikopoios that was attributed to the hand of Saint Luke, see, among others, Rizzi 1980, who argues that it set the tone for the cult of further Byzantine icons of antique or more modern origin that adorned many altars of Venetian churches; see Rizzi 1972. On the horses, see Perry 1977, p. 29; Jacoff 1993. For a more general treatment of this topic, see also Cutler 1995.
48. See most recently Taburet-Delahaye 1997. See also Hans R. Hahnloser, "Le oreficerie della Pala d'Oro, la nuova montatura di Bonesegna (1342) e del 'Maestro Principale' (1343–1345)," in Hahnloser 1965–71, vol. 1, pp. 85–111; Sergio Bettini, "Venice, the Pala d'Oro, and Constantinople," in New York 1984, pp. 42–44 (with earlier bibl.).
49. Muraro 1972; O. Demus 1984a, vol. 2.
50. Pincus 2000, pp. 111–14.
51. On the council, see Gill 1961.
52. Geanakoplos 1962, p. 35. Bessarion's collection, comprising about a thousand manuscripts, formed the core of the exquisite Biblioteca Marciana, which was not begun until 1537 after a design by Jacopo Sansovino.
53. Among Aldus Manutius's collaborators was Markos Mousouros, publisher of the works of Plato and others and professor of Greek in Padua; see Geanakoplos 1962; N. Wilson 1977; Layton 1994; Venice 1994a.
54. Angelini 1945; McAndrew 1969; Goffen 1975, p. 488.
55. Geanakoplos 1962, p. 57; Imhaus 1997; Maltezou 1999, pp. 19–21.
56. M. Chatzidakis 1962, pl. 18.
57. Ibid.; Tselentē-Papadopoulou 2002.
58. Giovanni Veludo (Correr 1847) has written about the Greek community; an amplified second edition in Greek (Correr 1893, p. 13) gives more detailed information on the community and its properties. See also Geanakoplos 1962, pp. 60–66; Fedalto 1967.
59. For a recent assessment of the history of the community, including major archival documents, see Tsiknakēs 1993 and Jacoby 2002, pp. 56–64, 77–82.
60. E. Brouskarē 1995, 2002. The church was planned as a basilica with a dome over the central apse. The architect Sante Lombardo (1504–1560) is credited with the design. Construction began in 1539 and was completed in 1561 by Giovanni Antonio Chiona.
61. M. Chatzidakis 1962, pl. 19; Paliouras 1971.
62. Geanakoplos 1962, p. 35.

Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France, by Robert S. Nelson, pp. 515–23

1. Vasari 1966–, vol. 2, pp. 35–37.
2. Dilly 1979, p. 10; Gombrich 1984, pp. 51–69, 254–55; Carrier 1991, p. 122.
3. Barolsky 1991, p. 3.
4. Wood 2002.
5. Goldthwaite 1993.
6. Goldberg 1988, pp. 4–5.
7. Maginnis 2001, pp. 9–15.
8. Barolsky 1991, p. 13.
9. Belting 1982b.
10. Klaus-Peter Matschke, "The Late Byzantine Urban Economy," in Laiou 2002, vol. 2, pp. 475–76.
11. Laiou 1980–81.
12. Ibid., p. 188.

13. Nelson 1985, p. 555.
14. Laiou 1980–81, p. 179.
15. Ibid., p. 186.
16. Elias 1983.
17. See also Robert S. Nelson, "Heavenly Allies at the Chora," *Gesta* 43 (2004), forthcoming.
18. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 142–43; Paris 1992–93, pp. 463–64; Hilsdale 2003.
19. Stahl 2000, pp. 18–19. Most recently, see Touratsoglou and Baker 2002.
20. Grierson 1999, part 1, pp. 36, 142. I thank Julian Baker for advice on these matters.
21. Grierson 1999, part 1, pp. 48–54.
22. In general see N. Wilson 1992. Art historical aspects are explored in Nelson 1995.
23. N. Wilson 1992, pp. 8–12.
24. Vespasiano 1970–76, vol. 2, p. 140.
25. Diller 1961, p. 316.
26. N. Wilson 1992, pp. 42–47.
27. See in general *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960–), vol. 15, pp. 198–200.
28. Ullman and Stadter 1972, pp. 95–96; Martines 1963, pp. 112–16.
29. Sabbadini 1931, pp. XIV–XV, 11; *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960–), vol. 4, pp. 593–95.
30. Schreiner 1994.
31. Janin 1969, pp. 421–29. There is much new information about the monastery in De Gregorio 2001.
32. Hunger 1969, pp. 15, 26, 51.
33. The other manuscript is Vatican Library Chigi F. VII. 159, for which see Belting 1970, pp. 19–20.
34. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 3, p. 2209.
35. On the physician, see Heyd 1963.
36. Geanakoplos 1962, pp. 73–110.
37. Dilke 1987, p. 272; N. M. Swerdlow, "The Recovery of the Exact Sciences of Antiquity: Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography," in Grafton 1993, p. 158.
38. Dilke 1987, pp. 269–71.
39. Susy Marcon, "La miniature nei manoscritti latini commissionati dal cardinal Bessarione," in Venice 1994b, p. 189.
40. Joost-Gaugier 2002, pp. 105–8.
41. Thornton 1997.
42. Paton 1916–18, vol. 3, pp. 320–21.
43. Mercati 1925, pp. 25–26.
44. Mioni 1960–85, vol. 2, pp. 276–83.
45. Geanakoplos 1962, pp. 81–82.
46. Chambers 1992, p. 57.
47. Ibid., pp. 59–63; London–New York 1994–95, p. 157.
48. Chambers 1992, p. 25.
49. London–New York 1994–95, fig. 73; Hermann 1930, pl. 14.
50. London–New York 1994–95, pp. 157–58. Contrast a fourteenth-century manuscript with representations of coins: Vatican Library Chigi I VII 259 (Grafton 1993, pl. 72).
51. See Weitzmann 1935, figs. 106–107, 193. Gasparo used similar ornament in a manuscript for Pope Sixtus IV: Vatican Library lat. 2058, fol. 5r (Toscano 2000, fig. 154).
52. Tietze 1911, pp. 1–2.
53. Mercati 1937; Buchthal and Belting 1978, p. 117.
54. Irigoin 1977; N. Wilson 1977.
55. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), vol. 1, p. 344; Beck 1958, pp. 75–77.

"À la façon grèce": The Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons, by Maryan W. Ainsworth, pp. 545–55

1. On the influence of Byzantine art on northern European painting, see Dölling 1957; Strieder 1959; Silver 1983; Belting 1994, pp. 425–42; William D. Wixom in New York 1997, pp. 435–39; and Thomas 1998. The phrase "à la façon grèce" in the title of this essay is from early documents; "grecque" would be the correct feminine form today.
2. Belting 1994, p. 335.
3. Moodey 2002, p. 120. I am grateful to Elizabeth Moodey for sharing with me her 2002 doctoral dissertation for Princeton University. See also Grunzweig 1954.
4. Moodey 2002, p. 156.
5. Ibid., p. 159.
6. Ibid., p. 199. See also Caron 2003.
7. Moodey 2002, p. 231–32; Riley-Smith 1997, p. 7.
8. Walsh 1977.
9. Belting 1994, p. 337. See also the essay by Maria Georgopoulou in this publication.
10. Lazarev 1938; Shorr 1954.
11. See Verlinden 1935.
12. Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Taste and the Market in Cretan Icons in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in Athens–London 1987, pp. 51–53; idem, "La pittura di icone a Creta Veneziana (secoli XV e XVI): Questioni di mecenatismo, iconografia e preferenze estetiche," in Ortalli 1998, pp. 463–66.
13. See also the documents of a similar series of painting commissions in 1499 published in Cattapan 1972, pp. 211–13.
14. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides in Athens–London 1987, p. 52.
15. See Belting 1994, pp. 425–42; Ringbom 1984, esp. pp. 66–71. I am grateful to Stanton Thomas for sharing with me the findings of his dissertation on Robert Campin and Byzantine icons in which he discusses the presence of icons in the Low Countries (ch. 2). For further information, see Thomas 1998, pp. 9–50.
16. Most recently on Philippe de Croy, see Devaux 2001.
17. Hagemans 1866, p. 230. See also Thomas 1998, pp. 12–15, and Buchin 2003 (with bibl.).
18. Outremeuse 1864–87, vol. 4, p. 251; Thomas 1998, p. 18.
19. Puraye 1939; Colman 1981, pp. 36–37; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1987b, pp. 43–46.
20. Recent investigations by Elizabeth Carson Pastan have indicated that pilgrims in medieval times were encouraged to visit the Sainte-Chapelle on at least three annual occasions as well as on all Fridays in order to view the famous relics. These visits were rewarded by indulgences. See Elizabeth Carson Pastan, "The Reception of the Crown of Thorns at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris," College Art Association Abstracts, 1998.
21. For the icon in Mechelen, see Verriest et al. 2001, p. 14.
22. See Thomas 1998, pp. 31–49.
23. "Tableau d'ancienne façon, semblablement venu de Romme, comme on dit, fait d'un Dieu de Pitié" (A painting in ancient style, likewise from Rome, as they say, of a Man of Sorrows). Inventory of Jean, duc de Berry, 1413–16, in Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 290, A1106.
24. Ringbom 1984, p. 106; Dehaisnes 1886, vol. 2, p. 833; Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 290, A1106.
25. Dehaisnes 1886, vol. 2, p. 833; Thomas 1998, p. 37.
26. Laborde 1849–52, vol. 2, p. 265, no. 4249; Thomas 1998, pp. 40–41.
27. Laborde 1849–52, vol. 2, July 12, 1420: nos. 4079, 4078, 4249; Thomas 1998, pp. 39, 45.
28. See Eichberger 2002, pp. 216–17. On this phenomenon of a taste for the antique in the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century, particularly at the Habsburg-Burgundian court, see Van Miegroet 2001.
29. Los Angeles–London 2003–4, no. 117; 1545 inventory of Joanna's goods: "otro retablo griego de nuestra señora con su hijo en los braços," Ferrandis 1943, p. 231.
30. König 1991, no. 27, p. 34, no. 25.
31. For other examples, see Anonymous, Franco-Flemish, Veronica, Ms. 11035–37, fol. 8v, Brussels Hours, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; Anonymous, Franco-Flemish, Veronica, Ms. 11060–61, p. 8, *Très Belles Heures*, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; Dreux Jehan, Veronica, Ms. 11035–37, fol. 8v, *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.
32. Stock 1998, pp. 31, 195 n. 26; Stock 2002, p. 42, no. 076.
33. Stock 1998, pp. 27–36, esp. pp. 27–28, 31.
34. Graas 1990, pp. 12–26, 74–76; Verriest et al. 2001, p. 14. For additional copies, see D. Martens 2002–3, pp. 125–26, fig. 14.
35. Heers and Groër 1978.
36. Ibid., p. 49. This is the fourteenth-century icon at the Convent of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, slightly northeast of Genoa.
37. Heers and Groër 1978, p. 227.
38. Ibid.
39. I am grateful to Jonathan Alexander for this information. See J. Alexander 1970, no. 27.
40. Ron Spronk, "Jan Provoost," in Bruges 1998, vol. 1, p. 94, vol. 2, p. 31. I am grateful to Spronk for sharing information from his research on this painter and painting. The results of his work will appear in publication at a later date.
41. This is a proposal that Ron Spronk is developing and plans to publish in detail.
42. Walter Cahn, "Margaret of York's Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome," in Kren 1992, pp. 89–98.
43. On another pilgrim's book of hours as a possible imaginative experience, see Rudy 2000; and on pilgrimages in general, see Sumption 1975, pp. 257–302; Dansette 1979; Herwaarden 1983; Toussaert 1963, pp. 267–79; Connolly 1999; and Botvinick 1992.
44. See also Ringbom 1984, pp. 58–71.
45. German examples certainly exist, but in what appears to be mostly a later phenomenon. See Strieder 1959. See also Koerner 1993, pp. 80–126.
46. For the complicated issue of the efficacy of images in the time of the Modern Devotion, see Toussaert 1963; Harbison 1985, pp. 112–15.
47. On miracle-working icons in Flanders, see particularly Reume 1856; Kronenburg 1904–14, vol. 6; Toussaert 1963, esp. pp. 268–78; Stalpaert 1976; Giraldo 1989; Brussels 1994; Giraldo 1995.
48. On indulgences and the inflation of them, see Ringbom 1984, pp. 23–30.
49. Dhanens 1972.
50. For examples of Philip's interest in images of the Vera Icon, see Smeyers 1995, p. 213 and n. 92; Buren 2002, p. 1396, fig. 9.
51. Attractive as such a theory may be, there is no proof that Jan van Eyck made a trip to Italy in 1438 as part of the duke's delegation to the council.
52. J. Wilson 1994.
53. Stroo and Syfer-D'Olne 1996, p. 169.
54. Panofsky 1953 (rpt.), vol. 1, pp. 350–56, esp. p. 351.
55. Silver 1983, p. 102.
56. Belting 1994, pp. 432–34.
57. Garrido 1999.

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Glossary

acheiropoietos (Gr., "not made by human hands"): term used to describe images depicting Christ, the Virgin, or a saint that initially appear in a miraculous fashion or that are able to replicate themselves without human intervention.

adventus (Lat., "arrival"): ceremonial arrival and greeting of the emperor, the emperor's fiancée, generals, bishops, and officials, as well as saints' relics.

aer, or Great Aer (Gr., "misty air"): large veil carried in solemn procession during the Great Entrance (see below), then draped over the eucharistic elements on the altar.

Agnus Dei (Lat., "lamb of God" [John 1:29]): concept and representation of Christ as the lamb whose sacrifice redeemed humankind.

akakia, also called **anexikakia** (Gr., "without guile" or "goodness"): purple silk pouch carried by the Byzantine emperor during court ceremonies; it contained earth or dust from a grave and was intended to remind the emperor of the ephemeral nature of life and its glory.

Akathistos Hymn: probably the oldest Marian hymn of the Eastern Church, sung while the congregation stood, hence the title in Greek: "not sitting."

Akra Tapeinosis (Gr., "utmost humiliation" [Isaiah 53:8]): depiction of the dead Christ displaying the wounds of the Passion, known in the West as the Man of Sorrows.

amnos (Gr., "lamb"): central portion of the leavened eucharistic loaf, or prosphora.

ampulla (Lat., "bottle"): small container used by pilgrims to carry sacred oil, water, or earth, sanctified by contact with a sacred object or place; see *eulogia*.

analogion (Gr., "reading desk," "bookstand"): lectern or stand, decorated with a textile, on which the Gospels or other sacred texts were placed.

anargyros (Gr., "without accepting money"): epithet of physician saints, such as Kosmas and Damianos, who refused payment for the use of their skills.

Anastasis (Gr., "resurrection"): depiction of Christ bursting the gates of hell and releasing Old Testament figures; the Easter image of the Orthodox Church. One of the Twelve Great Feasts.

anthemion (from Gr. *anthos,* "flower"): ornamental pattern of symmetrically arranged floral forms.

apotropaion (from Gr. *apotrepo,* "to turn back"): object that wards off evil.

arcosolium: arched recess in a church used to house a sarcophagus.

argyrokentema (Gr., "silver embroidery"): silk thread with thin strips of silver foil loosely wound around it so that the colored core is visible; see also *chrysokentema*.

aspasmos (Gr., "kiss," "embrace"): veneration of an icon by bowing, kissing, or touching it.

asterisk (Gr., "star"): sacred utensil with two raised metal bands joined at a 90-degree angle; used in liturgical rites to cover the paten.

ataxia: see *taxis*.

Athos (Gr., *Aghion Oros,* "The Holy Mountain"): the center of Eastern Orthodox monasticism, located on the Chalkidike Peninsula in northern Greece.

augusta: title of the Byzantine empress.

Augustaion: main square in Constantinople, to the south of Hagia Sophia.

autocephalous (from Gr. *auto,* "self," and *kephalē,* "head"): referring to an ecclesiastical province, such as Cyprus, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Sinai, with the right to nominate its own bishop.

autokrator (Gr., "absolute ruler"): a title of the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire that would come to be called Byzantium.

basileus (Gr., "king"): principal title for the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, emperor.

bema (Gr., "raised step," "tribune"): area of the church containing the altar.

bifolium: sheet of parchment or paper folded to form two leaves or four pages in a codex.

boyar, bojar: member of the military landed aristocracy in Bulgaria, Kievan Rus', and later the Muscovite state.

bulla (Lat., "locket"): seal attached to a document; see *chrysobull*.

Canon Tables: system establishing concordances between the Four Gospels.

catena (Gr. and Lat., "chains"): compilation of quotations from theologians commenting on biblical texts.

Chalke: main ceremonial entrance into the Great Palace of Constantinople.

chartophylax: keeper of archives, a monastery's clerk or registrar.

chelantion: boat-shaped vessel.

Cherubikon (Gr., "cherubic hymn"): hymn intoned during the offertory procession known as the Great Entrance.

chiton (Gr., "tunic"): adaptable tunic, variable in material and length, worn in Byzantium by both men and women.

chlamys (Gr., "mantle"): long cloak worn over a chiton and fastened at the right shoulder or in the front; part of Byzantine court costume.

choros (Gr., "chorus"): lighting fixture similar to a chandelier.

Christ Amnos: image of the dead Christ laid out for burial, which decorates the Great Aer and later developed into the epitaphios.

Christ Anapseon (Gr., "the reclining one"): depiction of the Christ Child reclining, resting his head on his right hand and holding a scroll in his left; a prefiguration of Christ's Passion.

Christ the High Priest: depiction of Christ combining dual attributes symbolizing his temporal and ecclesiastical authority.

chrysobull (Gr., "gold seal"): imperial document signed by the emperor, verified by the golden seal, or bulla, attached to it.

chrysography (Gr., "writing in gold"): linear hatching executed in gold leaf, applied in the last stage of painting.

chrysokentema (Gr., "gold embroidery"): silk thread with thin strips of gold foil loosely wound around it so that the colored core is visible; see also *argyrokentema.*

ciborium (Lat., "chalice"): open-sided canopy, supported by four or six columns, placed over an altar or tomb.

cinnibar: red ink used by the emperor to sign and date documents.

clavus: vertical stripe, often purple or gold, decorating a tunic.

codex (Lat., "tablet," "book"): typical form of both the Byzantine and the modern book, with folded bifolia grouped to form gatherings that were stitched together and bound.

coenobitic (Gr., "conventual," "living together"): of monastic rule in which all possessions are held in common and private property is forbidden; see *idiorrhythmic.*

colobium: long tunic, with or without sleeves.

colophon (Gr., "summit," "finishing touch"): inscription often found at the end of a book giving information about its production, such as the name of the patron, the location of the scriptorium, and occasionally the name of the scribe.

communion: Christian sacrament in which bread and wine are blessed and consumed as the body and blood of Christ; also known as the Holy Eucharist and the Mysteries.

Coptic: language of ancient Egypt; ceased to be a living language in about the thirteenth century and is now preserved in the liturgical language of the Coptic Church.

czar: Slavic equivalent of the Greek term *basileus,* the title of the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, emperor.

Deesis (Gr., "entreaty"): representation of Christ between the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist.

despot, despotes (Gr., "lord," "master"): honorary court title of the Byzantine Empire, introduced in the twelfth century to refer to officials second in rank only to the emperor.

despotic icon: one of the large icons in the lower portion of an icon screen (see *iconostasis*) on either side of the royal doors.

Digenes Akritas: eponymous hero of a secular epic romance probably compiled in the twelfth century from earlier oral sources.

diskokalymma: one of a pair of small matching veils that drapes over the eucharistic vessels, in this case the diskos, or paten; see also *poterokalymma.*

divetesion: long silk tunic worn by the emperor on the highest state occasions.

dodekaorton (Gr., "twelve feasts"): liturgical cycle of the Twelve Great Feasts of the Orthodox Church.

Dominican Order: Catholic religious order founded by Saint Dominic in 1216.

eidolon (Gr., "image"): in Byzantium, used to connote pagan images (as opposed to icons, or Christian images); also used to describe the image of the Virgin's soul wrapped in swaddling clothes in the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin (see *Koimesis*).

ekphrasis (Gr., "description"): formal laudatory description of a city, festival, garden, work of art, or building, usually written as a tribute to its patron.

enkolpion (Gr., "on the breast"): reliquary medallion worn suspended on a chain over the breast.

entablature: horizontal band of masonry carried on pillars or piers.

epimanikia: trapezoidal cuffs symbolizing the fetters Christ wore at his Passion, worn secured around the forearms by priests, deacons, and members of the episcopate.

epistyle: beam of the Byzantine templon.

epitaphios (Gr., "upon the tomb"): liturgical veil bearing an embroidered image of the dead Christ or the Lamentation (threnos).

epitrachelion (Gr., "upon the neck"): long liturgical scarf worn around the neck by priests and bishops as an emblem of their office.

eulogai (Gr., "blessing"): pilgrim tokens thought to have amuletic and curative powers.

euchologion (Gr., "prayer book"): compilation of texts required for the celebration of the liturgy and other offices.

evangelary: collection of Gospel texts in order of the year's offices.

Ferrara-Florence, Council of: religious council held in those cities in 1438–45 to achieve union between the Orthodox and Catholic churches; ultimately a failure.

Franciscan Order: Catholic mendicant order founded in 1209 by Saint Francis of Assisi.

gammata: ornaments in the shape of a *gamma,* the third letter of the Greek alphabet, that represent the Holy Trinity.

Great Entrance: ceremonial procession that opens the liturgy of the Orthodox Church, in which the prepared eucharistic elements are brought to the altar.

hagiasma (Gr., "holy place"): often a miraculous spring, at times elaborated architecturally and housed in a shrine church.

hagios: saint; see *hosios.*

hegoumenos, hegoumenissa (Gr., "leader"): leader of a monastery, the Eastern equivalent of a Western abbot or abbess.

hesychasm: contemplative practice devoted to attaining communion with God through inner peace.

hieromonk: monk ordained as a priest.

himation (Gr., "outer garment"): long, loose outer garment, also the dark outer garment of monks and nuns.

homiliary: collection of sermons arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar.

horologion (Gr., "book of hours"): book containing the fixed portions of the daily offices, with the parts for the reader and choir written in full and most of the priest's and deacon's texts omitted.

hosios (Gr., "holy man"): saint, equivalent of *hagios.*

hyperperon: Byzantine gold coin.

icon (Gr., "image"): any image of a sacred personage; today most often indicates a representation on a portable panel.

Iconoclasm (Gr., "breaking of images"): during the eighth and ninth centuries, Iconoclasts rejected the sanctity of icons and outlawed their veneration. The official defeat of Iconoclasm in 843, the Triumph of Orthodoxy, is celebrated on the first Sunday of Lent.

Iconophile (Gr., "image lover"): opponent of Iconoclasm, who venerated icons and defended their devotional use.

iconostasis (Gr., "stand for image"): screen inset with icons that separates the altar from the nave of the church and blocks the congregation's view of the altar.

idiorrhythmic (from the Gr., "following one's own devices"): of monastic rule, popular during the Palaiologan period, in which members of the community may retain their own personal property and control the general disposition of their own time, governed by a council; see *coenobitic.*

Imago Pietatis: see *Akra Tapeinosis.*

incipit (Lat., "here begins"): formula that introduces a scriptural text; the page on which it appears is often given special decoration.

kanikleios (from Gr. *kanikleion,* "inkstand"): keeper of the imperial inkstand, a position often held by an influential official.

kathisma (Gr., from *kathisthmai,* "to be seated"): each of the twenty sections into which the psalter is divided in the Orthodox Church; a short troparion or stanza sung or read at the end of each kathisma of the psalter.

katholikon (Gr., "general"): the main church of a monastic complex.

katholikos (Gr., "universal"): title of the leader of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the catholicos-patriarch of the Ethiopian Church, and the chief hierarch of the Georgian Orthodox Church.

katzion: handheld censer.

khan (Turkic, "supreme leader"): title used conventionally to denote a pre-Christian ruler of Bulgaria.

knez (Serbian or Croatian, "prince"; *knjaz* in Bulgarian and Russian): Slavic ruler, prince, or leader.

Koimesis (Gr., "falling asleep"): the Dormition, or death of the Virgin, also called the Panagiotissa; one of the Twelve Byzantine Great Feasts.

Koine (Gr., "shared or common"): the Greek of the Hellenistic world; the language of the cities founded by Alexander the Great and his successors, used for the translation of the Old and New Testaments.

ktetor, ktetorissa (Gr., "founder," "foundress"): founder of an ecclesiastical institution, or his or her heir.

lectionary: compendium of extracts from the Gospels arranged for liturgical usage.

lite (Gr., "prayer"): liturgical procession to a church to celebrate a feast, held in Constantinople and other Byzantine cities.

Logos (Gr., "word," "reason"): an epithet of Christ, the "word of God."

logothetes (Gr., "keeper of records," "administrator"): one of the ministers of the emperor, simultaneously treasurer, prime minister, and minister of foreign affairs.

loros (Gr., from *lorion,* "strip of leather"): long brocade scarf, heavily decorated with precious stones, worn by the emperor and empress; also an attribute of archangels in attendance on Christ.

Mandylion: the image of Christ's face miraculously impressed upon a cloth, one of the most famous archeiopoieta.

maniera greca (Ital., "Greek style"): term often used derogatorily to describe the Byzantine-influenced style of much thirteenth-century Italian painting.

maniera latina (Ital., "Latin style"): term used for icons reproducing the style and iconography of Western late-Gothic prototypes.

maphorion (Gr., "shawl," "veil"): long shawl covering the head and shoulders of the Virgin and female saints. The maphorion of the Virgin was one of Constantinople's most prized relics, housed at the Church of the Blachernai.

menologion: collection of saints' lives arranged according to their feast days.

narthex (Gr., "stalk"): transverse vestibule of an Orthodox Church.

Octateuch (Gr., "eight-book"): first eight books of the Old Testament.

omophorion (Gr., "cape," "scarf"): long ceremonial scarf decorated with crosses, worn by bishops.

orans, orant (Lat., "praying"): figure with outstretched arms raised in the Early Christian gesture of prayer.

orarion: narrow white silk stole worn by a deacon while officiating.

palladium: image or relic associated with the safety and prosperity of the place in which it is housed.

pallium (Lat., "outer garment"): stolelike garment worn by the Roman pope and bishops; equivalent of Greek omophorion and himation.

Panagia (Gr., "all-holy"): epithet of the Virgin Mary, also a rite in which a piece of pyramid-shaped bread is offered to the Virgin at the end of a meal.

panagiarion (from Gr. *Panagia*): small liturgical paten bearing an image of the Virgin, frequently depicted in an orant pose.

panegyris (Gr., "fair"): periodic local or international religious and commercial fair.

Pantokrator (Gr., "all-sovereign"): epithet of God as well as of the individual persons of the Trinity; designates the best-known type of Christ image, bearded and represented frontally, blessing with his right hand while holding the Gospel book in his left, which typically decorated the central dome of Orthodox churches.

parekklesion: chapel, usually built alongside a preexisting church and often fulfilling a funerary function.

pastophoria: two auxiliary chambers at the eastern end of the church, flanking the central altar area, called the prothesis and the diakonikon.

Paterik (from Gr. *paterika,* "[books about] the fathers"): collections of hagiographic texts and of sayings attributed to monastic figures.

patriarch: head bishop of certain autocephalous Orthodox churches.

patrikios (Gr., from Lat. *patricius,* "of patrician rank"): title of high rank.

pendoulia, prependoulia: hanging jeweled ornaments attached to a crown.

phelonion: voluminous bell-shaped outer garment worn by priests and bishops.

podea: fabric suspended underneath an icon and occasionally decorated with figural scenes reflecting the compositional focus of the icon above it.

polykandelon (Gr., "many lamps"): silver or bronze stand for a group of smaller lamps.

polystaurion (Gr., "many crosses"): phelonion bearing a pattern of crosses, worn below the omophorion.

poterokalymma: veil placed over the chalice; see *diskokalymma.*

Prodromos (Gr., "precursor"): epithet for John the Baptist, precursor of Christ, also known as John the Forerunner.

proedros (Gr., "leading person," "chief"): high-ranking civil or ecclesiastical figure.

proskynesis (Gr., "prostration"): gesture of supplication or reverence.

proskynetarion: conventional designation for a monumental mural icon; display stand of an especially venerated processional icon.

proskynetes (Gr., "one who venerates"): pilgrim.

prothesis (Gr., "offering"): preparation, accompanied by prayer, of the bread and wine during the offertory of the Mass; table used during the rite.

protospatharios (Gr., "first spatharios, or sword-bearer"): rank in the imperial hierarchy initially reserved for a high military commander.

protovestarios (Gr., "first keeper of the wardrobe"): high post for a palace eunuch; originally keeper of the emperor's wardrobe but later conferred on many nobles and high-ranking dignitaries.

pyle (Gr., "gate"): curtain behind the central entrance into the sanctuary; also the illuminated decoration at the heads of chapters in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts.

pyxis (Gr., "box"): box or container.

revetment: facing of thin marble slabs on walls and piers; also a sheath of precious metal used to cover furniture and often for icon frames.

rhipidion (Gr.; Lat., *flabellum*): fan waved near the sacramental elements to prevent flies from lighting on them.

rotulus (Lat., "roll," "scroll"): manuscript roll created of pieces of parchment glued to one another.

sagion: cloak or mantle, worn by a soldier or a hermit and by the emperor and members of several ranks of courtiers.

sakkos (Gr., "sack"): episcopal garment derived from imperial costume.

schema (Gr., "form," "appearance"): habit or costume of a monk or nun.

scriptorium: workshop that creates manuscripts.

sebastokrator: Byzantine title typically bestowed on the emperor's sons and other relatives; awarded by rulers of Byzantium's neighbors in imitation of imperial usage.

senmurv: fantastic animal of Sassanian origin, often represented as the combination of a bird and either a dog or a lion.

skeuophylakion: church treasury where relics, chalices, and other precious items were stored.

soros (Gr., "tomb," "relic chest"): reliquary casket or chapel.

spolia (Lat., "spoils," "booty"): reused building materials, such as marble columns and capitals.

staurotheke (Gr., "cross chest"): cross-shaped reliquary container for fragments of the original Cross on which Christ was crucified.

sticharion: long tunic with sleeves worn by deacons and higher-ranking Orthodox clergy.

strategos (Gr., "general"): general or military commander; an epithet for several military saints.

sudarium (Lat., "towel"): cloth miraculously bearing the likeness of Christ's face.

suppedaneum (Lat., "footstool"): board at the foot of the Cross to support Christ's feet; honorific pedestal or podium shown in depictions of Christ, the Virgin, or saints.

synaxarion: church calendar with readings indicated for fixed feast days, but no other text; also a collection of brief hagiographical texts.

synodikon: liturgical document containing important ecclesiastical rulings.

tablion: rectangular or trapezoidal decorated panel attached to the edge of the chlamys of dignitaries.

taxis (Gr., "order"): in Byzantine society, the organization of state and church along similar hierarchical lines to provide order and harmony. The *taxis* of human society was believed to echo the divine hierarchy of the celestial realm.

templon: wooden or masonry screen separating the sanctuary from the nave in an Orthodox church; evolved into the iconostasis.

Theotokos (Gr., "God-bearing"): Mother of God; epithet of the Virgin, emphasizing that Mary gave birth to God, not to a man who became God.

threnos (Gr., "lamentation"): the Virgin's lamentation over the dead body of Christ.

thringion (Gr., "cornice"): frame or revetment, usually of silver gilt, donated to an icon as a privileged symbol of piety or thanksgiving.

Trisagion (Gr., "thrice-holy"): liturgical invocation, "Holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy on us," sung during the eucharistic prayer.

troparion: stanza of a hymn.

typikon: liturgical calendar of the Eastern Church, with instructions for each day's services; document prescribing the organization and rules governing a monastery.

Vera icon: see *Mandylion*.

Virgin Blachernitissa: iconographic type depicting the Virgin, reproducing an icon once kept at the Blachernai Church in Constantinople.

Virgin Dexiokratousa (Gr., "right-handed"): icon of the Virgin holding the Christ Child in her right hand.

Virgin Eleousa (Gr., "compassionate"): icon of the Virgin in which she tenderly touches her cheek to the Christ Child.

Virgin Galaktotrophousa (Gr., "wet nurse"): icon of the Virgin nursing the Christ Child.

Virgin Glykophilousa (Gr., "sweet-kissing"): variant of the Virgin Eleousa. The term, focusing on the actions of the figures, is post-Byzantine in origin.

Virgin Hodegetria (Gr., "guide"): icon of the Virgin holding the Christ Child and gesturing to him with her free hand, as the way to salvation. The Hodegetria was one of the most celebrated Byzantine icons and remained Constantinople's palladium until the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1453.

Virgin Kykkotissa: Cypriot variation on the Virgin Eleousa.

Virgin Nikopoios (Gr., "bringer of victory"): icon of the Virgin featuring a frontal bust of Mary holding a medallion with a frontal figure of Christ.

Virgin Platytera (Gr., "wider [than the heavens]"): icon of the Virgin in an orant pose.

vita icon: icon with scenes from the life of a saint.

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